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CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII.

[NEW SERIES.]

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

PAGE

ART. I.—The Story of Shiūten Dôji. From a Japanese 'Makimono' in Six 'Ken' or Rolls. By F. V. DICKINS, M.R.A.S. 1

ART. II.—Buddhist Remains near Sámbhur, in Western Rajputana, India. By Surgeon-Major T. H. HENDLEY, M.R.A.S. 29

ART. III.—On the Bearing of the Study of the Bántu Languages of South Africa on the Aryan Family of Languages. By the Rev. F. W. KOLBE, late Missionary of the German Society of Barmen in Damara-Land, South Africa, Author of the English-Hereró Dictionary. Prepared at the request of R. N. Cust, Esq., Honorary Secretary 38

ART. IV.—Gleanings from the Arabic. By H. W. FREELAND, M.A., M.R.A.S. 57

ART. V.—Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns. By G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S. 65

PAGE

Art. VI.—Dialects of Tribes of the Hindu Khush, from Col. Biddulph's Work on the subject (corrected). II. The Shina Language. III. The Khowar Language 89

Art. VII.—The Languages of the Caucasus. By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S. 145

Art. VIII.—On the Study of the South-Indian Vernaculars. By G. U. Pope, D.D., Fellow of the Madras University 163

Art. IX.—The Pallavas. By the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, M.R.A.S., Chaplain of Coimbatore 183

Art. X.—Translation of Books 81–93 of the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa. By the Rev. B. Hale Wortham 221

Art. XI.—Notes on Professor Tylor's "Arabian Matriarchate," propounded by him, as President of the Anthropological Section, British Association, Montreal, 1884. By J. W. Redhouse, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. R.S.L., etc. 275

Art. XII.—The Northern Frontagers of China. Part VII. The Shato Turks. By H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. 293

Art. XIII.—The Age of the Avesta. By Prof. de Harlez, of Louvain, M.R.A.S. 339

Art. XIV.—Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess. By H. F. W. Holt, Esq., Sec. R.A.S. 352

Art. XV.—Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon. By C. J. R. Le Mesurier, Ceylon Civil Service, M.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc. 366

PAGE

Art. XVI.—The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjáb. By Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L. 373

Art. XVII.—Beginnings of Writing in and around Tibet. By Terrien de Lacouperie, M.R.A.S., Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College, London) 415

Index 483

Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Anniversary Meeting of the Society, held on the 18th of May, 1885 ..... i-clxx

---

List of Members ..... i-xx

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII. PART I.

[NEW SERIES.]

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

PAGE

ART. I.—The Story of Shiūten Dôji. From a Japanese 'Makimono' in Six 'Ken' or Rolls. By F. V. DICKINS, M.R.A.S. 1

ART. II.—Buddhist Remains near Sámbhur, in Western Rajputana, India. By Surgeon-Major T. H. HENDLEY, M.R.A.S. 29

ART. III.—On the Bearing of the Study of the Bántu Languages of South Africa on the Aryan Family of Languages. By the Rev. F. W. KOLBE, late Missionary of the German Society of Barmen in Damara-Land, South Africa, Author of the English-Hereró Dictionary. Prepared at the request of R. N. Cust, Esq., Honorary Secretary 38

ART. IV.—Gleanings from the Arabic. By H. W. FREELAND, M.A., M.R.A.S. 57

ART. V.—Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns. By G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S. 65

ART. VI.—Dialects of Tribes of the Hindu Khush, from Col. Biddulph's Work on the subject (corrected). II. The Shina Language. III. The Khowar Language 89

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ART. I.—*The Story of Shiūten Dôji. From a Japanese 'Makimono' in Six 'Ken' or Rolls.* By F. V. DICKINS, M.R.A.S.

TAMBA is a small, mountainous, thickly-wooded province lying to the north-west of the late capital city of Japan. Long after the removal of the Mikado's 'Kiyô' or court from Nara, at the close of the eighth century, to the site of the 'City of Perfect Peace,'[1] afterwards Kiyôto, Miyako, and lastly Saikiyô, the hills and forests of this wild region were probably infested by remnants of the aboriginal 'yebisu,'[2] at whose expense the Japanese state had slowly extended its scanty territory. It was, probably, not always under the leadership of aboriginal chieftains that bands of these autochthones, commonly described by Japanese writers as horrid, hairy, cannibal monsters, harried the lower country. They were often, no doubt, cajoled into serving the purposes of revenge or plunder of Japanese rebels or outlaws, the wickedness of whose frequent defiance of the divine authority of the Mikado is dwelt upon with pious horror by the early

[1] Hei-an-jō.

[2] The etymology of 'yebisu' is uncertain. The word is often written 'yemisu' or 'yemishi.' 'Yebi' means a prawn, and the name 'yemishi' is said to have been bestowed upon the aboriginal (Aino) inhabitants of Japan because their hairy faces gave them some resemblance to the crustacean. 'Yemi' also means to laugh, smile or grin. The Japanese member of the Septad of Happiness (Shichi-fuku-jin) is likewise called Yebisu or Hiruko (leech). A full account of the Septad will be found in Carlo Puini's "I sette Genii della Felicità," Firenze, Le Monnier, 1872, of which I have given a translation in the Trans. Asiat. Soc. Japan.

annalists. Of some such 'strong thief,' dexterously availing himself of aboriginal aid, we have perhaps a memory in the gruesome legend recounted in the following pages.[1] The tale is a favourite one with the makers of *makimono*, and in a set of six of these illuminated rolls in my possession is told in a manner that well exemplifies the literary style affected in such recitals. Of Oriental literature dramatic power is not usually a characteristic, and we have here no exception to the rule. But the incidents of the story are not unskilfully put together, and the reflections scattered through it, and forming perhaps its most really interesting feature, sketch, after a fashion not less instructive than quaint, the half-official piety and wholly conventional loyalty that were regarded as the main elements of civic virtue under the Tokugawa rule.[2] Lastly the narrative exhibits in a marked degree the curious blending of Chinese and native materials that characterizes most of the literary productions of Japan—the not wholly mawkish sweetness of the scholarly Middle Kingdom in sharp contrast with the overdone bloodiness of military Nippon.

The rolls are undated, but may belong to the first century of the Tokugawa rule. The beautifully-chased 'shakudo' hasp-plates bear the Tokugawa crest of three Asarum leaves,[3] and the rolls have doubtless been often enough lingered over by successive generations with due horror and wonder, under the dim light of the evening 'andon,' within the 'oku' or

[1] In support of this theory the description of the 'yebisu' given in the Nihongi (Annals of Japan, compiled in the eighth century) may be referred to. The Mikado, on appointing his son to command an expedition against them, tells him the folk he has to subdue are suspicious, crafty, revengeful, uncivilized, given to harrying the frontiers and abducting the peasants, dwelling in caves, wearing skins, and fond of drinking blood, while the mountains of the country are full of evil gods and the plains of wicked demons. See Satow, Ancient Japanese Rituals, Trans. Asiat. Soc. Jap. Aug. 1881.

[2] The Tokugawa dynasty was founded by Iyeyasu, commonly known as Gongen Sama, that is, *The* Gongen (Transient Presence—a Buddhist term for country gods, arrogated as mere manifestations of Buddhist deities), and ended with Hitotsubashi (lately deceased), vulgarly called Kei-ki, in 1868. Their administration is usually referred to by Japanese authors as the Bakufu or Curtain Rule, in allusion to the cloth curtain or screen that surrounded the headquarters of a general upon an expedition.

[3] The *Kamo-aoi*, Asarum caulescens, Max.

inner apartments of some 'fudai' or vassal baron's family mansion.

The text is finely calligraphed in the 'grass' character, on silk gauze mounted upon stout, smooth, mulberry-bark paper, amid a delicate tracery of flowers and leaves, exquisitely worked in with gold, and drawn with all the marvellous fluency distinctive of Japanese art. The illuminations, thirty-four in number, follow each other with appropriate intervals of text, and render graphically, if somewhat too gorgeously and crudely, the main incidents of the legend. The set was perhaps executed at the bidding of some Tokugawa baron by artists attached to his household, who have not therefore been concerned to append their names to their work. The style of the illuminations is that of the 'Tosa riu' or 'Tosa' school founded in the thirteenth century by Tsunetaka, who seems to have introduced the use of the violent greens and blues that disfigure so many of the pictorial efforts of the Japanese. Finally, the rolls are throughout, back and front, heavily powdered and patched with gold-dust and squares of gold-leaf.

In the translation I have endeavoured to preserve as much as possible of the colour and spirit of the original. Some condensation, however, was necessary to avoid tedious iteration, and the wearisome and rather repulsive details of the fighting scenes have been in great measure omitted. The scene of the legend is laid in the tenth century.

Reproductions (on a scale of about one-third) of four of the illuminations are appended, and will, it is hoped, serve to give some notion of the quaintness and splendour of the originals, as well as to illustrate the story.

The Story of Shiūten Dôji[1] or the Great Drunken Lad. From a Japanese "Makimono" in Six Rolls.

"Now Nippon the sea-surrounded dragon-fly shaped land[2] is of divine handiwork. There were first seven generations of Heaven-Gods, then came five generations of World-Gods, and lastly began the Age of the Human-Kings; and in the days of the Empress Suiko (A.D. 554–593) appeared the Great Teacher, Shôtoku,[3] who spread abroad the Doctrine of Buddha, watching tenderly over the people as a mother over her children, and covering them with the gracious protection of his benevolence. Thenceforward up to the days of the Emperor Seimu (A.D. 901–923) the Law of Buddha, the Royal Law, flourished exceedingly, and the righteousness and mercifulness of our rulers surpassed what was shown of yore in China by the famous Emperors Yao (B.C. 2357) and Shun (B.C. 2317–2208).

"Such, then, was the state of our land. The winds blew so softly as hardly to awake a murmur in the woods, the rains fell so gently as hardly to wash off a speck of soil from the fields, the provinces and the districts knew prosperity,

[1] The name is entirely Chinese. The Japanese language is almost lost in the harsh and stiff Sinico-Japanese jargon that has gradually replaced the noble and harmonious tongue of the early *monogatari*. What one hears in the streets, and still more what one reads in the literature of contemporary Japan, is neither Japanese nor Chinese, but a degraded mixture of both, akin to the slang of the Limousin student that excited the wrath of Pantagruel. *Shiū-ten* is 酒顛, 'to be turned topsy-turvy,' 'lose one's senses through drink.' Dôji 童子 means 'boy, lad.' The Buddhists use the term; thus, in the 佛像圖彙 *Butsu-zō dzu-i*, Collected Pictures of Buddhist Images, in five thin volumes, published in 1690, various Dôji are figured and described. Among them are the eight Dôji of *Fudô*, probably intended to represent eight qualities or characteristics of Fudô (Achala), the Immovable, *i.e.* in Righteousness, usually imaged as bearing a cord in one hand wherewith to bind demons, and a sword in the other wherewith to execute justice, while a background of flames symbolizes the god's everlastingness, and the power of the 'yô' (yang) or male principle of Nature.

[2] *Akitsu*, more probably *Akitsu-su-shima*, Island of the Autumn dragon-fly shape. Many fanciful names are bestowed upon Japan by native writers. Such are: *Ohoyashima*, The Great Multitude of Islands; *Toyoashihara*, The Plain rich in reeds; *Midzu-ho no Kuni*, The Land of Fair Rice-ears, etc.

[3] Shôtoku Taishi, the prince-name of the Emperor Yō-mei, born A.D. 572. His mother conceived him under the influence of Kwan-on. A fervent Buddhist, he greatly favoured the spread of the doctrine, founded many monasteries and temples, and is said to be the author of the earliest Japanese calendar. The great Temple of Tennō-ji in Ōzaka owed its existence to his piety. (See a good account in Messrs. Satow and Hawes' Handbook of Japan, 2nd ed.)

the people everywhere enjoyed tranquillity, and all the land was happy amid the delights of perfect peace. And so it seemed, from cot to palace, as if it would last for ever; nor storm of wind nor storm of rain prevented the ripening of the five grains, of the catalogue of calamities none happened within the four seas, so that all was tranquil, and the tiled roofs, innumerous, were joined together in endless rows, and throughout the land was nought of annoy or disturbance known. Moreover, the loyalty of the military barons, the virtue of the court nobles, the rare science of the diviners and physiognomists, were such as never before were, and never again will be known; and such a period of public weal, men said, will never again be heard of in our annals. Thus, then, happily went by the time, when strange events took place at Miyako. Fair women of the capital, without respect of ranks, disappeared mysteriously, at first by fives and then by tens, until many were lost. Was it by their own act, was it a forsaking of the world to enter religion? None could tell. Great was the grief, yet no one could give any account of the matter. More and more fair women disappeared, the calamity became a terrible one, the distress and grief passed description. Who did these deeds? Whence came he? Was it the work of demons? If only one knew, some plan of relief might be hit upon, but though one thought and thought, no scheme could be devised, one could only weep and lament and do nothing else. At this time there lived at the capital a lord named Kunimasa, a chiunagon (privy councillor) of the Ikeda family, high in the Emperor's favour, wealthy beyond measure, to whom no desire ever came he could not gratify.[1] And he had one daughter of marvellous beauty in face and form, in whom he delighted exceedingly, deeming that so fair a creature had not for generations been seen, and her he cherished accordingly. Nevertheless, one night, about midnight, she disappeared, and could not again be found. Her parents and attendants wept and grieved sorely, they looked up to heaven supplicatingly, they rolled themselves on the ground

[1] The luxurious home-life of Kunimasa is depicted in Plate I.

in the agony of their distress—but nothing availed them aught.

"At this time there flourished a right skilful physiognomist whose name was Seimei, who in the turn of a hand did your business, and whose performances tallied well with his promises. Demons and goblins had little chance with him, and Kunimasa sought him and said: 'From my birth I have dwelt surrounded by all the seven treasures of Buddha, the splendour of my estate passes description, office and rank are at my beck, nothing that I can desire is beyond my reach, but I have an only daughter, and her I value beyond all that I possess and more than my own life, and I would not that the wind ever blew roughly upon her. Now yesternight she vanished into darkness and was no more seen, and I am beside myself with alarm. Of late numbers of women have disappeared, and a terrible fear oppresses me lest her fate be as theirs. And so I have come to you for the aid of your powers of divination, and should your success crown my prayer, in token of my joy will I bestow heaps upon heaps of treasures on you, and make rich offerings at all shrines and temples.' Then for seven days and nights Seimei laboured at his art, and indited a scroll which he presented to Kunimasa, wherein it was thus writ: 'To the north of the capital, in the district called Ibuki, is a mountain known as Senjô ga Take (The thousand jô[1] Peak), where is a cavern, the resort of a demon whose handiwork this seizure is. Your daughter is not dead, and exorcisms must be used to overthrow her captor, then she will escape from the deadly peril of the demon's haunt, and once more delight her parent's eyes.'

"Kunimasa, consumed with grief, could not determine what should be done, and hastened to the palace to lay the report before his majesty. A council of court-nobles was summoned, and their advice was asked. Then a certain Daijin (chief minister) said: 'I have heard that long ago, in the days of the Emperor Saga (A.D. 786–810), people

[1] A *jô* is ten feet.

were spirited away in great numbers, and the land was filled with mourning in consequence. But the Great Teacher Kôbô[1] was honoured with an Imperial command, and exorcised the evil powers, whereupon people ceased to disappear. In these days, however, there is no priest who possesses a like puissance of exorcism, and after thinking over the heart of the matter I should counsel that Yorimitsu be ordered to attack the demon. And the reasons why I thus counsel your majesty are these. Yorimitsu is a descendant of the great Emperor Seiwa (A.D. 859–876), a pillar of the military nobility, in strength unrivalled, in bravery without equal, in war invincible, dreadful is the glare of his eye, exemplary his piety, clear his judgment, swift his action, him the gods guard, him no powers of evil can affright, honoured with your majesty's behest, it is impossible that he should fail to overthrow any enemy. Neither to our fathers nor to ourselves has the like of such a hero been known.' And the court-nobles were of one mind with the Daijin, and a summons was sent to Yorimitsu.

"Yorimitsu duly obeyed the Imperial mandate, and was received at the Southern Palace. He wore light armour, and over it a surcoat of red silk brocade, and was accompanied by his four trusty comrades, Tsuna, Kintoki, Sadamitsu, and Suyetake.[2] Kunimasa, descending the steps of the Presence-Chamber, communicated the Imperial will to Yorimitsu:

"'To subdue our enemies, to merit praise throughout the

[1] One of the most celebrated figures in the Buddhist traditional lore of Japan. He was born in A.D. 774, his mother having conceived under the influence of a famous Indian saint. Numberless tales are told of his supernatural powers, and especially of his victorious contests with various demons, goblins and monsters. He visited China, and brought back from that country the doctrines of the Yôkachaia school, which became those of the Shingon sect. An expert calligraphist, he is commonly regarded as the inventor of the *hiragana* or running-hand syllabary. His priest-name was Kū-kai, a Sinico-Japanese expression signifying 'space and sea,' said to mean Heaven and Earth.

[2] The full names are Watanábe no Tsúna, Sákata uo Kíntoki, Úsui no Sadamítsu and Urábe no Súyetáke. They are called the *Shi tennô* or Four Heaven-Kings, *i.e.* the four trusty comrades of Yorimitsu, guarding the hero as the four Dêvas guard Mount Meru. In Japanese names the surname precedes the personal one, and is usually the name of some place. Thus, Minamoto no Yoritomo may perhaps be translated The Leal Thane of (the fief of) Minamoto.

land, to spread abroad our authority, is not this Our duty? As a father over his children do not We bear rule over the nobles, over the land, over the commons, over all that lies within the four seas under the vaulted sky? In Our measureless love and compassion We never cease to consider the good of Our people, and now hath this dread calamity befallen the land, filling all hearts with desolation; of a truth 'tis the handiwork of one deeply hostile to Ourselves. On Senjô's Peak, in Ibuki, lurks an Oni (demon) who destroys men by hundreds, a monster more dire than any the world has seen. Your valour is not unknown to Us, your bravery shall destroy the demon, and restore peace, and remove grief from the hearts of men. Thus will you display your loyal faith to Ourselves, and your fame will fly throughout the length and breadth of the land. Terrible is the distress, let not your aid tarry.' Such was the Imperial will, to which Yorimitsu hearkened humbly and then withdrew.

"The five companions returned to their lodging and held counsel together. And Yorimitsu said:

"'After well considering the heart of this matter, I deem the task beyond the sole strength of mere mortal men. Wherefore we must invoke the aid of the gods and Buddha; for the land's sake, for our own sake we shall surely receive help, but first let each pray at the shrine of the guardian-god of his village.'

"So Yorimitsu departed and sought the shrine of Hachiman,[1] the Great War-God, and shut himself therein, and prayed earnestly for three days and three nights without ceasing, and was blessed with a vision of the god, to whom due rites were with great gladness paid. Meanwhile Tsuna and Kintoki hasted to Sumiyoshi, their home-place, and Sadamitsu and Suyetake to Mount Kumano, beneath whose

[1] Hachiman, litt. 'Eight banners,' is the deified Emperor Ōjin (A.D. 270–311), and is wholly a Buddhist invention. He was the son of the heroic Empress Jingû, who devastated Korea in the third century. The origin of the name is uncertain; a native tradition ascribes it to the circumstance that at his birth four white and four red banners fell from heaven to earth. He is often known as the *Yumi-ya*, or Bow-and-Arrows God, and was especially venerated by the *Samurai* under the Bakufu régime.

shadow they were born. And all bowed their heads to the ground and prayed before the shrines of their home-gods.

"Then the five came together again and Yorimitsu said: 'We shall be better few than many, but it were well to ask Yasu-masa to join us and none other.'

"So that there were six companions in all, and they set out on their venture, each carrying an armour-chest on his back. And in that of Yorimitsu were contained a suit of trunk-armour, a lion-crested helmet, a pair of cloud-cutting two-edged swords, and a long poniard. In that of Yasu-masa were holden a suit of trunk-armour, garnished with purple velvet, and a rock-splitting sword; and in that of Tsuna a suit of green trunk-armour with a demon-daunting sword. And to each chest was fastened a joint of bamboo filled with *saké*.

"The six comrades departed from Miako, and crossing the country of Ômi, fared on to Ibuki, and there among the high hills sought for the Thousand Jô Peak, asking every one they met where it might be, but no man could tell them. They climbed hills, and tracked across moorlands without end, till their spirits were worn hollow and they knew not where they were, till eye and heart were dazed and mazed, till their bodies were sore with the toil, and the very marrow squeezed out of their bones; before them, behind them, the ways were confused and dark, the mountains hidden in gloom, the moorlands overlaid with mirkness, and still they fared on. And at last they came to the edge of a deep ravine, and looking down they saw a hamlet, some fifty or more of the dwellings of men. While thus gazing, they were ware of three strangers, of whom one was a yamabushi,[1]

[1] The *Yamabushi* (ubasoku = upāsika) 山伏 'hill-haunters,' were wandering ascetic half-priests, commonly, as the name (as often written) indicates, men of *Samurai* rank, who had forsaken the world. Kaempfer, who appears to have seen or heard a good deal of them, has left a long account of their practices, and accuses them of playing upon the credulity of the people, and of being little better than the mendicant friars of Europe in their later days. They seem to have belonged to the Shingon sect, founded by Dai-nichi Niyorai (Vairokana), one of the most powerful and numerous in Japan, and possessing, says Mr. Satow, over 13,000 temples. The founder of the Yamabushi was the famous Yen-uo-shôkaku (a condensed account of whom I take from my Fuji Hiyak'kei). Born of a noble family in Yamato, in A.D. 633, he abandoned the world and dwelt for

and Tsuna said: 'Doubtless these fellows are retainers of the Demon, shall we not seize them and make them tell us all we want to know?' But Yorimitsu answered: 'So must we by no means do. Foolish indeed it were to reveal our design, more wise to carry ourselves courteously towards them, and, finding favour with them, procure them to guide us to the monster's stronghold, and on the way perchance we shall glean from them what we desire.'

"Then they approached the three men, saying: 'We are pilgrims visiting the sacred places of the empire, and we have strayed from the path; of your courtesy show us how we may regain the high road.'

"'A terribly strange thing is this,' answered the men; 'what manner of men may ye be that have come to this place? Yonder rises what men call The Thousand Jô Peak, where dwells a dreadful demon in a cavern—'tis no spot to be trod by mortal feet. Behold! towering over the further edge of the ravine soars the Peak, so steep-sided that even a bird may hardly fly up the frowning precipice.'

"'It is in the flank of yonder mountain,' continued the unknown, 'that lies the monster's haunt, and round about the mouth thereof some of his retainers are ever lounging, and it were well ye went not nigher. But think ye not that we are of the demon's following, we seek to set free men whom he holds under his ward, and to destroy this foe of mankind, but of our own strength we can do nought. Years and months have we waited among these hills, deign to put trust in us, we see well that ye be not of common mould,

thirty years in a cave on Mount Katsuragi, clothing himself with the leaves of the *fuji* (Wistaria sinensis) and *katsura* (Cercidiphyllum japonicum), and living upon the young shoots of the common pine (P. Thunbergii). He passed the time in chanting the liturgies of the god Kujaku. rode upon clouds, and held the mountain spirits in his obedience. (He is often represented compelling them to carry huge boulders to make a bridge for him from his mountain to a neighbouring one.) Notwithstanding his ascetic and solitary life—much more difficult to lead under a Japanese than under an Indian sky—he was banished to Ôshima (Vries Island), whence he walked across the sea to Fuji every night. Afterwards he removed to Mino, and finally sailed away Chinawards on a raft of sods, accompanied by his mother, in a large bowl. A somewhat different account will be found in Messrs. Satow and Hawes' Handbook, 2nd edition. Indeed, most Japanese legends are met with under a variety of forms, and the vast majority of them are the direct inventions of Buddhist priests and obsequious chroniclers.

will ye not enter?' So Yorimitsu and his fellows did as they were bidden, and entered into a thatched hut hard by, and told the strangers upon what quest they were bound. Then Yorimitsu bethought himself it were well to offer each of the strangers a draught of *saké*, desiring to obtain their friendly countenance, and advancing towards one who was an old man and seemed to be chief of the three, led the ancient to the place of honour at the upper end of the chamber, and filling a bowl with the *saké*, said: 'Of a surety ye are men who cherish a deep and long-harboured design in your hearts; do not mistrust us, but tell us your schemes exactly as they are, we would join our strength to yours and learn from you all the knowledge ye have gathered concerning the monster's lair. Of our own might, were it that of a thousand or even of ten thousand horse, we could do but little, but by the grace of the gods we shall be able to devise the needed stratagems and thus overcome the demon.'

"And as he spake his face flushed with benevolent emotion, and none could behold him without confessing the presence of a man of heroic mould. Was it a manifestation of the mountain-spirit, or a token of the indwelling of the great War-God whom Yorimitsu so faithfully served? Well, being assured he could trust the strangers, he hid nothing from them, whereupon the three were deeply grateful and said: 'We will willingly go with you.' And the ancient added: 'Those beings love *saké*, and when they lose their senses will blab out everything.'

"So saying, the ancient produced a vessel full of *saké*, saying: 'They must be plied with this, but ye must heedfully avoid tasting of it, for it is poisonous *saké*.' Then he filled with it the emptied bamboo-joints of Yorimitsu and his comrades. Next he brought out a close-fitting steel cap, and gave it to Yorimitsu. 'This,' he said, 'worn under the yamabushi's bonnet, protects against the divine power of penetrating to the bottom of one's heart wherewith the demon is endowed.' Then all exchanged mutual and solemn promises, and many a scheme they devised and conned over; and at last, manfully resolving to make the attack, the six

companions carefully talked over and settled how it were best undertaken, so as utterly to destroy the monster and his myrmidons in their lair.

"The company now departed from the hut and fared on, the three strangers leading the way. They approached the edge of the ravine and looked down, and saw that it was both deep and wide, and they could not see the bottom of the abyss. The strangers said to the others: 'It will be hard for you to get across.' But themselves they flew across with ease, and taking the fallen trunk of a huge *maki* tree (Podocarpus sp.) that lay there, threw it athwart the chasm so as to make a bridge, by which Yorimitsu and his comrades, being so bidden, did rejoin them.[1]

"The strangers then again fared on in front, and showed where to step and grasp, and aided the adventurers over the most difficult places, so that by dint of using every foot and hand-hold they scrambled up the stony steep, which even a bird would find it hard to fly up the face of, until they came to the mouth of a huge cavern. By the carriage of the three strangers who led the way it was clear these were not of mortal mould, but were divine beings in whom full trust might be placed. Well, the adventurers now went into the cavern, but they could see no path, and the aspect was terrible, passing all description. *Kowa!* what was to be done? The strangers still went on in front, but no track could be discerned, and a horror fell upon Yorimitsu and his comrades deeper than that which beset the Ikkô[2] priest who, being exiled, sought shelter in the dark depths of a gloomy cavern. It seemed to them they could by no means fare more than a few furlongs further, when suddenly they came upon a track that led them to a valley-bottom, where ran a purling brook. Then the three strangers stopped and said:

[1] This scene is pictured in Plate II.

[2] The Ikkō shiū (sect) is another and older name for the Shin, founded by the Saint (Shônin) Shinran in the early part of the thirteenth century. This seems to be now, as it was in the days of Nobunaga, the most wealthy and powerful of the Buddhist sects of Japan. It possesses nearly 19,000 temples and monasteries, and to it belong Akamatsu and Bunyiu Nanjio—the latter well known in this country. It worships Amida as the Supreme of all the buddhas and looks to faith and works for salvation. Alone among the sects does it refrain from enjoining the practice of celibacy.

'Wander not from the brook-side, but facing the flow wend up the valley till ye come to the monster's stronghold, and there ye shall again find us.' And as they spoke, their forms melted away, and they vanished like writing that is scratched out, and the adventurers knew that they had been holpen by a manifestation of the Great War-God Huchiman, and by the tutelary spirits of Sumiyoshi[1] and Kumano.[2] Thus favoured, they could rely on their own valour, and felt sufficiently stout-hearted. They fared on upstream by the brook-side, and after a time came upon a damsel, whose years were eighteen or nineteen, and whose beauty was beyond that of most women.[3] She was cleansing raiment in the water of the brook. Her they drew nigh, and asked who she might be, but she answered not, and fell a-weeping. After a while she put constraint upon herself and said: 'Alas! alas! what do ye here? 'Tis no place for mortal men to seek!' And her face was as of one wrung by a terrible anguish, so that they were afraid, and bethought themselves she might be, perchance, a follower of the demon under the guise of a woman, deluding them by some magic practice. Then Tsuna drew nigh to her and said: 'We pray thee, lady, tell us who thou art and what place this may be, nor hide aught from us, else it may be that harm will come to thee.' So the damsel, weeping, answered: 'Last year's springtide was I carried off to become the prey of the Demon, yet, O strange! I am still in life. More than thirty maidens have been thus stolen from the capital, and among them is the lovely daughter of the Lord Kunimasa. Her the Demon's followers brought here but a few days ago. The monster, when cloyed with any one among us, thrusts

[1] There are three gods of Sumiyoshi, the Bottom-water, the Mid-water, and the Surface-water Gods of the Sea, the results of Izauagi's ablutions after his visit to the Dark Region (yomi) in pursuit of his wife Izanami. They are sometimes regarded as the tutelary gods of Dai Nippon. A brief account of them will be found in the Handbook. The Nihon-gi (Annals of Japan) and the Ko-ji-ki (Ancient Records) may also be consulted. The latter work has been translated, with an excellent commentary, by Mr. Chamberlain.

[2] The *gongen*, a sort of counterfeit Shinto deity, invented by the Buddhists, who as far as possible incorporated the aboriginal deities with their own Pantheon.

[3] The rencontre of Yorimitsu with the daughter of Hanazono is the subject of Plate III.

her into a dungeon, and causes the blood to be pressed out of her body, which he drinks as if it were *saké*, and then she is slain and her flesh cut up and eaten. This self-same day has the blood been drained from the body of a high official's daughter, who has been here some three years, and her flesh has been devoured by the Demon as if it were physic to strengthen his dreadful body. And this is her raiment, which I am bidden in my turn to wash in the stream, and I know not but that a like fate with hers may be mine ere the morrow ends.' As she spoke—was it not a harrowing tale! —the tears welled up in floods, and she fell on the ground and rolled over in an agony of grief and fear.

"The adventurers were deeply moved at the cruel story, and Yorimitsu said: 'Thou sayest, lady, thou comest from Miyako. What may thy name be?' 'I am the daughter,' answered the damsel, 'of a kugé (court-noble), Naka Mikado no Hanazono. We miserable women can but weep in silence over our wretched lot, and we weep so that our eyes are swollen, and we seem to glare at each other as wild beasts do, while our livers grow meagre and our hearts pine away. O that life might last no longer than the morning's dew! our agony no words can tell.' Yorimitsu answered: 'Terrible, indeed, damsel, are thy words. 'Tis at His Majesty's bidding we are come hither to deliver you and take you back to the city. But ere we can destroy the demon's stronghold, we must know exactly the manner of its construction.' Then the damsel said, overjoyed: 'Ye must follow the stream still upwards, and after a time ye will see a vast portal with gates of stone, within and without which a score or more of dreadful beings keep constant watch and ward. Through the portal is a stone-paved court, at the upper end whereof is a flight of stone steps surmounted by a wall in which are set doors of iron, and through these ye will pass into a fair court, four-square, where the walls are panelled, and the panels set with wrought and painted sculptures of the four seasons; and amid the willows and cherry blooms of spring on the east wall is a door, and as ye open it ye will seem to hear the soft, sweet song of birds, to

see the tiny creatures fluttering amid the thready branchage, and as the flowers bend under the gently blowing breeze, to smell the perfume of some plum tree in full flower nigh a shady verandah; and on the south wall ye will see a garden of Summer, with its pleasant fish-pond and twinkling fish, and sailing birds, and delicious freshness, and thereamid, too, is a door, which as ye open ye may look into a fair pleasance, where the verandah stands on pillars gorgeous with gold and silver, delightful in its cool shadow, delightful with its waterfowl coming and going; and in the west wall, likewise, is a door, which as ye open amid myriads of purple leaves and falling branches, ye may peer upon a bamboo-grove, and gaze with delight upon the tall, lissom reeds, and be filled with a natural joy as ye drink in the beauty of the fair moonlight and hearken to the chirp of insect, and fancy yourselves home in Miyako, while your regretful tears drench the grass as with dew, and your sleeves as with the briny flood. Here, as though we were but ladies of the palanquin, pass we the night some ten of us in turn, and all night long we must tend the monster and rub and press his limbs—who could dream such a lot should be ours!—and dance by day and by night to please his retainers, and wait upon and serve them. They guzzle upon the rarest dainties of sea and land, of their life the luxury passes description. Four of them, named Ongo, Tôho, Abo, and Rasatsu,[1] can fly over seas and rivers, and shiver rocks and stones, swift of foot are they and strong of arm; and other two there be, known as the Brazen-Bear Dôji and the Rock-bear Dôji, fellows of terrible might, whose very aspect makes one faint with fear, and by night these keep strict ward at the cavern's mouth. But the monster himself, demon though he be, is fair-skinned and not uncomely, of burly frame and fierce look, a giant stern of eye, and puissant of arm beyond measure. Among other obstacles, ye must break through barriers of stone and iron, and must then watch your opportunity and make your onslaught. They will be taken by

[1] Ongô, Tôho, etc., are Indian names of Buddhist demons and torturers in Hades.

surprise, for they will never dream of being attacked by mere mortal men, but His Majesty's behests have been laid upon you, and the grace of the Sun-goddess and the favour of Hachiman have fallen on you, and I may not doubt your victory.' Then the damsel described minutely the approaches to the Dôji's lair, and the disposition of its inner courts and buildings, after which they took leave of her. So they fared yet further up the valley, not leaving the brook-side, and after a time they came to an embankment whereon stood an iron portal, nigh to which were disporting themselves a company of strangely hideous beings, whether men under guise of demons or demons under guise of men, it were hard to say. They had huge eyes and enormous noses, and a most dreadful aspect.[1] They glared upon the adventurers, running up to them and surrounding them, and making as though they would devour them, so that the hearts of Yorimitsu and his comrades failed them, their valour melted away, and they knew not what to do. But one of the company of demons said: 'Let us take heed lest we be hasty, these be strange guests, and what their coming may betide we know not; we may not meddle with them till we know the Chief's pleasure concerning them.'

"When the Dôji heard of the wayfarers, he was filled with joy. 'This is undreamt-of luck,' he cried; 'of late we have made food and drink of women only, 'tis pleasant enough, but we are getting tired of it. Now here are men to quake in their bones and shiver in their flesh, and this is more delightful. But ye will frighten them with your hideous faces, make them grow lean and thin-blooded, look to it that they be not ill-entreated, and, harkye, inquire if there

[1] Oni or Buddhist fiends, with some of the features of *Tengu* 天狗, who are generally represented as two-clawed, winged, long-nosed, harpy-like elfs, goblins, or evil-minded spirits, but not denizens of hell. They are apparently connected with the Garuḍas of Buddhism. The word is Chinese, meaning heaven-horned, and is said to have originally signified a sort of incarnation of the flash and thunder of a falling meteorite. In Japanese a meteorite is termed *Amatsu kitsune*, i.e. 'heaven-fox.' In the din and dazzle was seen perhaps a struggle between the evil and the good spirits of the air. The long nose, sometimes referred to by Chinese and Japanese authors as 'attractive,' was possibly an exaggeration of the high nose not uncommon among the nobler scions of the Mongolian stock.

I. KUNIMASA SURROUNDED BY

DED BY HIS FAMILY.

II. YORIMITSU AND HIS C

ADES CROSSING THE RAVINE.

A. GRIGG PHOTO-LITH.

III. THE MEETING WITH

DAUGHTER OF HANAZONO.

IV. THE DE

OF THE DOJI.

yet be any women fair of face left in Miyako.' And the adventurers were forthwith brought into the great court of the castle, and after a time a vast uproar was heard from within, and Yorimitsu and his comrades felt their hair stand up with terror, and their livers perish, as the Dôji appeared beneath the verandah at the upper end of the courtyard, gleaming like the sun at his rising. His stature was over ten feet, and his hair was drawn smoothly back from his forehead. He was fair of skin and burly of form, and not uncomely to look upon, having the appearance of a man some forty years old. He wore a short-sleeved gown over red-dyed trailing trousers, and beside him walked a page on either side with the elastic step of young deer. He glared rightwards and leftwards, shading his eyes with his hand; of very truth a fearful monster he appeared to be, but the adventurers preserved an unmoved countenance.

"Well, the Dôji sat him down on the mats, and broke into a laugh as he rolled his eyes and stared and glared at the adventurers, who withstood his grim glances with composure. 'What hath brought ye hither,' he said, 'among these lofty mountains and rugged rocks, where is no path but that which leads to destruction?' He frowned terribly as he spoke, shading his eyes, and a horror passing words fell on Yorimitsu and his comrades. The Dôji then turned to his retainers, and in a loud voice commanded them to bring drink wherewith to refresh the strangers. 'Tis somewhat dark in hue, our *saké*,' exclaimed the Dôji, as he drank deeply of what the attendants offered him, and bade Yorimitsu partake thereof. So Yorimitsu partook thereof, and after him Tsuna and the others in due turn. When they had thus drunk the terrible draught—for it was blood that was given them to drink—they cried, 'What! *saké* without *sakana*,[1] drink without victuals?' A fair white human leg was accordingly set before them together with salt. Yorimitsu drew his short sword and cut off a morsel,

[1] The Japanese rarely drink their rice-beer (*saké*) without the accompaniment of solid food, usually fish. Fish is therefore often termed 'sakana,' which originally meant any vegetable food eaten with *saké*.

and put salt to it and ate it, and Tsuna did likewise. But the rest of the adventurers excused themselves, saying that they were *yamabushi*, and under vows of abstinence and purity. The Dôji thus entertained the adventurers to prove them, and though their hearts were ill at ease after the dreadful feast, none showed any sign of the least discomposure, so that their host was angered at their firm bearing.

"Having thus eaten and drunk, Yorimitsu said: 'We too carry some slight means of refreshing any brother we may meet with, pray deign to partake thereof.' The Dôji fell in with their humour, and asked for a draught of Miyako *saké*. The request was just what Yorimitsu desired, and he hastened to pour out some of the *saké* he had brought with him. Then Tsuna offered more *saké*, and the Dôji drank and drank again till he began to lose his wits. Seeing this, the adventurers poured out some of the drugged *saké*, and wheedled and coaxed the monster until he had ten times drunk deeply thereof."

The description of the orgy may be omitted. The Dôji sends for two damsels to tend him, and the daughter of Kunimasa and the daughter of Hanazono appear. He then tempts the adventurers to remain at the castle, where he has lived in undisturbed luxury since Kôbô retired from the world to Mount Kôya, a hundred years before. Scanning the features of Yorimitsu and Yasumasa, he declares they much resemble the heroes bearing those names, from whom alone does he apprehend any danger. They stand his gaze without flinching, giving themselves out to be simple *yamabushi* from Dewa, who have lost their way in the course of their pilgrimage round the principal shrines of Japan. The Dôji accepts the explanation, and after witnessing a dancing match between one of the retainers and Kintoki, in the course of which Tsuna nearly betrays himself, and some of the retainers begin to harbour suspicions, retires bemused with drink to his sleeping apartment, desiring the two maidens to rule the feast for him. Then the adventurers ply the retainers with the drugged *saké*, and reduce them to the same condition to which they had brought the Dôji.

The two maidens declare who they are, and recount the fate of the daughter of the official Horiye, whose flesh it was that had been set before them. The daughter of Kunimasa further relates the manner of her abduction. The adventurers now reveal their names and mission, and are encouraged by the two maidens to fall confidently upon the Dôji and his men. They arm themselves, Yorimitsu putting the steel cap the ancient had given him under his helmet, and under the guidance of the damsels pass through various courts until they arrive at an iron door in a stone-faced parapet.

"They thrust with all their might against the door, but they could not stir it, and were at their wits' end what to do. While they stood there perplexed, of a sudden the ancient and his two companions appeared, and the ancient gave to Yorimitsu four lengths of iron rope wherewith to bind the monster. Then the three strangers thrust against the door so mightily that the bolts thereof were broken into pieces and it slid suddenly back, whereupon the three strangers disappeared like an effaced writing.

"At last the adventurers come to a vast palisade of iron, in the middle of which lay the Dôji with his head reclining on a pillow. Nigh his couch were ranged various weapons, halberds, a huge axe, a spear and a metal club. His appearance was surprisingly different from that under which they had just seen him; his hair streaming out like pointed spears, his huge limbs shaggy as a bear's, and his stature that of a giant twenty feet high. He lay on his back, his limbs sprawling, and ten damsels were busily chafing and rubbing them amid the din of his prodigious snoring.

"The adventurers, delighted at the sight, broke their way in, and with the rope of iron bound the monster's limbs to the four corners of the palisade. He lay the while like a corpse, so deep was his stupor. Then Tsuna and Kintoki attacked him, and Yorimitsu, standing at his head, thrice struck at his neck with the magic sword, and at the third stroke beheaded the monster. So direfully did the body struggle, that the whole castle shook mightily, and it seemed

as if roofs and walls would tumble down in crashing ruin. The head, meanwhile, leaped into the air, spewing out poisonous breath, and flew at Yorimitsu, gripping his helmet savagely in its jaws, so that but for the charmed steel cap he wore it would have gone hard with him, for the teeth bit through the helmet and were stopped by the latter only. The hero was in truth in parlous peril."[1]

After the destruction of the Dôji, that of his retainers is comparatively an easy matter, though some of them, who had not come under the influence of the drugged *saké*, are not overcome without trouble. The castle is then ransacked, and thirty damsels are found in it, whose joy at their deliverance is described as "unbounded like that of wicked priests, to whom the grace of Buddha has remitted the merited punishments in Hell." Many terrible evidences of the Dôji's ferocity and savage appetite are met with, and the corpse of the daughter of Horiye is pointed out, from which a lock of hair is taken as a memorial for her parents. Somewhat unexpectedly, the adventurers are attacked by the Rock-Bear Dôji and the Bronze-Bear Dôji, whom they had forgotten, and who are not overcome till a stratagem is resorted to.

"It was they who, piling up huge boulders and hollowing out vast caverns, had constructed the Dôji's lair, but now were the palaces and pavilions and painted courts vanished and passed away, and nought but the bare rocks and the empty caverns left, neither had the Dôji's crew risen into the air or flown away like birds, but all were utterly destroyed."

"When men heard at the capital that Yorimitsu and Yasumasa and their comrades were returning with the heads of the Dôji and his crew, they sallied forth in unnumbered crowds to meet the heroes. And all the magnates of the city were there, and the military barons with many thousands, it was reported, of their vassals, and from the fourth ward to the high street of the third ward so great was the throng of high and low, nobles and common men, *kagos* and

[1] The death of the Dôji is represented in Plate IV.

horses, that men said that not even in the days of the God-Emperors, nor ever again to the end of time, had been or would be such a sight seen. The safe return of the daughter of Kunimasa was hailed with exceeding joy by her parents and all their household, but when it was inquired of the fate of the daughter of Horiye, and her sorrowful end was told by the damsels whom Yorimitsu had released, the faces of those who asked grew pallid with grief, and their hearts were filled with misery; and when the tress of her hair was delivered into the hands of her father, he said: 'Now is left to us nought but this memorial of our daughter, and as the days and the years flit by, how can we see her again save in dreams; our pain and grief is without end.' Then he went to the chapel of his family, and with due rites worshipped all the Buddhas, and the fame of his piety and devotion was noised throughout the land.

"Yorimitsu was deeply grateful to the War-God, at whose shrine he had gone to pray upon receiving His Majesty's commands, for the help vouchsafed him, and his trusty comrades did not forget in due order to offer up thanks to the gods, whose grace they had invoked, and whose favouring aid had made it possible for them to win through all the perils of their enterprise, and attain a renown that would endure through the ages. Nor was the wondrous power of the puissant physiognomist left unnoticed, and his praise was in the mouths of all men, from the Sole-Highest down to the common people. And some one said: 'Of a truth the Cloistered Emperor Ichijô [1] hath come again among us, and in Yorimitsu we see the rebirth of Bishamon.[2] The Mikado hath desired to make the doctrine of Buddha known to his

[1] The Emperor Ichijô was the sixty-sixth Mikado from Jimmu, and began to reign in A.D. 987.

[2] Bishamon or Tamonten is another deity of the Septad of Happiness. He is Vaiśravaṇa, one of the four Heaven-kings (Shatur Mahârâja), who stand at the corners of Mount Meru and defend the world from evil influences. Bishamon watches over the northern region. He is usually imaged with a spear in the left hand, fixed firmly in the ground, and a small pagoda in the right containing relics of former Buddhas. Sometimes he stands upon clouds, and his feet are often represented as resting on the shoulders of a woman. Among the Septad he is the one least often invoked. (See Puini, cited above.)

people, that salvation might come to mankind, and Yorimitsu —eager to drive back the enemies of the faith, and to guard our homes and hearths—hath he not become transformed as it were into the main column of the military order; and by reason of a solemn oath, taken in view of our great distress, and that succour might be given to the mass of human beings, have these thankworthy deeds been done. This Shiūten Dôji was a Demon-King of the following of Dairoku-ten,[1] of those who despise the Law and contemn the majesty of the Illustrious Prince,[2] and are bitter enemies of the Way of Buddha, striving to assume for themselves eternal power —against whom the practice of virtue can alone guard us.'

"Well, now! through the great valour and exceeding merit of Yorimitsu and his companions, worthy of such honour as hath never before been bestowed, came the happiness and prosperity of the Empire to be assured, wealth and work to abound in town and country, the majesty and righteousness of the Illùstrious King to be more than ever manifest, and no man to be animated by a wish to set down anywhere a destructive heel."

I subjoin, as further illustrating the manner in which subjects of this kind were treated by the writers of old Japan, a life of Yorimitsu, epitomised from the 日本百將傳一夕話 *Nippon hiyaku shō den isseki wa* 'An Evening's Batch of Stories about the Hundred Heroes of Nippon;' a version of the legend taken from the 頼光朝臣勲功圖繪 *Yorimitsu ason kunkô dzuye* 'Pictured Record of the Mighty Deeds of the Noble Yorimitsu;' and a very brief notice from the 和漢三才圖繪 *Wakan sansai dzuyē* 'Illustrated Japanese and Chinese Encyclopædia of the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, and Man).'

[1] Dai-roku-ten, the last of the six Dêvalôkas, Paranirmita Vaśavartin, where dwells Mâra (Ma-wō), king of the world of lust, Khâmadhâtu the tempter and devil of Buddhism, who breathes into men the evil thoughts that lead to wicked actions.

[2] An interesting Japanese life of Buddha, translated by Mr. Satow, will be found in the Introduction to the Handbook above cited.

Yorimitsu[1] was a member of the Minamoto family, and was born on the 24th of the 7th month of 1st year of Tenriyaku (A.D. 947). His mother was the lovely daughter of the Lord of Ômi. In youth he was known as Monjiu maru.

In the 2nd year of Kôho (A.D. 965) he performed *gembuku* (*i.e.* shaved off his forelock and attained a sort of majority), and took the name of Minamoto no Yorimitsu. In the 3rd year of Ten-roku (A.D. 972) he was made Assistant-Governor of Kadzusa, and in the 3rd year of Ten-yen (A.D. 975), through a lucky dream, had further good fortune. The next year he was called to the capital, and gained Tsuna, Kintoki and Suyetaké as faithful retainers. Strange things occurred at the palace, and the guardianship of the Kimmon (Prohibited Gate) was entrusted to him. His duties preventing him from communicating with a lady whom he loved, he sent a message to her by Tsuna, and the latter on his return saved the Emperor as he was crossing a bridge in the palace grounds, by cutting off a goblin-arm. The goblin had assumed the form of Tsuna's aunt, but on the arm being severed, revealed its true character. Various prodigies that had troubled the palace then ceased. Yorimitsu was about this time attacked by a severe malady (was it, says the author naïvely, through exposure to the chills of Autumn?), and afterwards received from the Goddess Shôkuwa the divine arrows, water-penetrating and weapon-fending, the wondrous bow that shot beyond the thunder, and the *shitatare* or surcoat dyed maple-red. As to the exact dates at which these gifts were bestowed the author regrets that he is unable to give them. In the 3rd year of Yei-yen (A.D. 989) the hero led an expedition against the rebel Yoshikado, who had got together a band of 450 outlaws, and Yoshikado, after being disabled by Yorimitsu, fell by the hand of Tsuna.

In the 11th year of Shô-reki (A.D. 990) news came from the Commissioner of Tamba, of the depredations committed

[1] Often called Raikô in Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the characters wherewith the name is written.

by a band of robbers that haunted Mount Ohoye. Yorimitsu, disguising himself and his trusty followers as *yamabushi* on a pilgrimage, effected an entrance into the bandit's cave, and slew their chief, who was known as Shiuten Dôji. A few years afterwards, when on a visit to his brother at the capital, he was shown the goblin of Ichinohara in chains, a wretch given up to evil and anti-Buddha practices. Yorimitsu advised that he should be more heavily fettered, and, full of wicked spite at this, the goblin exerted all his strength, broke his bonds, and escaped. Yorimitsu, with his fellows, was quickly on his track. The goblin lay in ambush, hidden under a bull's hide, but Yorimitsu nevertheless slew him and cut off his head. Mount Ibuki, where many of the Dôji's retainers had intrenched themselves, was next invested and fell. The garrison were thrown down a precipice. Numbers of women who had been abducted, wives torn from loving husbands and daughters from affectionate parents, were set free, and great was the joy of the people and unbounded their gratitude to the Minamoto house. Afterwards Yorimitsu was created Commander-in-chief of the northern provinces. Finally he was created Lord of Settsu, and dwelt at Tada. Then he began to reflect on the vanity of life, and the pollutions of the world, and the uncertainty of man's existence whether young or old.

On the 24th of the 7th month of the 11th year of Ji-an (A.D. 1022), the year of the great earthquake, the noble Ason departed this life at the age of sixty-eight. His illness was not long, and soon parted soul from body, and to the yellow fountain of the dark land he fared. For years his henchmen had hoped to give their lives for him, and now miserably saw their lord pass away before them. His tablet was added to those in the family Hall of Complete Happiness at Tada. For three months his faithful followers mourned him daily. Then Kintoki said to the other three: "Out of gratitude to my lord I must not neglect his will, nor linger here, nor break the bond." To him Tsuna answered: "Nay, Kintoki, what wouldst thou? For tens of thousands of years our lord will be among his noble kin, and how should he

depart from among them and whither?" So he sought to dissuade Kintoki, but Kintoki answered nothing, and like a leaf swept by the wind, swaying hither and thither, fared on.

The story of the Dôji is thus told in the Kunkô: On tidings arriving from Tamba of the depredations of the robber Shiūten Dôji, Yorimitsu was commanded to destroy him. Forces were collected, and Yorimitsu, accompanied by his four henchmen, and afterwards joined by Yasumasa, proceeded towards the mountain where the bandit had his lair. On the way he was attacked by illness, and had a dream in which Hachiman appeared to him under the guise of a white-haired old man, who counselled him to use stratagem and adopt a mean carriage and attire so as to procure entrance into the Dôji's haunt. In addition, the hero was recommended to pray with special fervour to the God of Sumiyoshi. Yorimitsu told his dream to his comrades, and they agreed that seeing the Dôji to be possessed of supernatural powers, such a stratagem was legitimate. Finally, on the advice of Yasumasa, it was resolved that the six should put on the dress of *Yamabushi*, and leaving their forces behind them, penetrate thus disguised into the Dôji's castle, and, without other aid, attempt to subdue him. So they set out, under cover of a pretext afforded by a temporary illness of Yorimitsu, and after a time came to a shrine, and upon asking a priest, who happened to be there, to what god it was dedicated, were told that the deity was the Gongen Komiya. Now it was precisely at this shrine that they had been enjoined, some time previously, to worship, and they did so accordingly with great fervour throughout the night, procuring the priest to place their written petition for the god's help in the sanctuary. Then they went on and arrived at a place where the path ran right and left, and they knew not which way to follow. They detained a lad who came hastening by, but he tried hard to get away, saying that he was in a terrible hurry. "O unkind fellow," cried Tsuna, "see you not we are of those who drink of the stream of Yen no

Shôkaku? Who dare refuse to help the servants of Buddha, and thus lose his chance of being rewarded hereafter?" At last the lad consented, though reluctantly, to guide them to the Dôji's lair, saying that he was in so great haste because he was carrying news to the Dôji of the progress of the expedition (of which Yorimitsu had confided the command, during his absence, to Yorikuni, his son) that had been sent against his master, and was now investing Mount Ohoye, the robber's chief stronghold. Then the six comrades made as if they were greatly afraid, and inquired if the Dôji was not a terrible monster, of superhuman might, and a cannibal to boot? The lad said it was not quite as reported in the world. The Dôji's mother was pregnant with him for sixteen months, and could not bring him forth. So she died, and the child made his way unassisted out of her womb, and could already both walk and talk. He led a wild life among the hills, but the bears and wolves never touched him. An endeavour was made to reclaim him, but in vain, and he could not be made to rest among men's haunts, but again fled to the hills. He became possessed of wonderful powers, and made himself a lair on Mount Ohoyé, whence, aided by the Demon of Mount Atago, he broke into the capital from time to time and stole many youths and women, whom he took to Senjô. He could drink a tun of *saké* without getting drunk, but if drunk, he lost much of his power. Thus at least it was said of him—the lad being a mere underling, knew nothing himself. After painful climbing, the six now approached the Dôji's cave, and with disgust saw the ground about the entrance strewn with the relics of his cannibal feasts. They were brought before the Dôji, and found him to be a burly fellow, some ten feet high, with blood-shot eyes and big red face. The Dôji, who had been told they were *yamabushi*, eyed them suspiciously, but Yasumasa, by adroitly answering his questions, reassured him, and he commanded that refreshments should be set before them—bear's flesh, and monkey's flesh, and also a strange flesh they could not recognize. *Saké* was brought too, and they all drank and drank together

till the Dôji, flustered by the debauch, made off to his chamber. A wily fellow who had observed their behaviour then got them into an apartment, where he fastened them all in. But by a device of Yorimitsu they got out, and made straight for the Dôji's chamber, and reviled him till his eyes blazed with passion and he ground his teeth with rage. Then they fell upon him, and Yorimitsu, drawing his famous heirloom the devil-rending sword, after a struggle, hacked off his head.

The author of the Kunkô gives it as his opinion that Shiūten was merely a common robber whom Yorimitsu, to add lustre to his destruction of the brigand and his band, invested with supernatural powers and superhuman strength.

In the Wakan sanzai, in the description of the province of Tamba, a brief notice of the Dôji is contained. He is said to have smeared his face with vermilion, so as to make himself look like a demon, the better to frighten folk. Raiko was eventually commanded to destroy him and his crew, and procuring entrance into his stronghold under the disguise of *yamabushi*, the hero and his four henchmen, aided by Yasumasa, slew the monster and his myrmidons. "In these and similar tales," concludes the cynical author of the Wakan, "where the bandit is said to be an 'oni' (devil), the fiction is used simply to exalt the valour of the destroyers of these pests."

Note.

Yorimitsu is also the hero of the well-known story of the Spider-Demon given in the Kunkô. Great storms broke over Miyako, followed by fires and pestilence, and vast numbers of people lost their lives, so that a terrible distress fell upon all the city. The Mikado, ascribing these calamities to his own want of righteousness, prayed at the shrines of all the gods in succession, and the command of the guard that accompanied him was given to Yorimitsu. Dreadful earthquakes occurred, heavy clouds hung over the capital, day was turned into night, and it seemed as though the end of the world was at hand. The Emperor, in despair, abdicated, and Yorimitsu, relieved of his guard, returned to his lodging. His mind was much unsettled by the terrible scenes he had gone through; and as he was passing by a *hagi* (lespedeza) bush heavy with dew, he felt himself attacked by a sudden illness, and had to take to his bed, where he lay consumed by a high fever. His comrades, distressed beyond measure, nursed him

carefully. The court physician was sent to him and declared that the illness was caused by the shock of the autumn chills meeting suddenly with the summer heats. On one occasion during his illness Yorimitsu happened to be left alone, and fell into a sort of wakeful trance, during which he heard a voice singing the song of the Princess Sotôri who loved an Emperor:

Waga seko ga	My darling (*lit.* child on back)!
kubeki yoi nari;	this night shall he come to me;
sasagani no	by the action of the spider,
kumo no furumai,	the 'sasagani' spider,
kanete shirushi mo!	I know it beforehand.

A play upon words seems here intended, which I shall not attempt to extricate. He looked up and saw that the singer was a strange priest, who continued, "'Tis I who have caused this illness!" Then he felt as it were a network of thread thrown over him. Yorimitsu made an effort to cut the intruder down, but the strange priest vanished. The noise of the blow aroused his comrades, and Yasumasa, who was his maternal uncle and bore him much love, was greatly disturbed by the story. On examination, they found blood-stains, and following these as a clue, with the help of torches, were led to a great mound outside behind Kitano. Applying their ears to the mound, they heard a sound of smothered groaning, and hastily digging a deep hole in it, they spied something wriggling as big as the root of a tree. They took this as a defiance, and grasping the object pulled at it with all their might, but could not move it. However, by dint of great exertions, they contrived at last to make the object yield to their efforts, and drew out a huge spider with a gaping wound on its back. They drew their swords and struck at it, whereupon it roared like a bull, and it was not without much ado that they were able to kill the monster, which was afterwards exhibited to the people, who greatly admired the prowess of Yorimitsu's comrades. The author of the Kunkô explains the legend as evolved out of a popular confusion of the word *tsuchi-gumo* 'a burrowing-spider,' with *tsuchi-gomori* 'the aboriginal pit or cave-dwellers,' the remains of whose underground habitations are found in many provinces of Japan. Similar dwellings seem to be still used in Yezo. See Trans. Asiat. Soc. Japan.

My friend Mr. Anderson, F.R.C.S., has collected some traditions bearing upon the youth of Shiūten Dôji. He is represented as the dissolute son of a dissolute father, abandoned by his family, and driven to lead a wild life among the hills. There he is joined by a crew of fearful beings, aided by whom he harries the country, carrying off women and treasure to his stronghold, where he occupies the intervals between his raids with drinking-bouts and cannibal orgies. The traditions, however, are very various, and not particularly interesting. In the story we have doubtless a nucleus of reality, overlaid by a mass of legendary matter, invented by Buddhist priests and chroniclers of the deeds of popular heroes. A very imperfect version of the tale has recently been published in a German collection of Japanese stories called Fusô Chawa.

ART. II.—*Buddhist Remains near Sámbhur, in Western Rajputana, India.* By Surgeon-Major T. H. HENDLEY, M.R.A.S.

(*Read Nov.* 17, 1884.)

THE Sámbhur Lake, as the most important salt source in North-West India, must have always been a possession of value; it is, therefore, astonishing that there are few indications of a large population in ancient times having existed along its shores, notwithstanding that it is, in the rainy season, twenty miles in length, with a maximum width of seven miles and a half.

Modern Sámbhur (the *Deoyáni Tank*) preserves the tradition that it was the place to which came Devyáni, the daughter of Shubira, the spiritual guide of Rája Brishaparva (ruler of the giants), to bathe with the daughter of the king. The legend states that the princess put on the clothes of the young Brahman woman, who upbraided her—the daughter of a Shúdra—for so doing, and that, in revenge, the royal lady threw her companion into the tank or well now shown at Sámbhur and then deserted her. She is said to have been rescued by Yáyati, king of Uttara Kund or Northern India, the sixth in descent from the moon, who married her. Now, whatever historical truth may underlie this legend, it is evident that little was known of any important ruling race at Sámbhur prior to the seventh century A.D.; for it is stated in the local histories that Manika Rai, the Chohán, in A.D. 625, after the expulsion of his family from Ajmír by an Islamite missionary—driven by force from Sind, the first of many religious hordes that came this way—retired to Sámbhur, then a rich plain, and that the guardian goddess

of his race gave him all the ground he could encompass in a day, provided he did not look back. He disobeyed, and found his possession a mass of silver, which fortunately became converted into salt.

It is well known that the district was ruled by the Chohán race, whose greatest sovereign, Prithi Ráj, the last Hindu king of Dehli and Ajmír, or indeed of India, was proud to be styled Sámbri Raj or Lord of Sámbhur.

The modern town of Sámbhur, the houses of which are chiefly built of masses of 'kunkur,' or concretions of carbonate of lime, found in huge blocks in the neighbourhood beyond the Deoyáni tank, contains no very ancient buildings, though there are many fragments of carved stones in the raised mounds on which the place stood in Chohán times. A number of images of the same period are preserved in the Jaipur Museum, which were taken a few years since from the bed of the Deoyáni tank, probably indicating that there was once a great temple near this place. Narána, eight miles from the lake—now the head-quarters of the Dádu Panthi sect—is evidently an ancient town, but the old pillars and other relics found there are not older than the Chohán period. In an old mosque on the margin of the Narána lake are five rows of ten pillars, carved in the richest style, of the period which produced the columns at the Arhni din Vi or Jomphra at Ajmír and at the Kutb of Dehli, or the temple of the Lord of Joy at Harashináth near Seekar, which was founded in the year A.D. 961 by a Chohán chief. It is said, also, that Narána was a Buddhist centre.

It has been my duty to visit Sámbhur at frequent intervals for some years past. I have, therefore, been much interested to learn whether there were indications of the presence of the Buddhists in this neighbourhood; whether, in short, any people had left ruins of an older date than the Chohán period. Mr. Lyon, Assistant Commissioner of Inland Revenue at Sámbhur, informed me that it had long been the custom for rich persons in the town, who desired to build houses of a rather better type than those of "kunkur," to send to what was termed "Old Sámbhur," or the "Purána

Khera" (the old mound), out of which, with very little trouble, large bricks could be dug suitable for the purpose. These old mounds are beyond the Naley a Surr, a fresh-water lake, a mile long, separated from the salt lake by about half a mile of high ground. They cover a considerable extent of land, now honey-combed with pits which have been dug for the old bricks, and are highest above a piece of water which was evidently part of a large artificial lake whose embankment has long since been cut through, so that only a small portion of the area is now flooded.

Feeling sure that here, if anywhere, traces of an early population would be found, I, as Honorary Secretary to the Jaipur Museum Committee, laid the matter before the Jaipur Council, and H.H. the Maharaja kindly permitted excavations to be made and furnished funds for the purpose. Mr. Lyon was good enough to superintend the work, and I went out from time to time to see what had been done.

Trenches were cut in those parts of the mounds which appeared to be most promising, and were carried down to a depth of over twenty feet. The excavations were not sufficiently extended to enable us to decide the direction of streets, or even to determine where the most important buildings stood; but we came to the conclusion that most of the houses were of brick and, also, of several stories in height. The rooms were small, with very thick walls of large bricks. The people would seem to have been poor, as we discovered nothing of great intrinsic value, or made of the precious metals, though we heard a rumour that some gold vessels and ornaments had once been found, but had crumbled to dust shortly after their removal. The bricks were burnt and were very large, similar to those obtained at Nagur, an extraordinary old site on the estate of the Mirára Raja, about sixty miles to the south-west, which has been explored by the officers of the Archæological Survey of India. We also came upon many clay vessels, and pinnacles of temples or buildings, together with masses of pure charcoal, some in earthen pots.

It will, perhaps, be of value to give a complete list of the articles discovered, accompanied by such remarks as may be suggested by them.

1. There were many beads perforated, so as to be worn as necklaces or bracelets. Amongst them were:

a. A small model in clay of a Buddhist stupa, covered with a thin layer of sky-blue enamel, perforated near the base.

b. A smaller clay stupa.

c. Beads of blue and green glass.

d. A bead of black obsidian.

e. A shell bead.

f. A round ivory bead.

g. A cylindrical ivory bead.

h. Three cut rounded carnelian beads.

j. Two long barrel-shaped carnelian beads, with an incised white pattern cut into hexagons. The grooves are deeply cut, and filled with a hard white substance.

k. A pale carnelian round bead.

l. A flat crystal bead.

2. Shells not now found near Sámbhur having a beautiful mother-o'-pearl coat.

3. Half shells, with two spirals rubbed down by hand, to serve some useful purpose.

4. More or less perfect spikes of bone, from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, sharply pointed at both ends; some flat, others rudely bevelled round. Gen. Cunningham (Archæological Reports, vol. iii. p. 51) considers that similar specimens may have been used as tree nails; but, here, they were associated with masses of iron, a metal more suitable for the purpose. Gen. Cunningham thinks the absence of holes or notches is against the theory of their being arrow-heads, but the fact that modern Bhil arrow-points have no such marks, and are only bound to the shaft by thongs, is in favour of it.

Further remarks on these spikes will be made later on.

5. Fragments of ivory or bone bracelets, some broad, others narrow.

Many were cut to receive in all probability bands of metal. One of them has a copper pin fastened in the end.

Throughout Western India such bracelets are still worn, especially in Márwár, the border of which extends to the Sámbhur Lake. They are made in large quantities at Páli, formerly a great mart of the West, and still an important commercial town.

6. Fragments of agate bracelets. The neighbourhood of Cambay explains the presence of such articles.

7. A piece of blue enamelled clay.

8. A black tusk-shaped stone. Possibly a seal.

9. A five-pointed clay figure, perforated for suspension.

10. Pieces of mica, perforated.

11. A fragment of a green glass bowl, or of a bracelet.

12. Fragments of a steatite box, shaped like a stupa, the cover of which was nearly perfect. The base was a disc, and the bowl part was quite distinct.

There were also fragments of a second box. (See Plate 46, Archæological Reports.)

13. An hour-glass clay seal, having on one end the great seal of the Buddhist Trinity, on the other a lotus flower. The seal is shaped like the Morah or Ráj Palang, on which Gautama sat when the Buddhic influence came upon him.

14. A terra-cotta figure with open mouth, folded arms, and bent thighs; legs missing. Broad and flat. Perforated for suspension from the head. The legs were probably crossed. The image may be one of Buddha.

15. Two flat, oblong, bone heads, perforated at the four corners to make part of a bracelet.

16. A dome-shaped seal of clay, with a pattern raised all over the large facet on the base, and with six facets on the side of the dome, and one on the top.

The side facets diminish in size from right to left. Upon the first is a triangular figure with five bars, the number being very characteristic of Buddhism. Five represents the number of Buddhas in the present system of the universe, and three the Buddhist Trinity—that is, Buddha, the Law,

and the Congregation. The next facet is marked with a letter and symbols, and the four remaining ones have upon them the Swástika or mystic Buddhist cross, representing the motion of the Heavenly bodies and the Wheel of the Law. The seventh I do not know.

17. A clay seal. Flat, and with round patterns all over it.

18. A rude clay seal, with a deeply-cut figure, something like the form of a man, upon it.

19. A portion of the handle of a smooth terra-cotta vessel, with a figure in high relief carrying upon his head a flat vessel, in which is a weight of some kind. This he supports with his hand, and his legs are almost bent double with the weight. It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

The same subject appears in some old pillars at Narána.

20. A red clay human female figure, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, projecting from a piece of rough clay. The breasts are very prominent, and she wears a petticoat.

21. A block of clay, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with a very well modelled figure of a tiger on one face in high relief, evidently the work of a man of some artistic talent.

22. A block of clay $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, cut behind into two long depressions, and in front into a figure with wings.

23. The bust of a grotesque female figure with long ears.

24. A red clay figure of a cow with the legs and head broken off.

25. Clay figures. Bulls.

26. Figures of a man.

27. Figure of a man with a projection behind to keep it upright.

28. The same as No. 27, of black clay. These figures were evidently toys.

29. A seated female figure in clay, four inches high. The head is bent over what looks like a child borne on her knees. She wears massive anklets and bracelets.

30. A clay figure of a monkey carrying a rock or ball in his hands. It is covered with specks of yellow metal, the remains, in all probability, of a gold coat.

31. A clay spout of a vessel shaped like a crocodile's mouth. It is covered with blue enamel.

32. The head and neck of a horse with trappings. In clay.

33. A kind of clay pestle with a hole in it.

34. A piece of a steatite box.

35. About thirty coins, the inscriptions of which are no longer decipherable.

36. Two copper rings.

37. A copper bell-shaped ornament 1⅛ in. high, exactly like small copper Roman bells in the Guildhall Museum.

38. A fragment of a fine terra-cotta bowl, three inches in diameter, with incised patterns.

39. A similar specimen to No. 38, with the custard-apple pattern.

40. Another with an animal pattern.

41. The bottom of a bowl.

42. The cover of a bowl.

43. Fragments with different patterns.

44. A fragment with the custard-apple pattern.

45. Red clay fragments of bowls; one with a twisted band pattern.

46. Clay figures.

47. A round crystal pebble, worn smooth.

48. Pieces of touch-stone, with marks of gold upon them.

49. Pieces of white pottery.

50. Eight red clay reels, marked with grooves evidently made with thread. These were found with

51. What Mr. Rivett-Carnac terms spindle-whorls, flat wheel-shaped discs, perforated in the centre.

52. A number of round clay bodies like marbles, one of which had cross marks and holes upon it.

53. Besides these were many similar loaf-shaped bodies, perforated from the top to the bottom; some were grooved all round.

54. There were, also, a few round bodies of clay, perforated, and similar in shape.

55. Five large stone balls.

56. A large pear-shaped ball.

57. Two clay reels.

It has been stated that the conical and round clay bodies were votive offerings, that the plain ones were given in the hope that certain wishes might be realized, and those that were pierced as thank-offerings; but the association with them of reels, distinctly marked by the thread, is in favour of their being connected with the weaving process. In the Guildhall Museum in London there are a number of conical bodies exactly like those just described, which are labelled as whorls used in spinning. There are also spindles about five inches long, not at all unlike the so-called tree-nails found in the Sámbhur Mound.

Round and loaf-shaped bodies, such as those just described, are found in many parts of the world. There is a fine series in the Royal Irish Academy's Museum of Irish Antiquities in Dublin, where they are described as "Whorls of weights attached to the end of the distaff." One in particular, No. 66, a plummet whorl, also called a "Fairy Millstone," is marked with concentric rings, and differs in no way from many of the bodies found at Sámbhur. This exact resemblance of articles found in countries so far apart as India and Ireland is remarkable. I was also, I may observe here, much struck with the filigree chain attached to the celebrated penannular "Tara" brooch found near Drogheda, which is preserved in the same collection. The threads of the chain are woven exactly in the same way, and the fastenings formed in the same manner as the work of any Hindu sonár or goldsmith in Rájputána. Did the Irishman and Hindu learn their art from Byzantine masters?

58. Portions of vessels.

59. Part of a copper vessel or lamp, and numerous fragments of copper rings.

60. Many balls and masses of iron of great weight and size, honeycombed with rust.

61. A slab with two figures upon the upper part, crowned with the sun and the moon respectively, and a much-defaced inscription in old Hindi characters. This is the only Hindu relic, and, if not thrown into the pits by the brick-hunters,

was probably only a Suttee stone, similar to many which are found in the neighbourhood, which might have been put up at any period as a rude monument to a Rájput who fell in this neighbourhood.

The beads, shells, and toys are very similar to those found at Nagar, and many of the articles are like those peculiar to known Buddhist sites. The seals and boxes are undoubtedly Buddhist. I think, therefore, that we may rightly conclude that this old mound is the site of a Buddhist town of some importance, as its walls were washed by a large tank, of which much of the embankment still remains, and as it covers a great extent of ground. The neighbouring salt lake must have always yielded a great revenue, but it was not necessary for the people to live upon the shores. It was of much more importance for them to possess a good site suitable for defence, with fresh water at hand, and such the old Khern afforded.

The Sámbhur Lake would be on the border of the province of Bairát, which, according to General Cunningham's reading of the famous Chinese Pilgrim's Itinerary, was on the west, a line drawn from Jhunjhnú to Ajmír.

ART. III.—*On the Bearing of the Study of the Bántu Languages of South Africa on the Aryan Family of Languages.* By the Rev. F. W. KOLBE,[1] late Missionary of the German Society of Barmen in Damara-Land, South Africa. Author of the English-Hereró Dictionary. Prepared at the request of R. N. Cust, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

(*Read Nov.* 17, 1884.)

IN 1784, just a century ago, the Asiatic Society was founded at Calcutta, and since then a great movement has been going on, leading to the discovery and study of Sanskrit and other

[1] The author of this paper has been nearly forty years as a Missionary in South Africa, chiefly among the Hereró, which in my sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa I have classed in the Western Sub-Branch of the Southern Branch of the Great Bántu Family of Languages in South Africa, South of the Equator. Under the patronage of our late President, Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. Kolbe last year published a Dictionary of the Hereró, and in 1868 a Pamphlet on the Law of the Vowels in that Language. In the Preface to his Dictionary he sets forth the principles, upon which the genius and laws of that language are based, the result of thirty years' reflection. He addressed me on the subject, and stated his conviction, that these laws apply as well to the origin of Aryan Languages, and indeed of Universal Language, and that, when that fact was acknowledged, Hereró would obtain its proper place in Philology. Not a single group of root-words in the Aryan family could, according to him, be properly understood without a knowledge of Bántu, especially of Hereró.

He then expressed his desire to avail himself of his leisure (for he had retired from Mission work, and settled down at Wynberg, near Cape Town) to write a volume on the Origin, Laws, and Forms, of the Hereró Language, explaining and exemplifying the principles, if he could receive some pecuniary assistance from Government or a Learned Society. I replied, that there was but slight hope of any favourable result to his application, but I encouraged him to prepare for the Journal of this Society an outline of his views on this important subject, which would at least bring them to the notice of the Scholars of Europe.

No doubt the Philological world has submitted to the tyranny of the Sanskritists too long, and a protest was required. Great as has been the service of that school in founding the Science of Comparative Philology on a sure and scientific basis, the time has come for a closer study of the marvellous linguistic phenomena of other Families of Languages, specially of so remarkable a one as the Bántu Languages of South Africa, and it is possible, that a thoroughgoing investigation of these and other Non-Aryan Families of Speech will open the way to a depth, which the plummet line of the Sanskritist has failed to reach. At any rate, until Philologists have done for these languages what has been done for the Aryan and Semitic Families, it seems in my opinion premature to commence any discussion as to the origin of Language.

R. N. CUST, Hon. Sec. to R.A.S.

Indian languages, and resulting in what is called Comparative Philology or the Science of Language.

Thus far, this science has succeeded in reducing the thousandfold varieties of human speech to a few large families, classifying them, on the basis of the principle of grammatic identity, into isolating, agglutinating and inflecting languages. On the common ground of universal language a few large circles have been drawn, and within the compass of these circles much that is beautiful and true has been brought to light. Many hundred thousands of words in the several dialects of a family have been reduced to about five hundred roots, a number of which are known to have such general meanings as "to move," "to go," "to stretch," etc. What an amount of labour must have been gone through ere this result was obtained!

Still it is acknowledged by some of the foremost workers in the field that only a commencement has been made, that, while numbers of languages have been classified morphologically, the question, "What is language?" still remains to be answered. If it is asked, how comes the word *smite* to mean "to strike," *send* "to cause to go out," and *eat* "to take food," or, why is the person speaking represented by *I*, the second person by *thou*, *you*, and the third by *he*, *they?* the solution of the mystery is searched for in vain in the Aryan Family. Of how very few words, remarks a distinguished philologist somewhere, do we know the true origin and meaning? I remember that once, in a conversation with the late Dr. Bleek, on my asking him, whether he was aware of any comparative philologist in Europe making Bántu his special study, this learned linguist said, "I don't believe there is one." And when I rejoined that, in that case, the science of language must be in a very backward state, he exclaimed, "O, die liegt ja noch in den windeln!" Now, if this is so, the writer of this paper, though not a professional philologist, may yet perhaps be excused, if he comes forward once more, as he has ventured to do on former occasions, to testify of what he believes to have found in Bántu, more especially Hereró, the most original

idiom in his opinion yet known of that family. Let learned linguists not ask, who is the writer? but rather, what does he say? and carefully examine the facts he brings here and elsewhere. Let the words of the great Faraday be remembered and adopted, "When Science is a republic, then it gains; and, though I am no republican in other matters, I am in that."

Prof. Max Müller says, "Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 70, "To those who approach etymological researches with any preconceived opinions, it must be a frequent source of disappointment, when they have traced a word through all its stages back to its first starting-point, to find in the end, or rather in the beginning, nothing but roots of the most general powers, meaning "to go, to move, to run, to do." But on closer consideration this, instead of being disappointing, should rather increase our admiration for the wonderful powers of language, man being able out of these vague and pale conceptions to produce names expressive of the minutest shades of thought and feeling." When I first read this, it made a deep impression on me, as the words confirmed to the letter what I myself, years ago, had found in Hereró, and the passage has since appeared to me, as the last milestone, which the labourers in the science of language have raised in working ahead. But meeting here with what would seem to be insurmountable engineering difficulties, most of them despair of moving onward, going over the old ground again and again, and wasting their time and strength in attending to questions which never can be satisfactorily settled in the Aryan family alone. Sanskrit is still being looked upon by many as *the* temple, centre, and source of philological truth. The learned author, just now quoted, says in his "Selected Essays," p. 201: "According to my conviction, though I know it is not shared by others, Sanskrit must for ever remain the central point of our studies." Now with all due deference to the superior learning and merits of that eminent philologist, I crave liberty to say that such a stand-point is untenable. Future researches will demonstrate that there is a family of lan-

guages in existence more primitive in form than the Aryan group: I mean the African Bántu family.

And in this view I am backed by no less an authority than Dr. Bleek. In the preface to his "Comparative Grammar of South African Languages," p. viii, he says, "The importance of the South African languages, and particularly of the Bántu and Hottentot, for comparative philology, or the so-called Science of language, cannot well be over-valued. Nay, it is perhaps not too much to say, that similar results may at present be expected from a deeper study of such primitive forms of language as the Bántu and Hottentot exhibit, as followed at the beginning of this century the discovery of Sanskrit and the comparative researches of Oriental scholars. The origin of the grammatical forms of gender and number, the etymology of pronouns, and many other questions of the highest interest to the philologist, find their true solution in Southern Africa." And again, in the Preface to Part II. p. xx: "The field of inquiry (in South Africa) is very large, and promises a wealth of important results and new discoveries. Yet, excepting those, who are practically engaged with one or another of these languages, scarcely any one has occupied himself with this branch of philology. . . . It is to be regretted, that the greater number of comparative philologists appear to be still in a sort of rudimentary stage, corresponding to that, in which zoologists would be, if they refused to study any animals excepting those directly useful to man, and their nearest kindred species. In fact, the so-called Indo-European Comparative Philology now occupies the same place that Classical Philology did fifty or sixty years ago. It will not go beyond itself, and, as it were, shuts its eyes to the possibility, that any other circle of languages can be akin to the Aryan. Yet it is clear, that the complex phenomena, which characterise the Aryan circle of languages, cannot be rightly understood without a careful examination of other languages of simpler organisation, which show more of the ancient structure."

In order to give the student, at the outset, some idea of

the superior completeness of form which we often meet with in Bántu, not only in the domain of the Pronoun, but also the Verb, I shall just call attention to the English verb to *eat*, a parallel form of which, would appear to exist in Bántu.

Eat, A. Sax. *etan*, Goth. *itan*, Icel. *eta*, Swed. *äta*, Dan. *äde*, Germ. *eszen*, Lat. *edo*, Sanskr. *ad*. Here our dictionaries stop. If we ask, what is the primary meaning of the word, how came *ad* to mean "to eat," to what group of roots does *ad* belong, I doubt, whether philologists will find a satisfactory answer in Sanskrit. In Hereró they will.

First of all we learn in Hereró, that a form like *ad* is not primitive. Each primitive root commences with a consonant and ends with a vowel. Thus *ad* (eat) is originally a dissyllabic word (just as in Chinese most of the so-called monosyllables are in reality crippled dissyllables), and its primary form must have been something like *(Y)AD(A)*, *(K)AD(A)* or, *(K)AT(A)*. And such a form does indeed exist in Hereró, with a meaning coming so near that I think we are fully justified, considering the close lexical affinity between Bántu and Aryan, to identify it with *ad* (eat). This word is k*ata* (pronounced *tyata*) = "to taste, have a pleasant taste, to like, to be agreeable": it (the food) tastes well, *mari tyata naua*; it (the thing, matter, food, etc.) pleases me, I like it, *tyi tyata ku ami*, lit. it-tasteful, agreeable-to-me. Now, if future researches should establish the identity of Sanskr. *ad* (eat) and Hereró k*ata* or *tyata* (taste), then we have first, in Hereró, the original form restored (*KATA*), and secondly we are taught here, that the primary meaning of the word is *to go together*, *to agree*, as food, hence to taste well, to taste, to enjoy food, to eat, so that, aided by Hereró, we should be able to supplement our dictionary as follows: Eat, v.t. A. Sax. *etan*, Goth. *itan*, Icel. *eta*, Swed. *äta*, Dan. *äde*, Germ. *eszen*, Dutch *eten*, Lat. *edo*, Sanskr. *ad*—Herero k*ata* (*tyata*) = to go together, to agree (as food), to taste well, to taste, to enjoy food, hence, in Aryan, to eat.

That the primary meaning of k*ata* (*tyata*) is to *go* we learn from the kindred forms which belong to the same group of

roots as k*ata*, and which will be treated further on. There we have first of all *yata* or *ata* (modified form of k*ata*), which means "to tread, step," nasalized or strengthened *yamda*, "to step firmly, walk briskly," run fast (properly *fest auftreten*), and then *kata*, in Hereró "to wither, shrivel," properly "to go or shrink together, coil up, fold together," in other dialects "to cleave to, stick to," primarily "to go close together," the vowel *a* signifying in *yata*, *yamda* (to tread, walk, run) *on the ground*, and in k*ata* (taste) and *kata* (walk, run) *together*. (See "Primeval Laws of the Vowels," in the Introduction to the writer's English-Hereró Dictionary, Cape Town and London, 1883.)

The Bántu languages must not be judged from the scanty material of folk-lore found in them. Now and then a sparkling gem may appear, as, for instance, on p. 105 of the Cape Folk-lore Journal, where we read: "When Utyaka died, the king of the Zulu, at Duguza (Stanger, on the sea-coast), black people did not go there, they were afraid of his spirit. Even when passing, they fancied that they heard people talking at his grave, his spirits; and the white people, who lived there, left, through the number of his spirits, the snakes that were there. *The fire never reached his grave; it went out of its own accord, because the grass never got dry there on account of his shadow, the big shadow of Royalty;* because he was greater than all the other black kings," etc. The lines in italics strike me as truly poetical, and not unworthy of the genius of a Goethe or Shakespeare. But passages like this are rarely met with. As a rule, African Bántu folk-lore is not very interesting, except in so far as it aids the student in the study of the language.

Nor ought we to allow ourselves to be prejudiced by the present low condition of the people who speak the Bántu idioms. There is sufficient internal evidence in the latter to show, that the Bántu nations have sunk in the scale of culture; their ancestors must have been men of superior mental powers. Thus "to lop or prune" (Hereró *pupa*, *pumba*) is properly to *lighten* a tree; "to swear" (*yana*) is literally "to join, enter into a covenant"; the literal sense of Zulu *im-buzi*,

goat, is the *inquisitive, curious* animal (from *buza*, to inquire, be inquisitive); air is in Hereró **o**ru-mu-*inyo*, breath of space (from *oru-veze*, space, and *omu-inyo*, breath), and the morning-star is very poetically called *o-hing-o*u-*tuku*, chaser of the night. Just one more example to show how ingeniously some of the Hereró nouns have been formed. When I was staying in Damaraland, no proper word for *ladder* was known; so one was formed, *o*tyi-*romdero*, lit. a thing for to climb, from *ronda*, to climb. Now this word was formed in accordance with the laws of the language, and readily understood and accepted by all. Certainly not one of us dreamt of any one being able to invent a better one, for, is not a ladder an instrument for climbing? But the time came when I, for one, readily acknowledged the superior skill of the Bántu ancestors at word-building. After some years, my friend Mr. Rath discovered the ancient name for ladder in one of the pieces of folk-lore which he wrote down from the mouth of the natives, namely *o*m-*bande*: "und sie nahmen die leiter aus dem brunnen, *a rire tyi va isa mo ombande m'ondyombo*," lit. it-was-that-they-took-out-the-ladder-out of the well. And that this is the true ancient word for ladder appears from the parallel Ndonga form *o*m-*panzi*, ladder. But what is the etymology of *ombande?* For a long time it was a puzzle to me, but I think I found the clue at last. The word is derived from *panda* (*p* changing to *b* after the N- or M- prefix), the same root which we have in Hereró *pandeka* (*pand-eka*), to bind. The literal meaning of *om-bande* (ladder) is therefore *a band*, a means of connecting two places which are at some distance from each other, or two points, the one low and the other high. We can hardly conceive of a more beautiful name for ladder.

I fully endorse what I read on page 418 of Mr. R. N. Cust's "Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa," regarding the nature of Pongwe, a Bántu Language on the W. Coast. "J. L. Wilson writes that the students of the next generation will revel in the beauties of a Language, as elaborate in structure, and as musical in tone, as any of the old unspoken languages that delight the scholar.

The general structure is marked by so much regularity exactness and precision, so much order and philosophical arrangement, that it would require a long period, as well as important changes in the outward condition of the people, to effect any material change in the leading characteristics of their language. The vocabulary can be expanded to an almost unlimited extent, etc." Now if this can be said in truth of Pongwe, how much more are the words applicable to Hereró, which has preserved the original structure much better than the aforementioned or any other known Bántu dialect? Let us just place the formative prefixes of the noun, or, what amounts to the same, the roots of pronouns, in juxtaposition, with the hypothetical full primitive form in front, printed in italic capitals. The Roman numbers refer to Bleek's Comparative Grammar of South African Languages.

Primitive Form.		Hereró.		Pongwe.
KU-MU	I.	*o*mu-	s.	o-, om-
KHA	II.	*o*va-	pl.	a-
KI-MI	IX.	*o*n-	s.	n-
KHA	X.	*o*zo-*n*-	pl.	sin- (shi)
TI-MI	X.	*o*zon-	pl.	
PU-MU	III.	*o*mu-	s.	o-, om-
PI-MI	IV.	*o*mi-	pl.	in-, i-
TI	V.	*e*(ri)-	s.	i-
KA	V.	e-	s.	
KA-MA	VI.	*o*ma-	pl. & s.	a-, am-
TU	XI.	*o*ru-	s.	(—)
THU	XII.	*o*tu-	pl.	(—)
KI	VII.	*o*tyi-	s.	ez-, e-
KHI	VIII.	*o*vi-	pl.	i-, iy
KA	XIII.	*o*ka-	s.	(—)
KHU	XIV.	*o*u-	pl.	o-
PU	XIV.	*o*u-	s.	
KU	XV.	*o*ku-	s.	o-
PA	XVI.	*o*po-	s.	(—)
KU	XVII.	*o*ko-	s.	(—)
MU	XVIII.	*o*mo-	s.	(—)

Thus, while we find eighteen formative prefixes in Hereró, only twelve have been preserved in Pongwe, and these have evidently had a hard struggle for existence, for most of the forms are mutilated and worn out. But such is the solidity of the old grand structure that even here its primitive architectural beauties are still clearly seen.

The object of this paper being to show the bearing of the study of Bántu upon our own languages, I cannot pass the foregoing table unnoticed. The question arises, is there any bond of unity discoverable between the Bántu and Aryan Pronominal system? I do not hesitate for a moment to avow my firm belief, that both families have derived their respective pronouns from one common source, but it is impossible to prove this fully within the narrow compass of a paper. I must confine my remarks for the present to the most important form **o**mu- or *u*mu- I, primitive form *KU-MU*.

I have endeavoured to prove, in the Introduction to my English-Hereró Dictionary, that the Bántu prefix *u*mu- I is a compound form, two primitive nouns being glued together, viz.:

KU=the living, erect moving one, man, and
MU=human mother, woman, female, mate:
KU-MU (abbreviated *umu-*)=man-woman, man united, man complete, human pair (sexual dual), at present used for the singular, meaning man generally, male *or* female, but originally male *and* female.

Now from the first member of this compound form, namely from *KU*, we have in Hereró, in accordance with the law of the vowel *i* which, in pronominal roots, means *in*, *here* or *present*, the pronoun of the first person singular *n*dyi (=*n*gi=*n*ki, Chuána ki)=man here, present, with which we identify our own pronoun I (Goth. ik). The full form and meaning of the English *I* is therefore, as we learn in Bántu, the erect moving one *present*, man *here*:

KU=man (absolute),
KI=man *present*, I.

And also the *i*-form of the second member of *KU-MU*, namely *MI*, derived by the same vowel law from the absolute *MU* (mother, woman, female), is used in both families, Bántu and Aryan, for representing the first person singular, either subjective, or, what etymologically amounts to the same, objective. The Bántu *a*-**mi** (literally of-I=of me)=I, me, is originally feminine, but at present it is common gender like the identical Aryan *MI*, *ME*=I, me, originally *MI*=mother (or woman, female) *here*, woman *present*=I (female) or me (female). For in the primitive language the same pronoun (*i.e.* primitive noun) could be used in either case, subjective or objective.

The following table represents the derivation, by vowel law, of the pronoun of 1 pers. singular in Bántu and Aryan from the primitive compound noun *KU-MU* (Bantu **umu-** I):

KU	*MU*
=man (absolute form).	=mother, female (absolute form)
ki (Chuána), *n*dyi, **i** (Hereró) =man here, man present=I;	*a*mi (Bántu)=(orig. mother, female, at present) person here, person present=I, me;
ik (Gothic and Dutch), **ic** (O. Sax.), **ich** (Germ.), **ego** (Lat. and Gr.), **ah***am*, for **ag***am* (Skr. in which the primitive *i* is lost), **I**.	**mi, mâ** (Skr.)=I, me; **me, me***e* (A.S.), **mi***k* (Goth. and Icel.), **mi** (Low Germ.), **mi***ch* (Germ.), **mij** (Dutch), **me**.

In the same way is also the pronoun of the third person derived from the primitive absolute form *KU*:

KU=man (absolute).

u, ku (Bántu)=he (or she), person (absolute);	**he** (A. Sax.), **hi** (O. Fries.), **hij** (Dutch), **he**; **she** (modified form of *he*).
a, e, ka, ke=he (or she), person *there*, or *absent*.	

The Bántu **u** (**ku**) is used in the same way as Hebrew **hu***a* (erroneously marked by the punctuators with *chirey* or *i* when it stands for *she*), which, with only a few rare exceptions, is in the Pentateuch common gender, signifying *he* and *she*. This interesting fact, whilst furnishing strong

internal evidence for the high antiquity of the books of Moses, explains at the same time how in Aryan and other languages the feminine pronoun came to evolve from the common gender or masculine. As later the Hebrew hi*a* was formed, by change of vowel, from hu*a*, so the English she, by a consonantal modification, was derived from the form he.

I feel here tempted to go through the whole system of pronouns and point out identical forms, wherever they have been preserved in Aryan languages, but that would lead me too far. If my life is spared, and I meet with encouragement, I may do so at some future time, for there is no want of material, and it is certain that, in Bántu, the primitive pronominal system of universal language can be restored. Nor shall I allow myself to be intimidated by some modern writers who expose to ridicule any attempt to compare pronouns of different families. And if some philologists point to the failure of Bopp in his comparing the Aryan and Polynesian pronouns, my answer is, that that great philologist was not acquainted with the true nature and extent of the grand Bántu pronominal system, without which neither the Polynesian nor the Aryan pronouns can be understood; nor did he know the primeval laws of the vowels, the only safe guides in universal etymology. By happy intuition the genius of such men as Bopp and Gesenius augured what the next generation of comparative philologists, by the light bursting forth from the dark continent, will be able to prove and demonstrate. But why should this not be achieved by the *present* generation?

Now let us turn to the Verb, and try whether we can discover any affinity between the Bántu and Aryan forms. We shall proceed cautiously, and not be unmindful of the danger of being deceived by similarity in form and sound.

The Zulu *beta*, for example, which means to beat, strike, pound, hammer, pelt, strike with a stone, looks very much as if it were identical with English *beat*. But on closer examination we find that this is not so. For the Zulu *beta* is the parallel of Hereró *veta* (Zulu *b* being often, according to Grimm's Law, the working of which in Bántu has been

pointed out by Dr. Bleek, *v* in Hereró), which means to throw, to shoot, to kick, to hoe, to strike, hurt. Now, whilst the Aryan parallels of English *beat* seem to point to *a* as the radical vowel, the original form being probably *BAT-*, the *e* in Zulu *beta* and Hereró *veta* is evidently a modified *i*, the words being allied to Zulu *vita*, strike violently, to Zulu *vet-ula*, kick as a horse or ox, and to Hereró *pita*, to go out. *Beta* or *veta* is a kind of causative of *pita*, and means to cause to go out (as a stone or missile out of the hand), and is probably identical with Lat. *mitto*, to make to go out. The order of meanings of Bántu *beta* (*veta*) is as follows: 1) to cause to go out, out of the hand, as a stone, a weapon, to throw, to pelt with a stone; 2) to shoot, strike; 3) to pound, hammer; 4) to hurt, wound. Now we may observe that (again according to a kind of Grimm's Law) Hereró root words with *v* will sometimes appear in the Teutonic languages with *m*, which leads us to identify Bantu *beta* (*veta*) with English *smite* (the initial *s* being inorganic), radically identical with Lat. *mitto*, whose literal sense is to cause to go out, to send out (also a stone or weapon in throwing), A. Sax. *smitan*, O. Fries. *smita*, L. Germ. *smiten*, Dutch *smijten*, O. Sw. *smita*, Dan. *smide*, H. Germ. *schmeiszen*. The primary meaning of *smite* is therefore to cause to go ut, to send out (as a stone or missile out of the hand), hence to throw, reach with a stone or weapon, strike, beat, chasten, punish. The last sense, namely to chasten, punish, is in Hereró conveyed by the verb *vera* (Chuána *betsa*), which is a modified form of *veta*.

But the rule of the vowel-method (explained in aforementioned "Introduction" to E.H.D.) is: 1) that in all word-comparison a word must be treated as a member of a group, as no genuine root-word ever stands alone in language; 2) that the vowels modify the sense of roots in regard to space and locality, *a* meaning on the ground, horizontal, together, but also the opposite, scattered, spread; *i* giving the by-meaning in, inside, between, but also from within, outside, out of the straight line, aside, oblique; whilst *u* has the power of pointing upward, signifying on

high, above, but also from above, downward, and (over, as over a river, *i.e.*) through, etc.; and 3) that only then when we find the same phenomenon in the different families of speech (*viz.* the occurrence of seemingly conflicting by-meanings, such as up and down, in and out in roots of one and the same species), we are warranted to admit the true relationship and unity.

In order therefore to verify our identification of Bántu *beta* (*veta*) and Aryan *mit-*, *smita*, *smite*, we must prove that in both families the root PIT- (*vit-*, *mit-*, *pet-*, *vet-*, *met-*, etc.) not only means to go *out*, but also to go *in* or *between*, and to turn *out of the straight line*, to go *aside*, to deviate, decline.

Let us see. Let us glance at the group of root-words of which *beta* and *smite* are respectively members.

A. Bántu Group.

PITA.

(Variations: *peta*, *bhela*, *via*, *veta*, *vera*, *betsa*, etc.)

a) to go in or between:

bhela (Kongo) in n-*bhele*, knife, identical with Hereró *o*ru-*vio*, knife, respectively from *bhela* and obsolete *via* (primitive form *PITA* or *PHITA*), the meaning of which must have been to go between, to divide, cut, hence also Hereró *o*mu-*via* (r. *via*), thong, properly the divided *o*mu-(*kova*), skin. Allied to

pira (Hereró) in *pir-uka* (primitive root *PITA* or *PIDA*)= to go in or between, to interrupt, interfere, withstand, keep at bay, oppose: from this e-*pipiri* (contracted from *e-piri-piri*), an interceding, pleading one, advocate, literally the interceding e-(*raka*) or tongue. (This word *e-pipiri*, which is evidently a genuine Hereró noun, was only recently discovered by the Rhenish Missionaries.)

b) to go from within, or out:

pita (Hereró), to go out; from this *o*mu-*vero*, door, or rather opening of a door, identical with Kongo e-*bhitu*, door.

beta (Zulu), to cause to go out (as a stone, a weapon out of the hand), to throw, pelt, strike, beat, identical with Hereró *veta*, to throw, to strike, to kick, modified *vera*, to beat, chasten, punish (Chuána *betsa*).

c) to go out of the straight line, aside, decline:

peta (Hereró), to bend on one side, to decline, to crook, hence *o*ma-*peta*, afternoon, properly decline (of day), *o*ru-*peto*, a crooked horn, bent outward.

B. Aryan Group.

PITA.

(Variations: *vit-*, *mit-*, *mid-*, *med-*, *meid-*, *mes-*, etc.)

a) to go in or between:

meto (Lat.), to go in or between (with a sharp instrument), to divide, cut, O. Germ. *meiszen*, to cut; from this Germ. *messer*, O. Germ, *mezzir*, Dutch *mes*, O. Fries. *mesa*, knife.

medium (Lat.), properly a going in or between, *middle*, Goth. *midja*, Sanskr. *madhya* (here the original *i* has given way to the favourite *a*), Sax. *middel*, O. Germ. *mittil.*

with, prep., A. Sax. *widh*, *wid*, *midh*, *mid* (with, at, against), O. Sax. *wid* (against, with), O. Fries. *with*, *withe* (against), Icel. *vidh* (against), O. Sax. *midi*, *mid*, *met*, Goth. *mith*, Icel. *medh*, Swed. and Dan. *med*, Germ. *mit*, Dutch *met*, with. Originally a verb, identical with Bántu *pira* (=*PIDA*, *VIDA*, *MIDA*), meaning to go in or between, hence 1) to mix with a company, to associate, to have intercourse, be near, be with, etc., and 2) to intervene, interfere, interrupt, oppose, be against, withstand.

b) to go from within or out:

mitto (Lat.), to go out, or cause to go out, to send forth, to send.

smite, to go out or cause to go out, as a stone out of the hand, to throw, beat, strike, hurt, A. Sax. *smitan*, O. Fries. and Swed. *smita*.

c) to go out of the straight line, turn aside:

vito (Lat.), to go out (of the way), turn aside, evade, *avoid*, Germ. and Dutch *meiden*.

Nor would it be difficult to point out, in the Aryan languages, a number of identical forms in the two other species of the Bántu genus P*a*T*a* (P*a*ND*a*), which respectively have *a* and *u* for their radical vowel. Indeed, it is easier to see than to overlook them. There we have, for example, the verb *to bind*, A. Sax. *bindan*, perf. *band*, *bundon*, Goth. *bindan*, Germ. *binden*, Icel. *binda*, Sanskr. (where the original *a* has been retained) *bandh*, and from this the noun *band*, A. Sax. *banda*, Germ. *band*, Goth. *bandi* — identical with Hereró *panda*, in *pandeka*, properly cause *to go together*, join, and e-*pando*, knot, tie, band, fetter;—further, in the opposite direction, the Lat. *pando*, to spread out, which reappears in Zulu *panda*, to spread, as the roots of a tree, or to spread earth as a dog or a hen in scratching, allied to Zulu *banda*, Hereró *vanda*, to spread mud or mortar with the hand, to plaster, level (Konde *mata*).

And as to the *u*-forms of this genus, we identify the root of A. Sax. *mont*, *munt*, mount, Lat. *mons*, Fr. *mont* with Hereró *ponda* (in *pond-ora*, rub, wipe off, as with a cloth, cleanse, "reinigen"), primarily *PUNTA*, to run upward, *rise*, as a river, flow over, and cause to flow over, wash, purify, cleanse, clear away, as rubbish, etc., substantially the same as Chuána *phōtha* (*th* not lisping), to *rise*, grow up high, as *e.g.* corn before the grain appears — while the apparently opposite meaning *from above*, *downward* appears in such forms as *bottom*, A. Sax. *botm*, Germ. *boden*, O. Germ. *podam*, whose radical element would seem to be identical with Hereró *puta* (*put-ara*), to go down, to stumble, fall, Chuána *pota* in *potokana*, to fall down to the ground, allied to Lat. *fundo*, to found, *fundus*, ground, bottom—

Hereró *punda*, to descend, come down to the ground, Zulu *bunda* (to move downward, hang down, droop), be meagre, thin (properly be drooping as plants), contracted *buna*, to fade, droop, as plants, *u*(lu)-*bunda* layer, stratum.

A glance at the following few additional examples of word-comparison, which must bring this paper to a close, will give some idea as to the advantages English lexicography is likely to derive from a deeper study of Hereró, and the application of the principles briefly set forth in these lines. The approximate primitive form, in italic capitals, and the primary sense, are placed between dashes.

KATA, KITA, KUTA.

General idea: to go, to run.

A.

Gather, v.t. A. Sax. *gaderian*, from *gador*, together; Dutch *gaderen*, from *gader*, and this again from *gaden*, to unite, join, properly go together; O. Germ. *gat*, *gagat*, joined together; allied to Icel. *gadda*, to press together.

Hereró *kakatera* (*ka-kat-era*, r. *kata*)—*KATA*, to go together—stick to, cleave to; *kata*, to shrink together, to shrivel up, wither; Zulu *kata*, to plaster, as a house; cleave to, stick to; besmear; paste on, as paper at a wall, properly join paper to the wall; from this *in-kata*, coil (a going, rolling together), grass-ring, pad (Hereró *on-gata*, Konde n-*gata*), Chuána n-*gata*, bound-up package, bundle.

Oath, n. A. Sax. *âdh*, Goth. *aiths*, Germ. *eid*, Dutch *eed*, Dan. and Swed. *ed*.

Hereró *oty'-ano* (oath) from *yana* or *ana*—*KATA*, nasalized or strengthened *KANTA*, *KANDA*, contracted *KANA=YANA*, *ANA*—to swear, confirm by oath, vow, lit. to go together, to bind together, to join in a covenant, identical with Zulu *gana*, to join in marriage (of a woman, the passive *ganwa* being used of

males: *um-gane*, companion, friend) and the Bántu reciprocal form *-ana*=together, each other.

End, n. A. Sax. *ende*, Swed. *ända*, Germ. *ende*, Goth. *andeis*, Sanskr. *anta*.

Hereró *yanda* or *anda*—*KANTA, KANDA*, to move with firm steps over the ground—to go fast, to run, to run far, get out of sight, disappear, terminate, cease, end.

I.

Share, v.t. A. Sax. *scerian, scirian; sceran*, a division, Germ. and Dutch *schaar*; allied to *shear*, divide, cut, and *shide*, A. Sax. *scidan*, to cleave.

Hereró *tyera* (k*era*)—*KITA*, to go in or between, divide—to intercept (with evil intentions), to separate, seduce, allied to Zulu *sila*, to grind, properly divide, cut small, fine; *silala* (r. *sila*), be cut off, from a distribution, be left short, come short, of; Hereró *o*ru-*here* (r. *hera*), meal.

Err, v.n. Swed. *irra*, Dan. *irre*, Germ. *irren*, O. Sax. *irrian*, Goth. *airzjan* (to lead astray), Lat. *erro*, Gr. *errō* (wander about in a helpless state, get into trouble, become unhappy, become lost). To go aside from a straight course.

Herero *heza* (*hera* in *herisa*, cause to glide out, and *herura*, let slip down)—*KITA*, to go out of the straight line, go aside—to glide out, slip, make a false step, miss, fail; Zulu *ceza*, to go off to the side, allied to *cila* in *ciliza*, give a push to, push lightly, push aside, and *qila* in *qilika*, get out of the way in the path (*c*=dental click; *q*=cerebral click).

Send, v.t. A. Sax. *sendan*, Goth. *sandjan* (here the original *i* or *e* is lost), Germ. *senden*, Dutch *zenden*, Icel. *senda*, allied to Goth. *sinth*, O. Germ. *sind*, A. Sax. *sidh*, way, journey.

Herero *hinda* or *shinda*—*KINDA* or *KHINDA*, to go out, or cause to go out—to send, allied to *tyinda* (k*inda*)—*KINDA*, to go out—to remove, leave a place,

as nomads, hence also to carry a burden; Zulu *sinda* (go out, remove, carry burdens), be heavy, press down with weight, also get off, escape, get free, as from punishment (properly go or run out, get out); Konde *hinda*, to conquer, literally to out-run; Chuána *sita*, to out-run, out-do, over-come, *sitisa* (causative form), to out-run, surpass.

U.

Cut, v.t. O.E. *kit*, Norm. F. *eotu*, cut, Welsh *ewtan*, to curtail, O. Swed. *kotta*, to sever. Allied to

Sunder, v.t. A. Sax. *sundrian*, *sunder*, Low Germ. *sundern*, *sunder*, Goth. *sundro*, Icel. *sundra*, *sundr*, Swed. and Dan. *sönder*, Germ. *sondern*, *sonder*, O. Germ. *suntar*, *sunter*. To disunite, part, separate, sever.

Herero *konda*—*KUTA*, strengthened *KUNTA* or *KUNDA*, to go over or through—to go or run through with a sharp instrument, to cut through or off, to saw through; Zulu *u*m-*kondo*, track, trace, path, as through grass; i-*sondo*, footprint of an animal, print of wheel (from obsolete *konda*, *sonda*, to go through, as through a field, through grass, etc.); allied to *gunda* or *guda*, to cut, as hair, to clip, shear.

Knee, n. Sax. *eneow*, Germ. *knie*, O. Germ. and Goth. *kniu*, Lat. *genu*, Gr. *gonu* (in which the original *u* or *o* has been preserved), Sanskr. *jânu*. Probably the *bending one*, the bending member (knee, but originally also arm, elbow).

Herero e-*kono*, Konde ku-*kono*—*KUNDA*, *KONDA* =*KUNA*, *KONA*, to go down, bow, bend—arm, the bending one, r. (Chuána) *kōna*, *kōn*(*ama*), to bow down, to bend: *kōna tlhōgō*=to bend, bow down the head. The Hereró name for knee is o*n*-*goro*, from *uora* (=*yora*=*kora*=*kota*), to bend the knee, which is the simple ground-form of the nasalized or strengthened *konda* (contracted *kona*). E-*kono* (arm, branch) and o*n*-*goro* (knee) have therefore the same radical sense, namely, the bending one.

These specimens, though few in number, will yet, I trust, contribute to illustrate and confirm what I have said here and elsewhere on the importance of the study of Bántu, especially Hereró. When I began studying the latter language, in 1848, at Otyikango (Barmen), in Damaraland, in conjunction with the Rev. Dr. C. H. Hahn and the Rev. J. Rath, I was at once struck with its wonderful structural regularity, completeness, and beauty, and, though leaving Damaraland in 1852, I did not leave off studying Hereró in my leisure hours. I believe that, under God's blessing, I have found some fundamental truths, which I have briefly stated in my English-Hereró Dictionary, and which, if rightly understood and applied, will be of some assistance to the Science of Language in its onward march. I have the satisfaction of having received, from two eminent philologists, favourable acknowledgments of my labours in the South African field, but, highly as I prize such an encouragement, I should much prefer to see a band of *true* comparative philologists, old and young, set at work in earnest, and bring to light the hidden philological treasures of Africa. Once and again I have urged professional linguists to examine and develope the principles I have on several occasions ventured to bring forward, but in vain. Nor would it seem that Dr. Bleek's elaborate Comparative Grammar of South African Languages, (though, alas! owing to the premature decease of the learned author, only the first part appeared) has had the desired effect of opening the eyes to the superior worth and claims of the Bantu languages. May we not hope that Mr. R. N. Cust's comprehensive and most opportune "Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa," recently published (Trübner, 1884), will rouse the present generation of philological workers, and make them aspire to the certainly attainable goal of a "world's science of language"?

Art. IV.—*Gleanings from the Arabic.* By H. W. Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S.

The Arabic texts of the two following poems, of which I have ventured to offer translations to English readers, were published in 1854 in London, under the patronage of the Oriental Translation Fund. They formed part of the Hudsailite Poems contained in the manuscript of Leyden, which were edited and were to have been translated, with annotations, by a very distinguished German Orientalist, John Godfrey Lewis Kosegarten, late Professor of Theology and Oriental Literature in the University of Greifswald. The poems were composed by two sisters, named Amra and Janûb, Arab poetesses of the tribe of Hudsail. Overwhelmed with grief at the loss of their brother Amr, or Amru, whom they tenderly loved as a relative and stood in need of as a protector, they sought relief in song, and in composing elegiac tributes to his memory. Three of these have come down to us, two by Janûb and one by Amra. For translation I have selected the latter and one only of the two former, as the second poem by Janûb is less adapted than that which I have chosen for translation into English verse. Amr, or Amrun, the master of the dog, was the designation by which the brother of the poetesses was distinguished among the Arabs of his time. He was himself a poet, and would seem, from the tributes which his sisters paid to his memory, to have been possessed of those high qualities which, in the estimation of the Arabs, were typical of heroism and virtue.

His love of kindred may be inferred from the earnest outbursts of sisterly affection in which Amra and Janûb

sought solace for their grief. They represent him as being brave in battle, as well as merciful to the vanquished; reliable as a protector or as an ally; and, to crown all, as overflowing with those feelings of large and even lavish hospitality which the Arabs at times carried to a scarcely credible excess, and which their poets loved to celebrate in song.

He appears from the poems to have been surprised in sleep and devoured by wild beasts, while engaged in some enterprise against the tribe of Fahm. Some members of this tribe found his arrows, and boasted that they had killed him in battle—a boast which called forth the poetical and indignant lamentations of his surviving and sorrowing sisters.

From the interesting preface by Kosegarten, we learn that the Hudsailian poems were collected about the year 275 of the Hejra (A.D. 888) by Assukkari, a celebrated philologer, as well as an industrious and laborious scholar, who is said to have collected many anthologies of ancient poems.

The tribe of Hudsail was very numerous, and was divided into many families. They resided in the vicinity of Mecca, and there, as Burkhardt in his accounts of journeys in Arabia states, are still found the descendants of the Hudsailites. Much of the ancient poetry of the Arabs had its source in the contentions and wars arising between different tribes, and between the clans into which a single tribe was divided. Hence it came that a large portion of the Hudsailite poems refers to challenges, battles, warfare either past or to come, and elegies or lamentations such as those which follow. A poet describes the combat in which he vanquished his antagonist, or he mentions how he escaped from the ambuscades of his enemies, or from dangers imminent. He boasts of his own intrepidity and of the excellence of his arms, and praises his spear, his bow, his arrows, his solid shield and glittering spear, or, as instanced in the following poems, laments the brave in battle slain. Other subjects often referred to, are some poet's nightly wanderings through dreary deserts, and over endless sands, where piercing winds are moaning, and where owls are screeching, and giving

forth ill-omened sounds. These waste tracts are said to be haunted by terrible elves, who are supposed to exercise a malicious influence over men.

The wild animals which inhabit the desert are frequently mentioned, such for instance as the wild ass, the antelope, the hyena, the wolf, the ostrich, the eagle, the vulture, and the bird kata. Descriptions are given of their appearance, and of their habits at dawn, by day and at night. The ram of the antelopes leads his females to the well, and while they drink watches near them on the top of a hill, to give warning if an enemy approaches. Suddenly an arrow from the bow of a hunter concealed under a wattling throws the whole herd into confusion, and from underneath their flying feet the sands and pebbles of the desert are whirled into the air. The ram does not now lead, but follows the last of the herd, and instinctively endeavours to protect his females.

In the centuries which preceded the rise of Islamism, says the Preface before referred to, the ancient poems of the Arabs were preserved by oral tradition. In the times in which writing was not in use, or scarcely used, memory was exercised and strengthened to a degree which is now almost unknown. In those parts of Arabia in which Arabian poetry may be considered to have had its origin, or its earliest growth and development, there were reciters, or Râwis, as the Arabs called them, who got by heart the songs and effusions of famous poets, and recited them occasionally in public assemblies or private parties. Marzûki, a renowned philologer in the fifth century of the Hejra, states, in the Preface to his Commentary on the Mufaddalian Poems, that many a Râwi perished in the wars which accompanied the establishment of Islamism in Syria, Egypt, and Persia. It was thus that many ancient poems passed away from the memory of men, as the Arabs had not at that time made written collections of them. After the second century of Islamism many Diwans or Anthologies were compiled, some of which contained the poems of a single poet, and some the compositions of several poets, while others con-

tained specimens and fragments. Kosegarten mentions three of these: 1. The Mufaddalian poems, collected by Al-Mufaddal of Kufa, about the year 160 of the Hejra, for the use of the Khalif Al-Mahdi. 2. Al-Hamasa or Valour, an Anthology so called, because its first division consists of poems on Valour and Heroism, though its other divisions afford a welcome insight into the habits, thoughts and feelings of the early Arabs, as illustrated by their love-songs, their elegies, and their satires, and the praise of hospitality which ranked ever high in the Arab's catalogue of virtues. 3. The Hudsailite poems, from which the following Poems are taken.

Of these three the Hamasa is perhaps the most widely known and prized, mainly in consequence of the publication at Bonn by Freytag, 1828-1851, of the Arabic text of the Poems with Tabrizi's Commentary, accompanied by a conscientious and excellent Latin translation and notes. The metrical German version by Ruckert, who combined in himself the qualifications of a true poet as well as of an accomplished Orientalist, have brought a knowledge of its contents within reach of the European literary world through the medium of one of its most widely diffused languages—a language singularly adapted to all the requirements of a translator. While therefore we mourn, as we may well do, over the loss of those treasures of the ancient song-world, which the ravages of war, of time, or of a senseless fanaticism, have occasioned, we must be grateful to such Orientalists as a Freytag or a Kosegarten, whose long and conscientious labours have rescued, through the printing press, from the perilous condition of perishable manuscripts, and in the original Arabic text, such specimens of ancient poetry and such graphic pictures of ancient life, of manners and feeling, in regions remote, as the Hamasa and the Hudsailian Collection contain.

وَقَالَتْ أُخْتُ عَمْرٍو ذِي ٱلْكَلْبِ تَرْثِيهِ

1 سَأَلْتُ بِعَمْرٍو أَخِي صَحْبَهُ فَأَفْظَعَنِي حِينَ رَدُّوا ٱلسُّؤَالَا

2 فَقَالُوا أُتِيحَ لَهُ نَائِمًا أَعَزُّ ٱلسِّبَاعِ عَلَيْهِ أَحَالَا

3 أُتِيحَ لَهُ نَمِرًا أَجْبُلٍ فَنَالَا لَعَمْرُكَ مِنْهُ مَنَالَا

4 أُتِيحَا لِوَقْتِ حِمَامِ ٱلْمَنُونِ فَنَالَا لَعَمْرُكَ مِنْهُ وَنَالَا

5 فَأَقْسَمْتُ يَا عَمْرُ لَوْ نَبَّهَاكَ إِذَا نَبَّهَا مِنْكَ أَمْرًا عُضَالَا

6 إِذَا نَبَّهَا لَيْثَ عِرِّيسَةٍ مُفِيدًا مُفِيتًا نُفُوسًا وَمَالَا

7 هِزَبْرًا فَرُوسًا لِأَعْدَآئِهِ هَصُورًا إِذَا لَقِيَ ٱلْقِرْنَ صَالَا

8 هُمَا مَعَ تَصَرُّفِ رَيْبِ ٱلْمَنُونِ مِنَ ٱلْأَرْضِ رُكْنًا ثَبِيتًا أَمَالَا

9 هُمَا يَوْمَ حُمَّ لَهُ يَوْمُهُ وَقَالَ أَحْوَ فَهْمَ بُطْلًا وَقَالَا

10 وَقَالُوا تَتَلْمَذَاهُ فِي غَارَةٍ بِأَيَةِ مَا إِنْ وَرِثْنَا ٱلنِّبَالَا

11 فَهَلَّا إِذًا قَبْلَ رَيْبِ ٱلْمَنُونِ فَقَدْ كَانَ رَجُلًا وَكُنْتُمْ رِجَالَا

12 وَقَدْ عَلِمَتْ فَهْمٌ عِنْدَ ٱلِلِّقَاءِ بِأَنَّهُمُ لَكَ كَانُوا نِفَالَا

13 كَأَنَّهُمُ لَمْ يُحِسُّوا بِهِ فَيُخْلُوا ٱلنِّسَاءَ لَهُ وَالْحِجَالَا

14 وَلَمْ يَنْزِلُو بِمُجُولِ ٱلسَّنِينَ بِهِ فَيَكُونُوا عَلَيْهِ عِيَالَا

15 وَقَدْ عَلِمَ ٱلضَّيْفُ وَالْمُجْتَدُونَ إِذَا ٱغْبَرَّ أُفْقٌ وَهَبَّتْ شَمَالَا

16 وَخَلَّتْ عَنْ أَوْلَادِهَا ٱلْمُرْضِعَاتُ وَلَمْ تَرَ عَيْنٌ لِمُزْنٍ بِلَالَا

17 بِأَنَّكَ كُنْتَ ٱلرَّبِيعَ ٱلْمُغِيثَ لِمَنْ يَعْتَرِيكَ وَكُنْتَ ٱلثِّمَالَا

18 وَخَرْقٍ تَجَاوَزْتَ مَجْهُولَهُ ... بِوَجْنَاءَ حَرْفٍ تَشَكَّى ٱلْكَلَالَا

19 فَكُنْتَ ٱلنَّهَارَ بِهِ شَمْسَهُ ... وَكُنْتَ دُجَى ٱللَّيْلِ فِيهِ هِلَالَا

20 وَلَيْلٍ سَمَتْ لَكَ فُرْسَانُهَا ... فَوَلَّوْا وَلَمْ يَسْتَقِلُّوا قِتَالَا

21 فَحَيَّا أَبَحْتَ وَحَيًّا مَنَعْتَ ... غَدَاةَ ٱلِلِّقَاءِ مَنَايَا عِجَالَا

22 وَكُلُّ قَبِيلٍ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ ... أَرَدْتَّهُمُ مِنْكَ بَاتُوا وِجَالَا

The Lament of Amra, the Sister of Amru, who was Devoured by Tigers.

Friends of my brother, where is Amru, where?
And answering words brought terror and despair!
Sad tale! when locked in sleep the warrior lay,
Fierce tigers came and seized their destined prey.
They came in death's dark hour by Fate decreed,
And ravening satisfied their hunger's greed.
O Amru! would that on the fatal night
Alarms, well timed, had roused thy slumbering might,
That they had stirred the lion in his lair,
The chief whose mercy many a life would spare;
The mighty warrior who his foemen slew,
And 'gainst his equals to the battle flew.
They came, of Death the ministers to be,
Of Amru's fate, by Destiny's decree.
Said sons of Fahm, "We slew him in the fray;
His arrows, see, our heritage are they."
In destined hour man sinks by Fate undone;
And, if they slew thee, many fought with one.
Well knew the sons of Fahm that they must be,
In battle's front, unequal still to thee.
When Amru came, for him the feast was spread,
In bridal chamber, near the nuptial bed.

Did men as guests to Amru's tents repair,
A welcome sweet they found as kinsmen there.
Thy guests, and all who sought protection knew
When dust-clouds gathered and the north wind blew,
When mothers left their helpless babes to die,
And none could see a friend or succour nigh,
That thou wast as the spring of life to give
Succour to all that asked, and bid them live,
While 'mid the tribes whose confines knew thee not,
Poor sufferers groaned beneath oppression's lot.
Thou wast for us the full-orbed Sun at noon,
Or, piercing night's deep shades, the radiant Moon.
Proud horsemen gathering for attack by night,
Awed by thy presence, shunned the unequal fight.
Thy mercy bounteous on the battle's morrow
Spared some, and rescued others from their sorrow,
While warrior tribe, if hateful in thy sight,
For battle armed watched trembling through the night.

وَقَالَتْ جَنُوبُ أَيْضًا تَرْثِيهِ

1 يَالَيْتَ عَمْرًا وَمَا لَيْتَ بِنَافِعَةٍ لم يَغْزُ فَهْمًا وَلَمْ يَهْبِطْ بِوَادِيهَا
2 شَبَّتْ هُذَيْلٌ وَفَهْمٌ بَيْنَهَا إِرَّةً مَا إِنْ تَبُوخُ وَمَا يَرْتَدُّ صَالِيهَا
3 وَلَيْلَةٍ يَصْطَلِي بِٱلْفَرْثِ جَازِرُهَا يَخْتَصُّ بِٱلنَّزَرَ ٱلْمُشْرِينَ دَاعِيهَا
4 لَا يَنْبِهُ ٱلْكَلْبُ فِيهَا غَيْرَ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنَ ٱلْعِشَآءِ وَلَا تَسْرِي أَفَاعِيهَا
5 أَطْعَمْتَ فِيهَا عَلَى جُوعٍ وَمَسْغَبَةٍ شَحْمَ ٱلْعِشَارِ إِذَا مَا قَامَ بَاغِيهَا

The Lament of Janûb, the Sister of Amru.

Fond wish, vain wish! that Amru ne'er had fought
With Fahm, nor e'er the fatal valley sought.

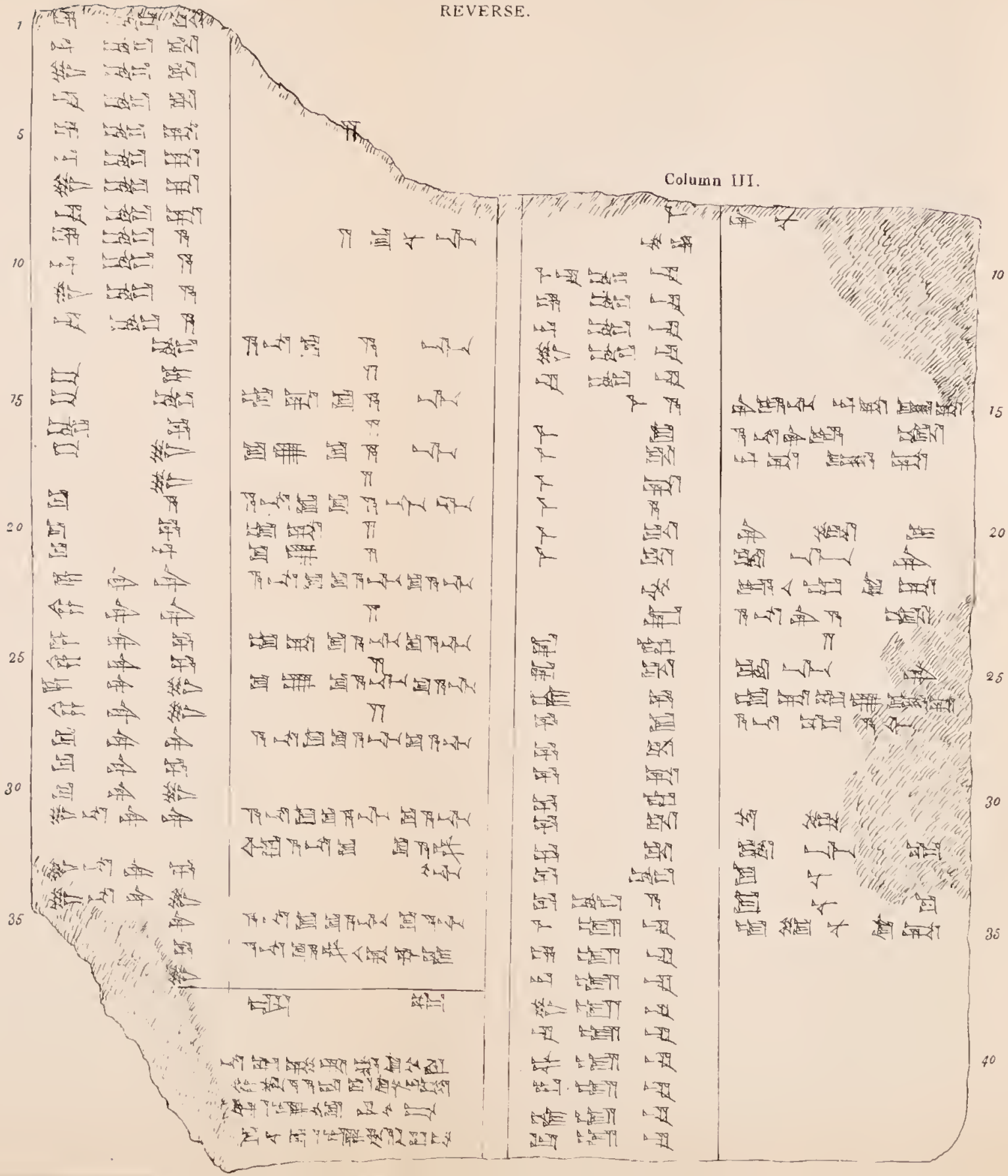
Hudsail, Fahm ! between them war-fires spread,
And he who lit the flame its fury fed.
When nights were cold, so cold that men would fain
Seek warmth in skins of creatures newly slain,
When rich men, rich in food for winter stored,
Asked none but rich men to the social board ;
When shivering dog's last dying moan was heard,
And not a serpent 'neath the cold ground stirred ;
With thy best camels' flesh thy guests were fed,
And with it starving crowds were nourished.

TABLET OF GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

REVERSE.

Column IV.

Column III.



Art. V.—*Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns.*

By G. Bertin, M.R.A.S.

While studying the Akkadian pronominal forms, I was brought to a closer examination of the Assyrian pronouns, and I arrived at the conclusion that Assyrian had retained forms lost or forgotten in all the other Semitic dialects. Though in Assyrian the various pronominal forms are used rather loosely, the writers however seem to have retained an unconscious feeling of their primitive value: I find that by means of postpositions, the independent use of which is lost, added to the possessive suffixes, real cases are formed to express the pronouns in regimen: *-ia* 'my,' *iāši* 'to me,' *iāti* 'me' accusative, *iau* 'of me' or 'mine.' When I communicated this to Mr. Pinches, he, with his usual kindness, gave me to examine a most important unpublished tablet, giving the Akkadian (or rather the Sumerian or dialectical) pronouns, with an Assyrian translation. As it is often the case in syllabaries or grammatical lists, the forms given are generally the most primitive. I will examine these forms further on and I give the copy of this important tablet as reference.

The forms of the Assyrian pronouns are:

First pers. sing. nominative *anaku*, possessive suff. *-ia* or *-aa*, dative *iāši* or *aaši*, accusative *iāti*, possessive adjective *iau* or *iaum*, plur. nom. *ninu*, *aninu*, *anienu*, *anini*, etc.; poss. suff. *-ni*; dat. *niašim*, *naši*, *nāši*; acc. *niati*.

Second pers. sing. nom. *attakau* (later forms masc. *atta*, fem. *atti*), poss. suff. *-ku*, also *-kā*, fem. *-ki*, dat. *kāši*, acc. *kāti*, adj. poss. *kū* or *kūmmu*; plur. nom. *attunu* or *attunū*; poss. suff. *-kunu*, dat. *kunuši*, acc. *kunuti*.

Third pers. nom. masc. *šū*, fem. *šī*, poss. suff. m. *-šu*, f. *-ši*, dat. m. *suaši*, f. [*siaši*], acc. m. *šuati*, f. *šiati*; plur. nom. m.

šunu, f. *šina*; poss. suff. m. *-šunu*, f. *-šina*; dat. m. *šunuši*, f. *šinaši*; acc. m. *šunuti*, f. *sinati*.

We have also a kind of emphatic pronoun formed with the enclitic *-ma*: *iātima* 'I am,' *attama* 'thou art.' There are besides other forms which will be noticed further on.

Before giving a few examples as illustrations, I wish to make some remarks on the forms.

The suffixes appear to have been originally *-aši* for the dative, and *-ati* for the accusative; *nāši* is derived from *niaši*, and *kunuši* no doubt from a form *kunuaši*; the assimilation of the two vowels never took place at the third persom singular.

In a previous paper I had supposed *attaka* (for *antaka*) as the primitive form of the pronoun of the second person: this supposition is now confirmed by the accompanying tablet, which gives *attakau*; the *u* may be the ending of the nominative, or the mark of the masculine. In the forms *atta* f. *atti* the characteristic has been lost and the final vowels correspond to those of the third person *šū* fem. *ši*. There seems to have been a complete series of pronouns formed by combining the preformative *atta* (for *anta*) and the pronominal suffixes; *atta-šu* 'he,' *attu-u-a* 'I'; *attu-kunu* 'you,' is also found.

It is to be noticed that the plural is formed by adding *-n*, *ana*[*-ku*] 'I,' *aninu* 'we,' *atta* 'thou,' *attunu* 'you,' etc.; but this *n* falls in the plural oblique cases of the first person. This plural formation in *-n* explains the Arabic form *naḥnu* (for *naknu*) and the Hebrew *anaḥnu* (for *anaknu*); for in these cases the *-n* is simply added to the singular full form *anak*.

In time the various pronominal forms were treated as independent words, and the endings assimilated to the cases *-u*, *-i*, *-a*; that is why we have *kāšu*, *kātu*, etc., by the side of *kāši* and *kāti*. This being done, the mimmation was naturally added, so we have *šuašum*, *niašim*, etc.

Sometimes the pronominal possessive adjectives, perhaps on account of their having the termination of the noun in the nominative, are treated as real pronouns, *iaū* 'mine,' standing for 'I.'

There seems to have always been a tendency in the second person to substitute the nominative for the oblique cases, so we find *attunu* used as a dative, being treated as a pronominal suffix: *altapra-attunu*[1] 'I send to you.'

Before giving a few examples illustrating the uses of the cases, it is necessary to notice that the apparent hesitation of the Assyrian writers came from the fact that in the Semitic tongues the pronominal suffixes are used to express indifferently the accusative and the dative: *iddin-šu* may mean 'he gave him' or 'he gave to him.' The oblique pronouns are generally used for emphasis, and precede the verbs to which are added the ordinary pronominal suffixes. In some cases the oblique pronouns are treated as suffixes; in these cases they follow the verbs, and often the first letter is doubled: *-akkunuši* for *-kunuši*. Examples of the dative:

ištar-šu zinu itti-su išassi-ki kāši[2] 'His goddess is angry with him, he speaks to thee.'
kāsa izzazzu-ka[3] 'lead to thee.'
kāsa lukbi-ka[4] 'be related to thee.'
išpur-an-nāsu[5] 'he sent to us.'
luṭāb-kunuši[6] 'may good be to you.'

Sometimes the dative is used to express the genitive:

Salimu iāši (or *aaši*) *libba-kunu*[7] 'my peace to your heart.'

The dative is also used to express the provenance:

û iāši la iṣbatu nira saruti-ia[8] 'and he took not from me the yoke of my royalty.'
abrusu kunuši adu[9] 'I separated from you once.'

[1] S.H.A. p. 189. This example, as all the following, is as far as possible taken from the most known and most accessible texts.
[2] W.A.I. 4. 29. 58. In the published copy the last character ⟨|⟩ *ši* has been left out.
[3] W.A.I. 4. 17. 22.
[4] S.B.A. vol. iii. p. 536.
[5] T. Pinches, "Texts," p. 4, l. 7.
[6] S.H.A. p. 189.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 108.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 72.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 189.

The dative is often used after the prepositions:

eli iāsi or *aaši*[1] 'before me.'

ana kāši,[2] *ana kāsa*[3] 'to thee.'

ana iāši[4] 'to me,' *ana šuašum*[5] 'to him.'

Examples of the accusative:

iāti, Aššurbanipal, etc., *umassit-anni*[6] 'he left me, me A.,' etc.

usamhat-ka kāta[7] 'I cause thee to be destroyed.'

belum iāti ispur-anni[8] 'the lord he sent me.'

ana niri-ia usaknis-sunuti[9] 'to my yoke I committed them.'

The accusative is sometimes wrongly used after the prepositions:

ela kāti ilim mušteru la išu[10] 'there is no director over thee, God.'

The accusative is used to indicate a secondary clause: in this case the oblique pronoun is placed at the head of the secondary clause, which precedes the principal:

iāti Sinaḫerib epiš šipri šuatu, kī ṭem ili ina uzni-ia ipsi,[11] etc., 'When the will of the gods came to my ears, (that) I, Sinacherib, should do this work,' etc.

The accusative is, as in Latin, used for the vocative:

Kātu or *Kātam*[12] 'thou!'

and no doubt for this reason it is used in the precative sentences.

In some cases the accusative seems to be used for em-

[1] S.B.A. vol. v. p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 567.
[3] S.H.A. p. 225.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Tablet of Gram. Forms.
[6] S.H.A. p. 257, see also p. 251.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 180.
[8] W.A.I. 4. 17. 40.
[9] S.H.A. p. .
[10] W.A.I. 4. 29. 48.
[11] S.H.S. p. 142.
[12] W.A.I. 4. 9. 58-60. 1-10. All these examples are by no means exceptional; it would have been easy to multiply them, but these will be sufficient to illustrate the actual paper, as the object is not to give a complete survey of the pronouns, but merely notes.

phasis instead of the nominative, and this explains the form *iātima* 'I am,' parallel to *attama* 'thou art.' Professor Sayce ingeniously explained these emphatic pronouns *iāti*, *kāti*, etc., by supposing that the suffix *t* formed a kind of abstract personal noun.[1]

Before leaving the accusative, we must remark that it is difficult to detect the examples of the third person in the singular, because at an early period the oblique case in *ti* grew to be regarded as a demonstrative, the nominative *šū*[2] was itself used as a demonstrative; the accusative *šuati* 'him' therefore was used for 'this' or 'that' and the final vowel being assimilated to the case-endings *-u*, *-a*, and *-i*, the form *šuatu* was used as nominative, *šuata* for the accusative and *šuati* for the genitive, but it is characteristic that the form *šuati* (or *šuatim* with the mimmation) maintains itself in preference to the others even as nominative and this especially in the vernacular dialect of the contracts. The same thing has happened with the accusative of *šī* 'she,' *šiati*, and we have *šiatu*, but the feminine is very rarely used.

There are some forms which are rare or entirely missing, no doubt because they were avoided to escape ambiguity, as the dative of the first person plural; the regular and primitive form *niati*, as given in the tablet, would have, judging from the dative *-nāsi* for *niasi*, become *-nāti* and with doubling the first consonant *annati*, this would have been confounded with the demonstrative. For the same reason *kununti*[3] was no doubt avoided, as it might have been confounded with a verbal form.

Of the pronominal possessive adjective, we have only few examples, and only for the first and second person singular.

iāu ṣit libbi-ia sēra tušarpidi[4] 'thou makest the mine offspring of my heart spread abroad.'

[1] Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes, 1872, p. 39.
[2] S.H.A.
[3] Given by Prof. Sayce, but I have not found any example in the texts yet examined by me.
[4] W.A.I. 68, l. 59.

When the possessive adjective is rejected to the end of the sentence, the verb substantive is understood.

šame u irṣitim kummu[1] 'Heaven and earth (are) thine.'

This possessive adjective appears to be used for all genders and numbers.

As already noticed, this possessive adjective in *-u* was easily assimilated to the nouns and sometimes *iāu* 'mine' =I, *kū* 'thine'=thou.

There is for the nominative of the pronouns the same distinction as for the possessive adjective, when at the head of the sentence it is simply the emphatic pronoun,[2] when at the end the verb 'to be' is understood:

ša erī u anaki mupallil-šunu atta.[3] 'Who is mixer of copper and lead, thou art!'

The French idiom *c'est toi* gives an exact translation.

The traces of case-endings, which we have shown, are not limited to the personal pronouns; we find them also in the indefinite pronoun *šā* 'who' and 'this one,' dative *šāši, šāšu,* and *šāša,*[4] accusative *šāti, šāte, šātu,* and *šāta*; the demonstratives *annu, ullu,* and *amma* give also traces of these cases. It is likely that the adverbial formative *-iš* is the last remnant of the dative suffix in the noun; what seems to support this is, that adverbs are also formed with the accusative in *ā* or *ām.* The accusative in *ati* is difficult to detect in the nouns, as they would appear to be the feminine or the abstract; but it seems to us that in many cases, if we consider the words with this form to be in the accusative, instead of being feminine or abstracts, it would give a much better sense than otherwise.

Besides those given above, there are a few other abnormal forms, which are, however, easily explained. *Kāšunu,*[5] dative plural second person 'to you,' is formed by adding

[1] W.A.I. 29. 26-34.

[2] The examples for the first person are very numerous in the historical inscriptions. See S.H.A. and S.H.S.

[3] W.A.I. 4. 14. No. 2, *et seq.* See also W.A.I. 4. 9. 54 *et seq.*, etc., and S.H.A. for the 1st person.

[4] Sometimes the long vowel is not expressed: *šasi, šašu, šaša.*

[5] T. Pinches, "Texts," pl. 4, l. 8.

the *-n* mark of the plural to the singular *kāšu* 'to thee'; as *attunu*, 'we' from *atta*, 'thou'; in the same way is formed *šuatunu*, from *šuatu*.

In combining the indefinite *šā* with the suffixes of the third person: *šašu* 'him,' really 'the one who is he,' *šaši* 'her,' the enclitic *-ma* can also be added, *šašuma*, *šašima*.[1] This emphatic relative pronoun was confounded with the dative of the indefinite.

These various forms are not dialectical, but rather individual, as certain writers seem to have a liking for some forms, and others for other forms.

The case-suffixes are not the only postpositions used in Assyrian; there is the particule *-ni*, which is suffixed to the verbal form at the end of the clause, to indicate a subjunctive or rather conditional sentence. It is important to notice, because this is the only example in a Semitic tongue, and seems to take us back to a period when postpositions were in general use.

A general survey might bring us on some forgotten traces of these suffixes in the other Semitic tongues, but this would require too much space and necessitate a longer study; it need be only noticed that the adverbial formative suffix in Syriac *'oyt* ܐܝܬ appears to be nothing else than the accusative in *ati*.[2] However, the process of formation denoted by the Assyrian pronouns has entirely disappeared in the Semitic tongues, and the very remembrance completely lost; it even appears in decided opposition to the Semitic turn of mind as illustrated by Arabic, Hebrew, and other dialects. It becomes therefore evident that we must look, to explain these forms and their origin, outside the narrow limits where the Semitic tongues have been confined.

At first I was naturally inclined to see, in the use of these suffixes or postpositions to express the cases, an Akkadian

[1] We found also *ša-šunu* 'them,' the forms appear to be oblique cases, being really the relative in regimen with the pronominal suffixes; many examples are found in the Deluge Tablet, S.B.A. vol. iii. pt. 2. Smith took them for oblique cases of personal pronoun *šû* (*ibid.* p. 589).

[2] The late S. Guyard had already assimilated this suffix to the adverbial formative *iš* in Assyrian.

influence; but, as easily shown by the tablet, the Akkadian formatives are far from answering to the Assyrian case-endings. It suddenly occurred to my mind that similar pronominal forms occurred in Agau, where I had already found, when inquiring about the numerals,[1] the most primitive forms.

I was, however, hesitating some time before I felt justified in comparing the pronominal forms of two languages so widely separated geographically and chronologically, but the parallelism is too complete to suppose it to be merely accidental, and we must suppose a common origin. At any rate, I will give the parallel, with as little observations as possible, leaving them to the readers.

The Agau, spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of Abyssinia, is classed among the Hamitic tongues of the Kushite group, and is divided into several dialects: 1°. The dialect of Dambea,[2] spoken at Gondar, the most important and purest on many accounts, but unfortunately known only through the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews who speak it. 2°. The Agau of Agaumeder,[3] from which is taken the name of this group of dialects, much decayed, but which has preserved some old forms. 3°. The Hamara or Chamir,[4] spoken in the province of Waag, a well-known dialect, considered as standard by Dr. L. Reinisch, but which appears to have been rather systematized, though there is no real literature. 4°. The Bilen,[5] spoken by the Bogos at the North of Abyssinia, which has had an independent existence and shows many dialectical variations. There are still other dialects, the Agau of Lasta, the Agau of Quara, but too little is known of them to take them into account.

The Galla and its dialects are closely connected to the Agau, though separated at an early date. The Bishari or

[1] S.B.A. vol. vii. pt. 3, p 382.

[2] M. Flad, A Short Description of the Falasha and Kamants, St. Chrishona, 1866; J. Halévy, Essai sur la langue Agaou, Paris, 1873.

[3] Th. Waldmeier, Wörter-Sammlung aus der Agau-Sprache, St. Chrishona, 1868.

[4] Leo Reinisch, Die Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien, Wien, 1884.

[5] Leo Reinisch, Die Bilin-Sprache, Wien, 1882.

Beja,[1] which is placed in the same linguistic group, is, however, nearer to old Egyptian. The Basé or Kunama,[2] though related also to Agau and having preserved clear characteristics, has been greatly influenced by the Negro and Nubian dialects.

It is not my intention to give an exhaustive comparison of these languages. I only wish to bring together a few facts, leaving the rest for further studies.

In the Agau of Dambea the pronouns of the first and second persons are the same as in Assyrian : first person nom. *an*, poss. pref.[3] *ye-* or *yi-*, dat. *yis* or *yiši*, acc. *yit*, plu. nom. *anen*, poss. pref. *ana-* or *yin-*,[4] dat. *anas* or *aneši*, acc. *anat* or *anet*.

The possessive adjective seems to be lost, but the dative is, as in Assyrian, used for the genitive.

Second person nom. *ent*, poss. pref. *ki-*, dat. *kus* or *kuši*, acc. *kut*, plur. nom. *entan* or *ĕntĕn*, poss. pref. *anta-* or *ĕntĕn-*, dat. *entas* or *ĕnteši*, acc. *entet* or *entat*.

The forms of this person answer again to the Assyrian, at the plural, the form *ent*, corresponding to the Assyrian *atta*, is exclusively used ; a tendency in the same direction existed in Assyrian.

In the singular we have the pronoun with the enclitic *ma*: *entema*[5] ' thou art,' exactly corresponding to the Assyrian *attama*.

For the third person this dialect uses the theme *ni*, the theme *šu* is only found in composition.

In Hamara we have the same parallelism, the only difference is, that the plural of the first person is *yinne*, and that the theme *ant* of the second person has been rejected, and it is important to notice, that for the second person the accu-

[1] H. Almkvist, Die Bischari-Sprache, Upsala, 1871. The Bishari is spoken in Southern Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea.

[2] L. Reinisch, Die Kunama-Sprache, Wien, 1881. The Kunama is spoken at the West of Abyssinia.

[3] In Agau, and all this group of languages, the possessive pronoun is prefixed to the object possessed : Agau *yi-nañ* = Assyrian *biti-ia* ' my house.'

[4] *ana* is given by Flad, *yin* given by M. Halévy is the Hamara form, which may have passed into Falasha.

[5] Flad, *op. cit.* p. 29.

sative has a tendency to take the part of nominative, as in Assyrian. First pers. nom. *an*, poss. pref. *yi-*, dat. *yis* or *yiš*, acc. *yit*, plur. nom. *yinne* or *yin*, poss. pref. *yina-*, dat. *yinaš*, acc. *yinat*. Second pers. *kŭt*, *küt*, or *kit*, poss. pref. *ku-*, dat. *kuš*, acc. *kut*, plur. nom. *küten* or *kiten*,[1] poss. pref. *küta* or *kita*, dat. *kütaš*, acc. *kutat*. The third person is formed with the theme *ieñ*, which is a demonstrative in Falasha and also in Hamara itself.

The possessive adjective is formed for the masculine exactly as in Assyrian: *yū* (for *yi-aū*), 'mine,' *kū* (for *kŭ-aū*) 'thine,' etc. The feminine is *yi-ri* or *yī*, *kŭ-ri* or *kŭī*, etc.[2] These give us the masculine termination in *u*, and the feminine in *i*, which we find in Assyrian in the pronominal suffixes *-ku* and *-ki*, and in the third person *šū* and *šī*.

About this pronoun *šu*, it may be noticed that in Hamara there is an old theme *šu*,[3] used for 'self,' with the adjectival formative we would have *šū* (for *šu-aū*), masculine 'that which belongs to himself,' *i.e.* 'he,' feminine *šī* (for *šu-ri*) 'she,' which are exactly the Assyrian forms.

In the Agau of Agaumeder we have about the same forms as in that of Dambea; the *t* of the accusative has been lost, leaving *ā*, as in the case of the feminine in *at* in Hebrew and Arabic.

In Bilen the *s* passes easily to *t*, and perhaps for this reason the dative and accusative have been confounded, the suffix *-ti* being almost exclusively used, and we have for the personal pronouns: first pers. sing. *an*, poss. pref. *yi-*, dat. and acc. *yit*, plur. *yin*, poss. pref *yinā-*, dat. and acc. *yinat;* second pers. nom. *inti*, poss. pref. *ku-*, dat. and acc. *kut;* plur. nom. *intin*, poss. pref. *intā-*, dat. and acc. *intat*.

The possessive adjective is formed as in Hamara, but it has in the singular a guttural: *yūχ*[4] fem. *yiri*, plur. *yū;* *kūχ* fem. *kūri*, plur. *kŭū* or *kū*, etc.

[1] *Küten* is formed as *kašunu* and *šuatunu* in Assyrian by adding the mark of the plural *n* to the singular after the suffix.

[2] The plural common is *yūk*, *kūk*, etc., being formed by one of the plural formative *-k*.

[3] The reduplicative form *šūšū*, being used for 'one another,' gives the primitive meaning of 'one' or 'he.' In Bilen *šūtšūt* or, with assimilation, *šuššut* is the reciprocal pronoun.

[4] The *χ* answers to the Arabic خ.

It must not be forgotten that in Agau the case-endings are not exclusively found with the personal pronouns; the postpositions *ši* and *ti* are used with all nouns and pronouns. It is the same for the suffix of the possessive pronouns, which is the ordinary formative of adjectives.

We have seen that in Agau, as in Assyrian, the oblique cases of the pronouns had a tendency to be substituted for the nominative. This arises from a confusion of the suffix *ti* with another theme in Hamara, *tü* or *ti*, and in Bilen *tū*, which means 'alone,' and take the possessive prefixes: *yiti* or *yitü* 'I alone,' *kuti* or *kutü* 'thou alone,' etc. It may thus be easily understood that this form was used emphatically for the pronoun, and afterwards confounded with the oblique case.

In Agau the postpositions are not only suffixed after nouns and pronouns, but also after sentences, which are so placed in a kind of regimen; it forms what Dr. Reinisch calls *Causalis*, which answers to the secondary clause of the Assyrian, sometimes indicated by the pronoun subject of this clause placed in the accusative.

In Agau, as in Assyrian, adverbs are formed with the suffix of the dative, and also, as in Assyrian, this suffix indicates sometimes the provenance.

The Agau uses the enclitic *-na* placed after the verbal form, which answers exactly to the Assyrian *-ni* suffixed to the verbal form; this is the conditional of Prof. Sayce, and the *Objectsmodus* of Dr. Reinisch.[1]

Before leaving the Agau we may notice that, as in Assyrian, when the pronouns at the nominative are used without verb, the verb 'to be' is understood.

The Galla,[2] though undoubtedly closely connected to Agau, was independently developed, and for this very reason the common forms found in it are still more significative. The

[1] Between those two modes of expression there is exactly the same difference in Assyrian and in Agau. The postfix *ti* marks a kind of conditional of consequence, but the postfix *-ni* in Assyrian, *-na* in Hamara, marks a conditional of simple sequence or simply indicates that the clause is relative. Strange to say, this postposition is found in active use only in Galla, where it serves to express the ablative.

[2] Ch. Tutschek, Grammar of the Galla Language, Munich, 1845; Massaja, Lectiones grammaticales, Paris, 1867.

pronouns agree only partly: first pers. nom. *ani*, acc. *ana* and *na;* the postfix *ti* is placed after the accusative, and expresses the dative *anati* or *nati* 'to me.' Second pers. nom. *ati*. The oblique cases are supplied by another theme: acc. *zi*, dat. *ziti*. The dative expresses often the emphatic genitive. As in Agau and in Assyrian, a form similar to the case in *ti* is used for an emphatic pronoun: *anatŭ* 'I,' *zitŭ* 'thou.'[1] The possessive pronouns are not prefixed as in Agau, but suffixed as in Assyrian, and taken from themes other than the personal pronouns: *-ko* 'my,' *-ke* 'thy,' *-sa* 'his,' *-si* 'her'; plur. *-keña* 'our,' *-kesani* 'your,' *-sani* 'their.' These suffixes show a remarkable similarity with the possessive pronominal suffixes of Assyrian, and, what is more remarkable, the Galla suffixes are used in certain cases to form a kind of permansive. The affixes are used independently with the postfix *-ti* to express the possessive adjectives: *koti* 'mine,' *keti* 'thine,' etc., as the Assyrian *iaši* and *kāši*. In Galla the postposition can be placed after verbal forms governing the secondary sentence and the postposition *-ni* as the Assyrian *-ni* forms a kind of conditional.

As for the Kunama[2] and the Bishari,[3] it will suffice to say that they both show connection on many points; the former has lost the distinction of genders, and derives the pronouns from different themes, but it has retained the case-endings; Bishari shows connection only as far as it can be expected from a language of the next group; it is nearer to Berber than to Agau.

It is important to notice that all those characteristics which we find in common in Agau and Assyrian do *not* exist

[1] The apparently irregular formation of the Galla pronouns might be explained, but it would carry us too far, and for this reason I have not given all the forms, which would have necessitated more explanations. The emphatic pronouns *anatŭ*, *zitŭ*, etc., have much puzzled Tutschek, who could not explain them but by supposing a misuse of the dative, the final of which had been weakened; these forms, however, are easily explained when compared to those of Hamara.

[2] Leo Reinisch, Die Kunama-Sprache. Wien, 1881. The author of this grammar had first classed Kunama with Nubian, but since he has replaced it in the Kushite group.

[3] H. Almkvist, Die Bischari-Sprache, Upsala, 1881. This language is interesting for the large development it has given to the distinction of gender, and in that it goes even further than Berber.

in Hebrew, Arabic or Ethiopian;[1] a later introduction is therefore out of question. It can be also safely said, I think, that so many similitudes, such complete parallelism, cannot be the result of mere accident. We must, then, arrive at the conclusion, that the Semitic tongues sprang from the same stock as Galla and Agau, and in future this cannot be neglected in comparative studies.

Before concluding this part of this paper, I wish to give a tribute of admiration for the foresight of a great English philologist, Prof. R. G. Latham. This learned author had years ago indicated the line we ought to have followed to arrive at the truth, which now is revealed by the Cuneiform inscriptions. In 1862 Prof. Latham wrote: "The Semitic dialects are, *perhaps*, Abyssinian in origin."[2] And he wrote this when no one had yet any idea of the existence of postpositions in Assyrian, and of these pronominal forms, a long time before Agau had been brought to our knowledge by the works of Dr. L. Reinisch.[3] It required all the intuition and independence of mind of Prof. Latham to arrive to such a conclusion with the meagre information at his command; and I am glad to be able to confirm now the sayings of this great philologist, twenty-two years after he put them on record.

I wish now to make few remarks on the Akkadian pronouns, my intention not being to make a complete study, but merely to give a few suggestions and observations. The conclusions to which I had arrived by the study of the texts were little, if at all, altered by the examination of the tablet

[1] I was inclined at first to see in the enclitic *-sa* a remnant of the dative suffix, but this enclitic is used exactly in the same way as the Assyrian enclitic *-ma*, and we must see in it no doubt the Agau *šū* 'self.' What is found in Amharic and Tigré, connected to Agau, must be of modern introduction, as it is not found in Ethiopian, Himyaritic, or Arabic.

[2] *Elements of Comparative Philology*, London. 1862, p. 602. In this work the author practically classes the Semitic dialects with the African tongues, bringing them in close connection with the the Agau group.

[3] The grammars of Dr. Reinisch are really the first scientific works on these tongues, without which we would be unable to make any comparison. The notice of Flad is too short, and is really a mere collection of notices without any explanation; the notice of M. Halévy is too unscientific to afford trustworthy materials, the forms given in his extracts are not even explained, and it would be impossible to get an idea of the structure of the Falasha dialect from his notice alone.

of grammatical forms; besides, the forms given in this tablet appear sometimes in the texts with a different value, as it will be seen when I come to examine them further on.

Any one taking the trouble to tabulate all the verbal forms found in the bilingual texts and the grammatical tablets, must arrive at the conclusion that in Akkadian verbs the persons never were expressed with clearness, as in the Aryan or Semitic tongues, we found, indeed, the same expression translated in Assyrian by the first, second or third person. In fact, the Akkadian language seems to have remained, as regards the pronouns, in the state of incertitude, of which the oldest Egyptian documents of the first dynasties give many examples, and out of which it was just emerging. In that period of development of a language, forms are used indiscriminately for the first, second and third person, a pronominal form may in one case express the speaker, in another the spoken to, in another the spoken of;[1] even if certain forms are localized to express these three relations, they might not express what we understand by persons, as the third person might be, in relation to other members of the sentence, considered as the speaker or the acting agent, and in that case the subject might be expressed by one pronoun irrespective of persons. Akkadian does not seem to have even arrived at such a localization, when it was fixed by its literature. The relations expressed by the so-called pronominal forms are merely sometimes relations of importance as regards the statement expressed by the verb, sometimes relations of place as to the position of the various agents concerned in the statement, and perhaps also relations of time as to the result affecting each member of the phrase. These various relations are often difficult to understand by

[1] I do not maintain that every language has passed through such a stage, but Egyptian certainly has; in the inscriptions of the first dynasties it is often difficult to detect what is the person meant, the context and the ideographic system of writing is the only guide. The first person and the second are often expressed by the same suffixes. It is only after many trials, and a long period of distribution, that Egyptian arrived at something like a determined paradigm, but the incertitude and hesitation have left traces even in the Coptic. In the Semitic tongues a remnant of this period is found in the suffixes of the aorist past, which distinguishes the first and second person only by the vowel.

us, accustomed to precision in our pronouns; and the value of these relations even, in some cases, escape our mind, which cannot perceive or detect them with satisfaction on account of our different conception.

There are in Akkadian at least four themes to express these relations: *m*, *n*, *b* and the weak aspirate, which is not expressed by any character in the Cuneiform writing, and is revealed only by the vowel. These four themes appear under many forms, the vowels being affected by the harmony in Akkadian like the other Turanian[1] tongues; the first *m*[2] (*um*, *am*, *im* or *ma*, *mu*, *mi*, *me*, according to the cases) seems to be taken from a verb 'to be,' and to express an emphatic pronoun, the most important person in the statement, but not necessarily the subject, and in fact seldom such; the second *n* (*un*, *an*, *in*, *en* or *nu*, *na*, *ni*, *ne*), the most usual, is the near pronoun, and generally the subject, though the regimen is often in the very same verbal form expressed by it also, when it is regarded to be of equal importance or in the same relation of place or time; the third *b* (*ub*, *ab*, *ib*, *eb* or *bu*, *ba*, *bi*, *be*) is the farther pronoun or of secondary importance,[3] and for this reason expresses generally the subject when further or oftener the object; but the subject and object may also be expressed by this theme in the same verbal combination when in equal relation; the fourth theme, the unwritten aspirate (which appears as *u*, *a*, *i*, *e*), is also a secondary and farther pronoun; it was of little use, no doubt, because it was too early absorbed by the next vowel, in certain cases it appears to have been dropped altogether, even between two consonants.[4]

[1] The promiscuous use of these themes explains why, in the Turanian tongues, there is often a different localization for the use of such or such a theme; it is easy to see in examining the tables compiled by M. Lenormant (*La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes Touraniens*, Paris, 1875).

[2] In these remarks I will not give any illustration, as the texts in W.A.I. are easily accessible; but those who are not familiar with the Cuneiform writing I refer to the works of M. Lenormant, who gave in his *Etudes Akkadiennes* numerous texts with transcriptions and translations.

[3] The distinctions often escape us, and were also no doubt rather loosely indicated by the Akkadian, as in our modern tongue the difference of 'this' and 'that' is not always accurately noticed; variants give *ab* for *au* in the texts.

[4] In that case the context, or the presence of a particle or postposition without regimen, can only denote the existence of the theme which has disappeared.

In their translations of the Akkadian literary works, the Assyrian scribes were naturally in great difficulty to express these various pronouns of relation, and this especially in the vocabularies and grammatical tablets where there was no context. For this reason we find the same theme translated by the first, second and third person. The fourth theme, *a*, is translated in the same syllabary[1] by *šā*, the demonstrative *anaku* 'I,' and *atta* 'thou.'

The Akkadians, perhaps on account of their intercourse with the Semites, whose grammar denoted the persons in a different way, felt themselves the defect of their pronominal system, and made certain numbers of attempts to devise a new specialization; that is why we find *lu* or *mulu* 'man,' used to express the first person.[2] The pronouns, which seem to have had first a fixed and exclusive expression, were naturally the possessive pronouns *mu* for first, and *zu* for the second;[3] but for the third there seems to have always been a certain hesitation between the two themes *n* and *b*, though *-ni* was more generally used. The emphatic personal pronouns were, in a certain measure, derived from these possessive pronouns: from *mu*, we have *mae*[4] 'I,' from *zu*, we have *zae* 'thou.' The pronoun of the third person is rare, as the simplest way to emphasize the third person is to repeat the noun. As it will be seen by the tablet of grammatical forms, there were many other manners of expressing the emphatic personal

[1] W.A.I. 5. 22. 67 *et seq.* *me-a me-en* is translated by *ia'nu anaku* and *ia'nu atta*, W.A.I. 5. 40. 6–7, etc.

[2] W.A.I. 5. 27. 34, and also found in a text.

[3] It is rather too early to explain or seek the origin of these suffixes; however, the use of *mulu* or *lu* 'man,' for the first person, might lead us to give to *mu*, which is sometimes translated by the Assyrian *zikaru* 'male,' a similar meaning, *zu* might be compared to *su* 'body,' the second person being considered as more passive. It must be said, however, for that some scholars give it the reading *ku* in the Akkadian texts, and *mu* only in the dialectical texts; if this is so, we would have the theme *ku* given also for the first person (W.A.I. 5. 20. 57) and the second (W.A.I. 5. 27. 35). and it might be the same as the disused article preserved in a few words (S.B.A. Proceedings, Nov. 1882).

[4] is read *mal* by some, but the expressions *ma-da* 'to me' and *ma-ra* 'towards me,' and the plural *me*, seem to establish the reading *ma*. It may be however pronounced according to the dialects *ga* or *ma*, as is supposed to be pronounced *gu* and *mu*.

pronouns, though often the forms were by no means clear: *e-ne* may be either 'you' (Col. iv. l. 33) or 'they' (W.A.I. 5. 28. 64). It is needless to dwell more now on these forms, which will be noticed when we come to analyse the tablet. I wish only to notice that there was a tendency in the texts to use the farther pronouns for the second person, but it was only a tendency.

The tablet of grammatical forms now in the British Museum, marked (81-8-30), is only the upper part of a tablet, the lower part being lost, what remains is $8\frac{2}{8}$ inches wide and $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches long; when complete, it contained four columns of about seventy-five lines. It is made of white clay and written in small characters of the Babylonian style. The obverse is much rubbed, and the ends of lines in the second column are lost, so that the reading is most difficult, and some characters are very doubtful. Mr. T. Pinches, who communicated the tablet to me, has also kindly assisted me in deciphering it. Before proceeding to the examination of the tablet, a few more remarks are necessary. 1°. The tablet explains the Sumerian or dialectical forms that must be borne in mind all through; 2° it contains many grammatical terms, the meaning of which cannot be determined with certainty; 3° the tablet seems to be an attempt of an Assyrian grammarian to classify methodically the pronominal and verbal forms found in Sumerian texts, so that the localization of the forms must be accepted with a certain amount of reserve;[1] 4° the expressions , and , found in the Assyrian translation of the Akkadian expressions, are ideograms, signifying, 'at the beginning,' 'at the end,' and 'in the middle,' and refer to the position of the Sumerian word or group when used in a sentence.

Col. i. l. 1–13. The Sumerian is partly lost; in the Assyrian col. there are two expressions, *ḫamtu* and *marū*, which seem to be grammatical terms: they might, perhaps, mean 'strong' and 'weak.'[2]

[1] As it will be seen, the distinctions made by the scribe are not always confirmed by the texts.

[2] I pass over this part, which has little bearing on pronouns.

l. 13, 14 : *eše* and *gis-en* are not found in the texts, and seem to be the interrogative ; the Assyrian give for the first *mī* ' who,' and for the other *man* ' who? which? '

l. 15 : *nu-uš* may be the full form of the negative *nu*, being translated by *ul* ' not,' and *lu man* ' no one.'

l. 17–18. *nu-ub-da*, another form of negative as shown by the Assyrian *la man* ' no one ' ; *adini* appears to be another negative, but not found in the texts.

l. 19–20. *nu me-a* ' not to be,' is the well-known negative of the verb substantive, rendered in Assyrian by *sa la* ' who not,' and *balum* ' without.'

The tablet proceeds giving then a series of particles, which seem to be considered as kinds of verbal suffixes.

l. 21. *na-an-na* (at the end) [1] is translated by *ela* ' over ' ; in Akkadian this particle governs, when placed at the end, the whole sentence, as do most of the following.

l. 22. *ud-da* (at the end) Ass. *šumma* ' when, if, then.'

l. 23–8. *ut-ta* ' on, to or from the day ' (at the beginning) is translated by six Assyrian expressions : *appiš* ' till,' *ana irat* ' beyond,' *al-la-ḫu* (meaning unknown), *ina ḳabal* ' to the middle,' *istu umi* ' from the day,' *inuma* ' then.'

l. 29, 31 : in two lines the first characters are doubtful.[2] The Assyrian translation gives *aššum* ' as for, as regard to ' ; this is also the translation for the next expression *mu*.

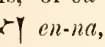
l. 32–6. *ta* placed at the end of a sentence governs the whole of it, and forms what M. Lenormant called a supine ; it is often used to express a consequential sentence. This explains the various Assyrian expressions given as translations : *ištu* ' from,' *ina, ana* ' in, for, to,' etc., *ina šā* ' in which, *innanu* ' in, from,' *gadu* ' from.'

l. 37–40 : we have here the theme *n* with perhaps a shortened form of the verb ' to be,' as explained by Mr.

[1] I place between brackets the translation of the ideograms , , etc.

[2] l. 30 *ka-nam* (supposing this reading correct) would be ' to the face,' which answers well to *aššum* ' as for.'

Pinches,[1] the Assyrian translation supports this explanation: *abbuna* 'emphasis,' or *šū* 'he,' *mā* 'this one.'

l. 41:  *en-na*, Ass. *adi* 'till,' is placed here, no doubt, on account of similitude of sound.

l. 42–45. The tablet proceeds then to enumerate the verbal simple prefixes, and begins with the precative well-known formative *ga*, *gu*, *ġa*, *ġi*. The Assyrian gives also the precative prefix *lū*.

Here the tablet is broken.

Col. ii. l. 4–7: *um*, *am*, *im*, *mi* are various forms of the verb 'to be,' *mea*, as showing the Assyrian translation *ana ia'nu* 'for being,' this same Assyrian verb, *ia'nu*, translates (W.A.I. 5. 40. 3), but the modified forms of this verb seem to be used as auxiliary.

l. 9–12 give the same modified verb with the postfix *ta*, having, it appears, nearly the value, as the Assyrian repeats the same translation.

l. 13–15. The same modified verb had also another use. The Assyrian gives here for translation *gamartu*, which is no doubt a grammatical term, the word means 'completion,' and is suitable to express the emphatic pronouns.[2]

l. 16–32 give the prefixes taken from the themes *n* and *b*, generally considered as expressing the third person, but which, as I have explained, may be taken for any of the three persons. The Assyrian col. for the theme *n* (*un*, *an*, *in*, *en*) gives as explanation *šū sa eliti . . . u šušmurti e*[*liti*] 'he who (is) over . . . and who makes strong [(and) is over].' This difficult expression appears to me to mean that this theme is used for the subject when near or important and regimen, which is over or important. For the theme *b* (*ab*,[3] *ub*, *ab*, *ib*, *eb*[4]) the Assyrian explains *šū sa šušmurti* 'he who makes strong,'

[1] Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVI. p. 318.

[2] It would be wrong, I believe, to confuse or assimilate this pronoun with that of the first person.

[3] This first *ab* seems to have been written in error, and maintained to avoid an erasure.

[4] Opposite this last form seems to be *anaku* ditto, but this Assyrian expression is rather placed between ll. 24 and 25, and refers no doubt to the next series.

that means the pronoun used as regimen, and it is to be noticed that the theme *b* is by preference used to express the regimen in the texts, though it appears also as subject. The theme *n* is again repeated in its four forms, and the Assyrian explains: *anaku* 𒀀 i.e. *ša šušmurti anaku iati* 'I (and) who make strong,' that is first person subject or object, 'I, me,' that is first person subject or object; the theme repeated again, the Assyrian gives *atta ka*[*a-ti*] *šā maliti* 'thou, thee who is full,' that is second person subject or object with emphasis. This theme can therefore, as I have said, express the three persons indifferently.

l. 34–46. We have here the theme of the weak aspirate, which appears as a simple vowel, 𒌋𒀀𒁹 *u*, 𒀀 *a*, 𒁹 *i*, 𒁹𒀀 *e*, the Assyrian explanations are in this case more striking still; unfortunately, as the ends of the lines are effaced, part of the expressions are lost, the first word 𒀀𒌋𒌋 *annis* 'there,' is perfectly adapted to express the farther pronoun; comes then the enumeration to show that the pronoun can be used for the three persons, subject or object, *šū ša* . . . 'he who . . .' (at the beginning or the middle), *šuati* 'him,' that is third person in regimen, *anaku u* [*iati*] 'I and me,' that is first person subject or object.

Here the tablet is broken, but little is lost to us, for the same theme was no doubt repeated with the second person in the Assyrian translation. The scribe, after having given the pronominal prefixes applicable, as we have seen, to all persons, went on giving the emphatic and isolated pronominal forms used to express the personal pronouns.

Col. iii. l. 7–14: the top of the reverse is lost, after a break of forty lines about; it begins with the first person plural 𒀀, in Assyrian, 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 *minu* 'we'; then come various combinations, all translated by the same Assyrian word, and of which some are found in the texts.

l. 15. 𒀀𒀀 *mea* (at the beginning and in the middle), explained in Ass. by *niati* 'us' accusative; this expression is composed of the pronoun *me*, and the postposition *a*; and the Assyrian translation is important because it proves that the postposition sometimes indicated only the accusative.

l. 16–19: the combinations of the pronoun with the postpositions *me-šu*, *me-da*, *me-ta*, *me-a* (at the beginning or the middle), are explained by *ana niašim* 'to us'; the postpostion *a* here expresses therefore the dative.

l. 20 and 21: the same group *me-da* appears twice again, and is translated here by *nilī*, which is no doubt a verbal form, the first person plural of a verb *elū*, from the same root as the preposition *ela* 'over,' it would therefore mean 'we are over, we are great.' On line 31 we have the second person singular of the same verb. Then the group is translated by *itti-ni* 'with us.'

l. 22: the possessive suffix *mu* is explained by the possessive adjective *iaūm* 'mine.'

l. 23–5. We have here an unusual character, , perhaps variant of *ma*,[1] translated by *ana niašim* 'to us'; the same character, followed by the postposition *ra*, is explained in the same way; followed by the postposition *da* it is translated by *itti-ni* 'with us,' which, compared with l. 21, gives .

l. 26. Now comes the pronoun of the second person. The nom. *ib-e*[2] is composed of the two farther pronouns combined together; the Assyrian *attakau* 'thou' has been noticed before.

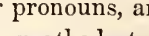
l. 27–32. The theme used in this tablet for the second person with postposition is *e*:[3] *e-šu*, *e-da*, etc. As noticed above, a verbal form translates again the pronoun with the postposition *da*: *teli*[*i*'] perhaps 'thou art over, great'; then *e-da*=*itti*[*ka*] 'with thee.'

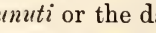
l. 33: the second pers. plur. is here *e-ne*, taken from the farther pronoun; in the texts we find another com-

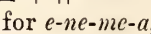
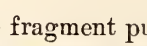
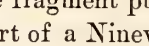
[1] If the reading of this character is *ma*, it is no doubt a form for *me-a*, where the vowels have been assimilated, but it would in pronunciation be confused with the singular of the pronoun, it may be to create a graphic distinction that the scribe has written three wedges inside instead of two. In the group and the first character would be *ma* for *me-a*, a kind of accusative followed by the postposition.

[2] This pronoun is remarkably similar to the interrogative *aba* 'who.'

[3] In the texts we found *zae* and *zā* used with a postposition.

bination  [1] *ni-e-me-en=attunu*, compound of the near and farther pronouns, and followed by the verb 'to be.' The Assyrian is partly lost, *kunu* . . . may be the suffix or the accusative *kunuti* or the dative *kunuši*, etc.

l. 34:  *e-ne-a* is translated by *kunu-ma* 'you are,' [2] it may be for *e-ne-me-a*, as we have *me-a-e=ia'nu atta* [3] 'to be thou.'

l. 35–43. The fragment published in W.A.I. 5. 28. 40–70 appears to be part of a Ninevite copy of the same tablet. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce this fragment, as the reader may easily refer to it. In the Ninevite copy the text was not arranged in the same way, so that it gives us part of the following lines, 17 lines which we have not in our copy, and which were placed at top of col. 4. For the first expression  *me-ṣi-en=attunu* 'you,' the Ninevite copy gives the variant *me-en-ṣi-en*, parallel to *me-en-ne-en* (l. 10) 'we.' The other forms  *un-ṣi-en*,  *an-ṣi-en*, etc., are taken from the near (*n*) or farther (*b*) pronominal themes. It must be noticed, however, that these forms with *ṣi* appear to be specially Sumerian, and are found only in Sumerian texts.

The Ninevite fragment is very mutilated, but it shows that after came the second person possessive suffix *zu* in Ass. *ku-*[*u*?] 'thine'; this suffix, as the theme *e* (comp. l. 26–31), could take the postfix *za-a* [4] Ass. *ana*[*kāši*] 'to thee,' which could become *za*; the nearer theme supplied one of the possessive suffixes of the third person *ni*, Ass. *-šu*, and took with the postfix the form *ni-na-a*, Ass. *ana šu*[*ašum*] 'to him,' and by assimilation *na*; [5] the further theme has the same variations *bi*, Ass. *-šu*, *bi-a*, Ass. *ana šuašum*, by assimilation *ba*. The third person plural was formed with the farther theme *e* or the nearer *n*, in the latter case the forms must have been easily confounded with those of the first.

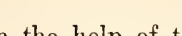
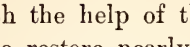
[1] W.A.I. 4. 21. 3-4.

[2] *Kunu-ma* is not found in the texts, but is formed regularly as *iatima* and *attama*.

[3] W.A.I. 5. 40. 5.

[4] *Za-a* is found in the texts.

[5] , which is given as synonym of *ninā* and *na*, may be for *e-šu* 'to him,' transformed into *eši* by assimilation, and then the theme *e* was dropped.

Col. 4, l. 12: with the help of the Ninevite fragment it would be possible to restore nearly the whole of this col.; after the forms of the third pers. plur. nominative, came the forms with the postfixes, which extend till our line 12,  *un-ne-da*,  *an-ne-da*, etc. The Assyrian is partly lost, but the meaning is clear: 'to them.'

We now come to the incorporated pronouns, that is, to the pronominal forms expressing the subject and the object or objects.

l. 13: *ne* (no doubt for *ne-e*), compound of the nearer theme *n* and the farther *e*, in Ass. *ana*[*ku*][1] *šuati* 'I him,' that is, first pers. subj., third obj.

l. 14: *bi-i*, the farther theme *b* and the farther theme *i*, for an Assyrian mind synonymous to the precedent.

l. 15: *bi-ne*, farther theme *b* and the nearer *n*, in Ass. *atta šuati* 'thou him,' that is, second pers. subj., third obj.

l. 16: *ne-e*, theme *n* and theme *e*, for an Assy. mind, synonym to the precedent.

l. 17: *bi-in*, themes *b* and *n*, in Ass. *šū šuati* 'he him,' that is, third pers. subj. and third obj.

l. 18: *in* (for *i-in*), themes *i* and *n*, synonym for an Assyrian mind to the precedent.

l. 19–21: here the scribe tries to make a distinction: *ba-a* = *anaku šuati*[2] 'I him,' that is, first pers. subj. third obj., *ba-e* = *atta šuati* 'thou him,' second pers. subj., third obj., *ba-an* = *šū šuati* 'he him,' third pers. subj., third pers. obj.[3] It is fortunate that the Assyrian grammarian tried to make this distinction of persons, for it reveals to us the surprising and unexpected fact that in the incorporated pronominal groups Akkadian followed a reverse order to that of the words in the sentence; in the sentence the order is subject + object + verb, the position of the indirect object varies; in

[1] There is no doubt that in the Assyrian copy *ana* is for *anaku*, it may be the fault of the copyist, or perhaps an Aramæan influence.

[2] This Assyrian expression is followed by the sign *ti*, the meaning of which escapes me, it might be intended to express that this combination is used in incidental sentences, as we have seen the postfix *ti* indicates sometimes an incidental or secondary clause.

[3] What proves that this distinction is only individual is that these very same forms appear in the texts without having these distinctions.

the incorporated pronouns the order is object+subject+verb.

l. 22–30 give us incorporated pronouns, composed of a subject and two direct objects: *i-ni-ni* and *mi-ni-ni=anaku šuati šuati* 'I him him,' first pers. subject and two third pers. objects; the same for the others: *i-ni-i=atta šuati šuati*, etc.[1]

l. 31–35 give incorporated pronouns composed so: indirect object+direct object+subject; the indirect object is expressed by *in-na*.[2] The Assyrian gives *anaku šuati šuati ū anaku šuašum* [*šua*]*ti*,[3] that is, subject and two direct objects, or subject—indirect object and direct object. This alternative comes no doubt from a difference of syntax in the two languages, as in one the verb may govern a dative and an accusative, and in the other the corresponding verb may govern two accusatives.

l. 36–38: the Sumerian expression is partly lost, and it is for the present impossible to restore the missing characters, the Assyrian gives: *anaku šuati šuati ana šuašam u gamartum* 'I-him-him-to him-and-completion,' that is, if we follow the analogy of the other passages, subject+two direct objects+indirect object with particle; the last expression *gamartum* is obscure; it is the same word which we find in col. 2, l. 13; but, as the Sumerian is lost, we cannot say if it translates the theme *m*; it may, however, here mean that the incorporated pronominal combination expresses every part of the sentence, the incorporation being complete.

l. 39 contained the first line of the next tablet.

The colophon which terminates the fourth col., though the greatest part is lost, shows that this tablet was a private copy; we may, therefore, hope to get other duplicate copies.

[1] After line 28, the scribe gives for each series only the first person in the translation, leaving the rest to the reader's intelligence.

[2] This had already been perceived by M. Lenormant.

[3] I suppose that is short for *šuati*, the two small wedges representing the syllable which is not repeated.

Art. VI.—*Dialects of Tribes of the Hindu Khush, from Colonel Biddulph's Work on the subject (corrected).*[1]

SHINA (Gilgit District).

Sketch of the Grammar.

The Substantive.

Substantives are either masculine or feminine. Those relating to human beings and animals are according to sex; for others there is no rule.

Both numbers have two forms, the nominative and the oblique; the dative and ablative are expressed by post-positions added to the oblique form. In some words elision is used. The plural is formed by adding *î*, or changing the *o* into *é*.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	a house	gôt	houses	gôtî
Gen.	of a house	gôté	of houses	gôtô
Dat.	to a house	gôté-té	to houses	gôtô-té
Acc.	a house	gôt	houses	gôtî
Abl.	in a house	gôté-roo	in houses	gôtî-éroo
	on a house	gôté-ájé	on houses	gôtî-ájé
	with a house	gôté-sâti	with houses	gôtî-sâti
	for a house	gôté-karyoo	for houses	gôtî-karyoo
	from a house	gôte-joh	from houses	gôtî-joh

[1] Since the publication of my work on the Tribes of the Hindu Khoosh in 1880, I have spent another year in Gilgit, and have been able to add to the knowledge I had already gained of the languages spoken in Dardistan. I have also been able to correct many errors that have found their way into the first publication of the languages—errors which were partly due to my own insufficient knowledge,—and partly to the fact of my being absent from Calcutta when that portion of my work was passing through the press.

By the kindness of the Royal Asiatic Society, the three principal languages given in appendix to "The Tribes of the Hindoo Khoosh" are now reprinted in their amended form, and though still far from complete, will give a correcter idea of those languages than can be obtained from the former publication. In those languages are, (1) Boorishki or Khajuua, the language of the Boorish or Yeshkuns, which is spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin, (2) Shina, the language of the Shins, which is spoken in the Gilgit Valley, (3) Khowar, the language of Chitral. The first has already appeared in its amended form in the Society's Journal, Vol. XVI. Part I.; the two latter are now given.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	a man	mánùjo	men	mánùjé
Gen.	of a man	mánùjé	of men	mánùjo
Dat.	to a man	mánùjé-té	to men	mánùjété
Acc.	a man	mánùjo	men	mánùjé
Abl.	in a man	mánùjo-roo	in men	mánùjé-roo
	on a man	mánûjo-ájé	on men	mánùjé-ajé
	with a man	mánùjo-sâti	with men	mánùjé-sâti
	for a man	mánùjo-kâryoo	for men	mánùjé-kâryoo
	from a man	mánùjo-joh	from men	mánùje-joh

The noun in the genitive is placed before the governing noun, as *áshpé*-shish 'the horn's head.'

The Adjective.

The adjectives with few exceptions terminate in *o* in the masculine, and *i* in the feminine, and precede the substantive, as:

a weak man ashâtô manùjoh. a good woman mishti chai.

Pronouns.

	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Acc.	Abl.
I	mah (*intrans.*) / másé (*trans.*)	maiṇ	mahté	mah	mah joh, etc.
Thou	tooh (*intrans.*) / toosé (*trans.*)	tai	tooté	tooh	tooh joh, etc.
He (*far*)	roh (*intrans.*) / rosé (*trans.*)	resai	resâté	roh	rosé joh, etc.
He (*near*)	nooh (*intrans.*) / noosé (*trans.*)	nesai	nesâté	nooh	noosé joh, etc.
She (*far*)	réh (*intrans.*) / resé (*trans.*)	resai	resâté	réh	résé joh, etc.
She (*near*)	néh (*intrans.*) / nésé (*trans.*)	nesai	nesâté	néh	nésé joh, etc.
We	béh (*intrans.*) / bésé (*trans.*)	asai	asoté	beh	asojoh, etc.
You	tsoh (*intrans.*) / tsosé (*trans.*)	tsai	tsoté	tsoh	tsoh joh, etc.
They (*far*)	rih (*intrans.*) / risé (*trans.*)	rinai	rineté	rih	riné joh, etc.
They (*near*)	nih (*intrans.*) / nisé (*trans.*)	nimai	nimeté	nih	niné joh, etc.

The Reflective Pronoun is formed by adding *áki*, as:

I myself mâh áki they themselves nih áki

Demonstrative Pronouns have two forms in the nominative, according as they are used with a transitive or intransitive verb, and the third person, both singular and plural, has

two forms according to whether the object or subject is far or near.

The Interrogative Pronoun is declined as follows; there is no distinction of gender in the plural:

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom. who *or* which	kô, *mas.* kê, *fem.*		who *or* which	kaiyi.
Gen. of whom, etc.	kôsé, *mas.* kêsé, *fem.*		of whom, etc.	kéeoon.
Dat. to whom, etc.	kôsé-té, *mas.* kêsé-té, *fem.*		to whom, etc.	kaiyenoté.
Acc. whom, etc.	kô *mas.* kê *fem.*		whom, etc.	kaiyi
Abl. from whom, etc.	kôsé-joh, *mas.* kêsé-joh, *fem.*		from whom, etc.	kaiyené-joh

The Relative is expressed by *tô*, as:

I who went máh gâs tô. The horse which I saw. áshpo páchîgâs *tô*.

The Verb.

The verb is generally very regular with terminations expressing tense and person. A few verbs like bojoyki 'to go' form the past tenses irregularly, as: *gâs* 'I went,' *gânùs* 'I have gone.'

The infinitive present always ends in *oyki*. In all tenses except the future, and in the infinitive and imperative moods, the singular has a masculine and a feminine form.

The passive or a causal verb is formed by interpolating *ar* before the terminal *oyki*, as: *koyki* 'to eat,' *karoyki* 'to be eaten' or 'to cause to eat.'

A noun of agency is formed by adding *k* to the infinitive, as: *koykik* 'one who eats,' *toykik* 'one who does.'

A verbal noun is also formed by using the infinitive present with postposition, as:

with the doing toyki-sâti. for striking from the eating koyki-joh. shidoyki-kâryoo.

Active Voice.

Infinitive Mood.

Present.		*Future.*	
to strike	shidoyki.	to be about to strike	shidoyki beyi.
	Past.		
to have struck	shidoyki ásoo.		

Participles.

Present.		*Future.*	
striking	shidôjé.	being about to strike	shidoyki bé.

Past.

having struck — shidé.

Gerund.

by *or* from striking — shidôbil.

Supines.

possibly to strike	shidoyki ájé	meet to strike	shidoyki hâno.
must strike		shidoyki áwájé.	

Indicative Mood.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am striking	shidémùs (*m*) / shidémis (*f.*)	we are striking	shidonus.
thou art striking	shidéno (*m.*) / shidéné (*f.*)	you are striking	shideyânut.
he, she, it is striking	shideyânoo (*m.*) / shideyânî (*f.*)	they are striking	shidénen.

Imperfect.

I have been striking	shidémasùs (*m.*) / shidémasis (*f.*)	we have been striking	shidonasus.
thou hast been striking	shideyaso (*m.*) / shideyasé (*f.*)	you have been striking	shideyasut.
he, she, it has been striking	shideyasoo (*m.*) / shideyasî (*f.*)	they have been striking	shidénasé.

Pluperfect.

I had struck	shidégâsùs (*m.*) / shidégisis (*f.*)	we had struck	shidégises.
thou hadst struck	shidégâso (*m.*) / shidégisé (*f.*)	you had struck	shidégiset.
he, she, it had struck	shidégasoo (*m.*) / shidégisî (*f.*)	they had struck	shidégisé.

Perfect.

I struck	shidêgâs (*m.*) / shidêgis (*f.*)	we struck	shidêges.
thou struckest	shidêgâ (*m.*) / shidêgé (*f.*)	you struck	shidêget.
he, she, it struck	shidêgoo (*m.*) / shidêgi (*f.*)	they struck	shidêgé.

Præterite.

I have struck	shidégânùs (*m.*) / shidéginis (*f.*)	we have struck	shidégenes.
thou hast struck	shidégâno (*m.*) / shidéginé (*f.*)	you have struck	shidégenet.
he, she, it has struck	shidéganoo (*m.*) / shidéginî (*f.*)	they have struck	shidégené.

Future.

I will strike	shidum.	we will strike	shidôn.
thou wilt strike	shidé.	you will strike	shidyât.
he, she, it will strike	shideyi.	they will strike	shiden.

Imperative Mood.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
strike thou	shidé.	strike you	shidya.
let him, her, it strike	shidota.	let them strike	shidota.

Conditional Mood.

The conditional mood is expressed by adding *ájé* 'perhaps' to the indicative mood in all its forms:

Present.		*Imperfect.*	
I may be striking, etc.	shidémûs ajé, etc.	I may have been striking, etc.	shidémasús ájé, etc.

Pluperfect.	
I should bave struck	shidégâsùs ájé, etc.

Perfect.		*Præterite.*	
I may have struck, etc.	shidégás ajé, etc.	I may have struck, etc.	shidégânùs ájé, etc.

Future.	
I may strike	shidum ájé, etc.

Passive Voice.

Infinitive Mood.

Present.		*Future.*	
to be struck	shidaroyki.	to be about to be struck	shidaroyki bé beyi.

Past.	
to have been struck	shidaroyki ásùloo.

Participles.

Present.		*Future.*	
being struck	shidarôjá	being about to be struck	shidaroyki bé.

Past.	
having been struck	shidîtoo bé.

Gerund.

by *or* from being struck — shidarôbil.

Supines.

possibly to be struck must be struck — shidaroyki ájé

meet to be struck — shidaroyki awájé. shidaroyki háno.

Indicative Mood.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am being struck	shidîjùmûs (*m.*) / shidîjimis (*f.*)	we are being struck	shidîjinus.
thou art being struck	shidijeno (*m.*) / shidijiné (*f.*)	you are beiug struck	shidîyâjut.
he, she, it is being struck	shidijinoo (*m.*) / shidijinî (*f.*)	they are being struck	shidêjenen.

Imperfect.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I was being struck	shidîjumasûs (*m.*) / shidîjimisis (*f.*)	we were being struck	shidojunasus.
thou wast being struck	shidîjaso (*m.*) / shidîjasé (*f.*)	you were being struck	shidojunasut.
he, she, it was being struck	shidîjasoo (*m.*) / shidîjisî (*f.*)	they were being struck	shidêjenasé.

Pluperfect.

I had been struck	shidarêgâsûs (*m.*) / shidarêgisis (*f.*)	we had been struck	shidarêgises.
thou hadst been struck	shidarêgâso (*m.*) / shidarêgisé (*f.*)	you had been struck	shidarêgiset.
he, she, it had been struck	shidarêgâsoo (*m.*) / shidarêgisî (*f.*)	they had been struck	shidarêgisé.

Perfect.

I was struck	shidarêgâs (*m.*) / shidarêgis (*f.*)	we were struck	shidarêges.
thou wast struck	shidarêgâ (*m.*) / shidarêgé (*f.*)	you were struck	shidaréget.
he, she, it was struck	shidarêgoo (*m.*) / shidarêgî (*f.*)	they were struck	shidarêgé.

Præterite.

I have been struck	shidarêgânûs (*m.*) / shidarêginis (*f.*)	we have been struck	shidarêgenes.
thou hast been struck	shidarêgâno (*m.*) / shidarêginé (*f.*)	you have been struck	shidarêgenet.
he, she, it has been struck	shidarêganoo (*m.*) / shidarêginî (*f.*)	they have been struck	shidarêgené.

Future.

I will be struck	shidarum.	we will be struck	shidarôn.
thou wilt be struck	shidaré.	you will be struck	shidaryât.
he, she, it will be struck	shidareyi.	they will be struck	shidaren

IMPERATIVE.

be thou struck	shidaré.	be ye struck	shidarya.
let him, her, it be struck	shidarota.	let them be struck	shidarota.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

The conditional mood is formed as in the active voice by adding *ájé* to all forms of the indicative.

Conjugation of the verb 'To BE.'

The verb 'To BE' is defective, the only existing forms being as follows:

Present.

I am	hânûs (*m.*) / hânis (*f.*)	we are	hânus.
thou art	hâno (*m.*) / hâné (*f.*)	you are	hânut.
he, she, it is	hânoo (*m.*) / hânî (*f.*)	they are	hâné.

Past.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I was	ásùs (*m.*) / ásis (*f.*)	we were	ásus.
thou wast	áso (*m.*) / ásé (*f.*)	you were	ásut.
he, she, it was	ásoo (*m.*) / ásî (*f.*)	they were	ásé.

There is an alternative form of the past tense without any change of meaning.

I was	ásùlùs (*m.*) / ásilis (*f.*)	we were	ásilus.
thou wast	ásùlo (*m.*) / ásilé (*f.*)	you were	ásilut.
he, she, it was	ásùloo (*m.*) / ásilî (*f.*)	they were	ásilé.

Other forms are supplied by the verb 'To Become.'

Conjugation of the verb 'To Become.'

Infinitive Mood.

Present. *Future.*

to become	boyki.	to be about to become	boyki beyi.

Past.

to have become — boyki ásoo.

Participles.

Present. *Future.*

becoming	beyanoo.	being about to become	boyki bé.

Past.

having become — bé.

Gerund.

by *or* from becoming — bilo.

Supines.

possibly to become	boyki-ájé.	meet to become	boyki-awájé.
must become		boyki háno. / boykinoo.	

Indicative Mood.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am becoming	bùmùs (*m.*) / bùmis (*f.*)	we are becoming	bonus.
thou art becoming	bénoo (*m.*) / béné (*f.*)	you are becoming	bânut.
he, she, it is becoming	beyanoo (*m.*) / beyanî (*f.*)	they are becoming	bénum.

Imperfect.

I was becoming	bomásùs (*m.*) / bomásis (*f.*)	we were becoming	bonásus.
thou wast becoming	boes (*m.*) / besé (*f.*)	you were becoming	bâsut.
he, she, it was becoming.	beyáso (*m.*) / beyasî (*f.*)	they were becoming	bénásé.

An alternative form of the tense is *bomásùlùs*, etc.

Pluperfect.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I had become	bigâsùs (*m.*) / bigîsis (*f.*)	we had become	bigêsus.
thou hadst become	bigâso (*m.*) / gigêsé (*f.*)	you had become	bigêsut.
he, she, it had become	bigoosoo (*m.*) / bîsî (*f.*)	they had become	bigêsé.

An alternative form of the 3rd pers. sing. mas. is *boogoosoo*.

An alternative form of the tense is *bigâsùlùs*, etc.

Perfect.

I became	bigâs (*m.*) / bigis (*f.*)	we became	biges.
thou becamest	bigá (*m.*) / bigé (*f.*)	you became	biget.
he, she, it became	bigoo (*m.*) / bigî (*f.*)	they became	bigé.

Alternative forms of the 3rd person singular are *boo*, *boogoo*, and *booloo*.

An alternative form of the 3rd person is *bilé*.

Præterite.

I have become	bigânûs (*m.*) / bigînis (*f.*)	we have become	bigênus.
thou hast become	bigânoo (*m.*) / bigêné (*f.*)	you have become	bigênut.
he, she, it has become	bigoonoo (*m.*) / bigînî (*f.*)	they have become	bigêné.

Alternative forms of the 3rd person singular are *boonoo* and *booloonoo*.

An alternative form of the 3rd person plural is *bilêné*.

Future.

I shall become	bôm.	we shall become	bôn.
thou shalt become	bé.	you shall become	bât.
he, she, it shall become	beyi.	they shall become	bén.

Imperative Mood.

become thou	bo.	become ye	bâ.
let him, her, it become	bota.	let them become	bota.

Conditional Mood.

The conditional mood is formed by adding *ájé* 'perhaps' to all forms of the indicative mood.

The Negative and the Interrogative.

'No' is expressed by *neṇ*, and 'not' by *né*, but in an indefinite sense by *nùsh*.

The interrogative is expressed by adding *á* to the verb, or if it already terminates in *á*, by lengthening it to *â*, as:

Is this your horse?	No.	Anoo tai âshpo hâno*á*?	*Neṇ*.
Have you a horse?	No.	Too kuch âshpo hâno*á*?	*Nùsh*.
I will not go.		*Né* bâjum.	
Shall I go?		Mâh bâjùm*á*?	
Hast thou gone?		Too g*á*?	

Sometimes the verb is omitted and the *á* suffixed to the noun, as:

Is this your horse?	Anoo tai âshpoâ.

The Adverb.

Adverbs are formed from adjectives by changing the final *o* into *âr* or *yâr*, as:

sharp	tîno.	sharply	tîn*ár*.
slow	abâto.	slowly	abat*yár*.
swift	lôko.	swiftly	lôky*ár*.

Example.

Dázoto máh sùtùsùs ajyâketé manoojo káli shongo wutto. Másé rinaiṇ hilling parooji rinoṇ kutchi gâs. Gé chukumto woi ájé káli bénásé. Aiy bêyé aiyêbé káli bénásé. Ek sé woi kêt háreso, ek rosé nowâreté phuttung téásoo. Máh ifai aiyno káli chùk táré. Bainoté woi tráng té sámáré, máh wâtùs. Máh gutteji rih gah gé. Ken ik ájo chukumto neh hilling tenásé. Máh hoon bé rinoṇ wâri gâs: gé chukumto eksé ek dé, eksé eki chîloo tser tigoosoo. Másé aiy bêyé kállijoh phutt tarêgás. Phutt táré kùjêgás, tén másé woi sámáré sùbêyé yoopáré gâsùs, neh keh káli biget. Âdé rêgás, rinájo eksé rêgoo máh tai moreji bé gâsùs, aiyâketé woi bun boogoo. Máh neh înláji gé chukumto rosé woi booté áko wâri farêgoosoo; máh gé phuttung tigás. Rosé máh tung tigoo, másé gah tung tigás, aiyâketé rosé máté shong tigoo; másé gah hutt harigâsùs, maiṇ hut rosé giriroo go, chîloo tser booloo.

Translation.

At mid-day I was sleeping when the noise of men fighting came to me. On hearing their noise I went to them. Having gone I

saw that they were fighting about water. The two were fighting with one another in this way. One was taking the water below, the other was breaking (away the earth) in this direction. I arrived and silenced both their quarrelling. Having divided the water between the two, I came (back). After me they also went. After a time I saw they were again making a noise. Having risen I went towards them; (and) on going I saw one beating the other (*lit.* one beating one): one had torn the clothes of the other. I separated the two from fighting. Having separated them I asked, "I having just now divided the water (and) reconciled you two went, why have you again quarrelled?"

I spoke thus, one (of them) said, "Having done your order I went, so that the water was closed to me. Having again gone to the watercourse,[1] I saw that the other (*lit.* he) had turned the whole of the water towards himself; having gone I opened it. He pushed me away, I also pushed him, so that he struck me; I also lifted (*lit.* took my hand, my hand entered the hem of his shirt, (and) his clothes were torn."

Vocabulary.

To be able	boyki
Above	áji, ám.
Abuse	chùdo *b.*
To abuse	káloyki.
Account	cheghah *m.*
Accustomed	hittoo.
Acid	chùrko.
Across	birecho.
Active	lôko.
To advise	kanow toyki.
After	gutteji, phuttoo.
Again	neh.
Air	tamùs *f.*
Alert	turâr.
All	booté.
Along	soontcho.
Alongside of	king.
Also	gah.

[1] *Inl* is literally the place where water is drawn off from a watercourse. It also means the eye of a needle.

Although	ákhanâ.
Always	hamêsha.
And	neh.
Anger	roshâr *m.*
Angry	rosh.
To be angry	rosh boyki.
Another time	ájinoodum.
To answer	joowâb doyki.
Ant	filili *f.*
Anxiety	sumbá *m.*
Anxious	sumbáchun.
Apart	yoolo.
Apple	phullâ *m.*
Apricot	jooî (fruit *m.*, tree *f.*)
Arm	shâko *m.*
Arms (weapons)	sámôn *f.*
Army	sîṇ *m.*
To arrive	ifayoyki.
Arrow	kôn *m.*
To ask	kùjoyki.
To ask for	bichoyki.
Ass	jakoon *m.*
Aunt (father's sister)	papî.
(mother's sister)	mâ.
Autumn	sharô *m.*
Avalanche	hinâl *f.*
Away	phutt.

Back	dâki pito *m.*
Bad	kutcho, kutcheto.
Barley	yo *m.*
Bat	tatâpul *m.*
To be	boyki.
Bean	rabong *m.*
Bear	îtch *m.*
Beard	daiyṇ *f.*
To beat	shidoyki, doyki.
Beautiful	milalyoo.
Because	djek toh, kyé toh.
To become	boyki.
Before	yer (*suffixed*).

To begin	sùtoyki.
Behind	phuttoo.
Belly	dèr *f.*
Below	kiri, kêt.
To betray	hulwoyki.
Betrothal	hâr *f.*
Between	mujjah (*suffixed*).
Beyond	pâr (*suffixed*).
Body	dim *m.*
To bind	tuk toyki, gunoyki.
Bird	bring *m.*, chaiyṇ *m.*
To bite	chupoyki, jun toyki.
Bitter	chitto.
Black	kino.
Blind	shô.
Blood	lel *m.*
To blow	phoo toyki.
Blue	aghai nîlo.
Blunt	phutt.
Bone	áti *m.*
To be born	joyki.
Both	bêyé.
Boundary	dir *f.*
Bow	dânoo *m.*
Boy	shùdâr *m.*
Brain	mutto *m.*
Brass	hulliroo rîl *f.*
Brave	hiyélo.
Bread	tiki *f.*
To break	pùtoyki.
Breast	chùchi, titîro.
Breath	shâṇ *m.*
Brick	dishtik *f.*
Bride	hillâl *f.*
Bridegroom	hillalô *m.*
Bridle	guppî *f.*
Bridge	so *f.*
To bring	atoyki.
Broad	châlo, shîlo.
To be broken	pùtejoyki.
Brooch	chummá *m.*

Brother	já *m.*
Brown	gooroo.
Bull	dôno *m.*
Bullet	didoo *m.*
To burn	loopoyki.
To bury	kutoyki.
But	umma.
Butterfly	phuttoi *f.*
To buy	krinoyki.
By	joh (*suffixed*).
To be burnt	dájoyki.
To call	hoh toyki.
Calling	hoh *m.*
Camel	oot *m.*
Care	shong *m.*
Cat	booshi *m.*
To catch hold	lamoyki.
Cattle (*collectively*)	gowîlé.
Charm	toomer *m.*
Cheek	harom *f.*
To cherish	ùnoyki.
Chin	chom *m.*
Circle	bidiriko *m.*
Clarionet	sùrnai *f.*
Clean	sâf.
Cleverness	áchikoon *m.*
Closed	bun, chiloo.
Clothes	chîloo *m.*
Cloud	niyâr *f.*
Cock	kon krocho *m.*
Cold	shidalo.
Colour	rong *m.*
To come	woyoyki.
To consult	gùchoyki.
Copper	léloo rîl *f.*
Corner	shùtî *m.*
Four-cornered	châr shûtîye
Corpse	koonoo *m.*
Cough	koo *f.*
To count	kaloyki.

Courage	mùshelai *f.*
Cousin	ja̱h, sah.
Cow	go *f.*
To creep	kâṇsh boyki.
Crooked	kôlo.
Crow	kâṇ *m.*
Custom	chôl *m.*
To cut	cherùk toyki.
Daily	desgo.
To dance	nutadoyki.
Dancing	nut *f.*
Dangerous	bijâto.
Dark	tùtungek.
Darkness	tùtung *m.*
Daughter	dî *f.*
Dawn	lô m.
Day	dés *m.*
Mid-day	tráng soori, dázo.
To-day	ácho.
Deaf	kooto.
Death	mâren *f.*
To deceive	hulwoyki.
Deceitful	jibgullo, hulwunin.
Destitute	lîcho.
Dew	pùts *m.*
To die	miroyki.
Different	yoolo.
Difficult	kooro.
Dirty	chekráto, terek.
To dismiss	lungoyki.
Disposition	hittoo *m.*
To divide	chinoyki.
Division	chido *m.*
Divorce	talâk *m.*
To do	toyki.
Dog	shooṇ *m.*
Door	dur *m.*
Down	kiri.
Dream	sântcho *m.*
To drink	pioyki.

Drum	durrung *m.*
Dry	shùko.
Dust	ùdoo *m.*
Eagle	kákê *m.*
Ear	kon *m.*
Earth	sùm *m.*
The earth	bîrdi *f.*
Earthquake	bùn̲yiul *f.*
East (sunrise)	jill béyi *m.* (*lit.* "it will be evident").
Easy	sácho.
To eat	koyki.
Eclipse	grâṇ *m.*
Edge	shing *m.*
Egg	hánné *f.*
Elbow	bákùni *f.*
Elephant	husto *m.*
Empty	poon̲shko.
Enemy	dùshmun *m.*
Enmity	dùshmuni *f.*
To enter	ároo bojoyki.
Envy	koos *m.*
Equal	párooloo.
To make equal	párooloo toyki.
To escape	mùchoyki.
Evening	shâm *f.*
Ever	káré.
Everybody	bùté djek.
Everything	hár djek.
Ewe	ej *f.*
Except	oré (*suffixed*).
Expectation	chákánî *f.*
Eye	áchi *m.*
Face	mùk *m.*
Family	supooyár *m.*
To fall	dijoyki, poyki.
Far	door.
Fat (*subs.*)	mî *f.*
Fat (*adj.*)	tolo.
Father	mâlo *m.*

Father (*as a form of address*)	bâbo.
To be fatigued	shùmoyki.
Fault	tiss *f.*
Fear	bijetäi *f.*
To fear	bijoyki.
Feather	puchâli *f.*
To feed	kairoyki.
Female	sontch *f.*
Fig	phâg *m.*
Fight	bîrgah *m.*, kâli *f.*
To fight	kâli toyki.
To fill	shuck toyki.
Finger	agooi *f.*
To finish	phush toyki.
Fire	ágâr *m.*
First	poomooko.
Fish	chùmoo *m.*
To flee	ùchoyki.
Flock (of birds)	brin *f.*
Flour	ânté.
Flower	phùner *f.*
Flute	torooyi *f.*
To fly (as a bird)	thur doyki.
Following	guttéjí (*suffixed*).
Foot	pâ *m.*
For	kâryoo (*suffixed*).
Forehead	nilow *m.*
To forget	umùshoyki.
Fort	kôt *m.*
Foster-kindred	ùnîlo.
Fowl	kerkâmûsh *f.*
Fox	loyṇ *f.*
Friend	shoogáloo *m.*
Friendship	shoogályâr *f.*
From	joh (*suffixed*).
Frost	kutti *f.*
Fruit	phámùl *m.*
Full	shuck.
Fur	jutt *f.*
Garden	tsâgoh *m.*

Generous	hyooshîlo, hutshîlo.
Gently	jool, shong.
To get	laiyoyki.
Girl	mùlai *f.*
To give	doyki.
To go	bojoyki.
To go out	dároo bojoyki.
Goats (*collectively*).	lutch.
He-goat	mooger *m.*
She-goat	aiy *f.*
Wild goat	sherrah.
God	Dábon.
Gold	son *m.*
Good	mishtùṇ *m.*, mishti *f.*
Grape	juteh *f.*
Grass	kuteh *f.*, jùt.
Great	buddo.
Green	jùt nîlo.
Grief	gôm *m.*
To grieve	sùpùsh boyki.
Gun	tùmák *m.*
Gunpowder	bilen *m.*

Hail	aiṇyer *f.*
Hair	jakùr *f.*
Half	tráng, châk.
Hand	hut *m.*
Right hand	dushino *m.*
Left hand	khubo *m.*
Handle	dono *m.*
Happiness	shùryâr *m.*
To be happy	shùryoyki.
Hard	kùro.
Hare	ooshaiṇyoo *m.*
Hatred	gut *m.*
Hawk	baiyoṇsh *f.* bâz *f.*
Head	shish *m.*
Health	ráhát *m.*
To hear	parejoyki.
Heart	hyo *m.*
The heavens	aghai *f.*

Heavy	ágooroo.
Hen	sontch kerkâmùsh *f.*
Herd	don *m.*
Here	âni.
High	ùtullo.
To hit (as with a gun or a stone).	dijoyki.
Hollow	phooshko.
Hope	duck *f.*
To hope	duck toyki.
Horse	áshpo *m.*
Horseman	ashpâr.
Horse shoe	sârpo *m.*
Hot	tâto.
House Home	gôt *m.*
How	kyoh
How many	kutchâkuk.
How much	kutchâk.
Humble	môro.
Hunger	ooyunyâr *f.*
Hungry	ooyuno.
Hundred	shul.
To hunt	duroo doyki.
Husband	báro *m.*

Ice	gumùk *m.*
Idle	abâto.
Idleness	abátai *f.*
If	ákhân.
To be ignorant	né sùŋyoyki.
Ill	rogôto.
To be ill	rogôto boyki.
Illness	rogotyâr *f.*
In (*of place*)	éroo (*suffixed*).
In (*of time*)	bul (*suffixed*).
Industrious	gresto, roocho.
Infant	shùdâr *m.*
To injure	nooksân toyki.
Instead of	dishéroo.
Iron	chîmer *m.*

Judgment	ustôm *m.*
To jump	prig doyki.
Justice	insâf *f.*
To join	yoopoyki.
Kettledrum	dâmul *m.*
To kick	pachootyâr doyki.
To kill	mároyki.
King	râ *m.*
King's wife	sôni *f.*
King's son	gùshpoor.
King's daughter	râ-é-dî.
Knee	kùtoo *m.*
To kneel	kootiáshki baiyoyki.
Knife	khatâroo *m.*, khatâr *f.*
To know	sùŋyoyki.
Knowledge	dushtunni *f.*
Lame	kùdo.
Language	bâsh *f.*
Large	buddo.
Late	choot.
To laugh	haiyoyki.
To lay down	paroyki.
Lead	nâng *m.*
Leaf of a tree	páto *m.*
To learn	sichoyki.
To leave	phutt toyki.
Leg	putâloo *m.*
To let go	phutt toyki.
Level	párooloo.
Lie	khultê *m.*
To lie down	poyki.
Life	jîl *f.*
To lift	hoon toyki.
Light (*subs.*)	sung *m.*
Light (*adj.*)	lôko.
Lightning	bîchùsh *f.*
Like	párooloo.
Line	tsir *f.*, kishî *f.*
Lip	ōnti *f.*
Little	shoowo.

A little	âpo.
Liver	yùm *m.*
Long	jigo.
To look at *or* for	chukoyki.
To lose	naiyoyki.
Love	shool *m.*
To love	shooltoyki.
Low	lâto.
To make	toyki.
Male	bîro *m.*
Man	mùshâ
Young man	châkùr *m.*
Old man	jero *m.*
Mankind	manùjoh *m.*
Mare	bâm *f.*
To marry	ger toyki.
Marriage	ger *f.*
To measure	toloyki.
Meat	mos *m.*
Medicine	bilen.
To meet	dok boyki
Melon (water)	booer *m.*
Melon (musk)	galâti *f.*
Mid-day	tráng soori, dázo.
Mid-night	tráng râti.
Milk	dùt *m.*
Mist	ùdoo *m.*
To mix	mishoyki.
Moon	yoon *f.*
Month	mâz *m.*
Half month	putch *m.*
More	busko
Morning	loshtîko, chel bùji *m.*
Moth	pránooṇ *m.*, pránooiṇ *pl.*
Mother	mâ *f.*
Mother (*as a form of address*)	âjé.
Mountain	tchîsh *m.*
Mouse	mooji *f.*
Mouth	aiyṇ *f.*
To move (*trans.*)	lung toyki.

To move (*intrans.*)	lung boyki, bitoyki
Movement	lung.
Much	bôdo.
So much	achâk, aiyâk.
Mud	tok *m.*, tagâ *m.*
Mulberry	maronch *m.*
Muscle	mooji *m.*
Music	hárîp *f.*
Naked	nunno.
Nail (finger)	nôro *m.*
Name	nôm *m.*
Narrow	irooto pîto.
Near	kutchi
Neck	shuck *m.*
Nephew (*brother's son*)	jáwé pùtch *m.*
Nephew (*sister's son*)	sowoo *m.*
Never	khussné.
New	nowoo.
Niece (*brother's daughter*)	jáwá dî *f.*
Niece (*sister's daughter*)	sowî *f.*
Night	râti *f.*
No	neṇ.
Nobody	koh nùsh.
Noise	hilling *f.*, shongoo *f.*
None	nùsh.
North	shimâl *m.*
Nose	nâto *m.*
Nothing	djeká nùsh.
Now	ten.
Of	é (*suffixed*)
Oil	tel *m.*
Old	prônoṇ.
On	ájé (*suffixed*)
Owl	hoo *m.*
Only	gùtcho.
Open	bâto.
To open	bâto toyki.
Or	yah
To order	bundêsh toyki

Other	mooto.
Out	dároo.
Over	ájé (*suffixed*).
Pain	jâk *f.*
Painful	shilânoo.
To be pained	shiloyki.
To pain	jâk *f.*
Palace	shilaroyki.
Partridge	kâṇkuto
Peach	chookanâr *m.*
Pear	feshoo *m.*
People	juck.
Perhaps	ájé (*suffixed*)
Pigeon	kùnooli *f.*
Pity	nirai *f.*, jâk *f.*
Place	dish *f.*
To place	choroyki.
Plain	dâs *m.*
Play	halibon *m.*
To play (a game)	halibon toyki, hâi toyki.
To play (on an instrument)	bushoyki.
Pleasant tasting	ispow.
To please	shùriâroyki.
Pleased	shùriâr.
To be pleased	shùroyoyki.
Pleasure	shuriárai *f.*
Plough	hull *m.*
Point	chùroo *m.*
To portion out	samaroyki, bágoyki.
To praise	tikoyki.
To prepare	phush toyki
Pride	bádyârai *f.*
To produce	diloojoyki.
To promise	kât toyki.
Proper	yeshki.
Proud	bádyâr.
To pull	jákáloyki.
Punishment	suzâ *m.*
To push	tung toyki.

Quarrel	bushenî *f.*
To quarrel	bushoyki.
Queen	sôni *f.*
Quickly	lôko.
Rain	ájo *m.*
Ram	karêlo *m.*
To read	rayoyki
Ready	phush.
To receive	layoyki.
To recognize	dushtoyki, sùṇyoyki.
To be reconciled	yoopoyki.
To reconcile	yooparoyki.
Red	lélo.
Relation	ùskoon *m.*
Relationship	ùskùni *f.*
To remember	hiyêjé ginoyki.
Remembrance	hiyéjá *m.*
To return	firoyki.
Reward	goorin *m.*
Rice	briùṇ *m.*
Rich	poyôno.
Ring	kickin, brôno *m.*
Ringlets	toroiy *f.*
Ripe	pucko.
To be ripe	puchoyki.
To rise	ùthoyki, hoon boyki.
River	sin *f.*
Road	pon *f.*
Rock	giri *f.*
To roll (*intrans.*)	fullun boyki.
To roll up	sulátoyki.
Roof	tesh *f.*
Rope	bâli *f.*
Rotten	krido, duddo.
Round	bidiriko.
Rough	chichâro.
To run	hai toyki, ùchoyki.[1]

[1] Not to be confounded with *hâi toyki* 'to play.'

Sad	sùpùsh.
Saddle	tilén *m.*
Sand	sighel *f.*
Sarcasm	náchit *f.*
To save	mùjoyki.
To say	bushoyki.
Saying	mor *f.*
To scatter	shiyoyki.
To be scattered	,,
To search for	ùdaroyki.
To see	pushoyki.
Seed	bî.
Self	áko (1*st pers.*), ákî (2*nd and* 3*rd pers.*)
To sell	gâtch doyki.
To send	chunoyki.
Separate	yùlo.
To separate	yùlo toyki.
To be separated	yúlo boyki.
Servant	shudder *m.*
Shadow	chijôt *f.*
Shame	lush *f.*
Sharp	tîno.
Sheep (*collectively*)	ejîlé.
Wild sheep	oorin.
Short	kùto.
Shoulder	piow *m.*
To shout	shoṇgo toyki.
Shut	tum.
To shut	tum toyki.
Side	king *f.*
On this side	ánoowári.
On that side	aiyoowári.
Alongside	efut, kingejé.
Sigh	hesh *m.*
Silent	manooker, chùk.
Silk	sikkim *f.*
Silver	roop *m.*
Sinew	jowa *m.*
To sing	gai doyki.
Singing	gai *f.*
Sister	sah *f.*

To sit	baiyoyki.
Skin	chom *m.*
Slave	maristun *m.*
Sleep	nir *f.*
To sleep	soyki, niratoyki.
Sloping	besko.
Slow	adâto.
Slowly	choot.
Small	chùno.
Smoke	doom *m.*
Smooth	fichiliko.
Snake	jon *m.*
Sneeze	jaiṇ *f.*
Snow	hin *m.*
Soft	môwo.
Solid	sâṇro.
Solistice	hâlôl *f.*
Some	djek.
Sombody	koh manùjo.
Something	djekek.
Son	pùtch *m.*
To soothe	shiloyki.
To sow	biroyki.
Soul	rooh *m.*
Sound	shongo *m.*
South	janoob *m.*
Spade	bel *f.*
Speech	mori *m.*
Spoon	kuppaiy *f,*
Spring	bazôno *m.*
To stand	tsukootoyki.
Star	târoo *m.*, târe *pl.*
Stern	kooro.
Stone	but *m.*
Storm	tofân *m.*
Straight	soonoho.
Strength	shut *m.*
To strike	shidoyki. / doyki. / shong toyki.
Strong	shâtillo.

Stupidity	kum ákilî *f.*
Suitable	yeshki.
Summer	wâlo *m.*
Summer solstice	wâlo hálôl.
To summon	ho toyki.
Sun	soori *f.*
Sweet	môro.
Swift	lóko.
To swim	tum doyki.
Sword	kunger *f.*
Tail	pochô *m.*
To take	haroyki.
To take away	nikáloyki.
To take hold	lámoyki ginoyki.
To take up	hoon toyki.
To teach	sicharoyki.
To tear	tser toyki.
To tell	rayoyki.
That	ô.
Then	esoroo.
There	âli.
Therefore	anussé kâryoo.
Thick	toloo.
Thin	abrîlo.
To think	sumbá toyki.
Thirst	waiyâl, ooṇyiyâr *m.*
Thirsty	ooṇyooṇyooṇ.
This	noo, anoo.
Those	aiy.
Thought	sumbá *m.*
Throat	shoto *m.*
To throw	phull toyki, wiyoyki.
To throw away	lipp toyki.
To throw down	naravioyki.
Thumb	ágooto *m.*
Thunder	ting tong *m.*
Thus (*this way*)	ádé.
,, (*that way*)	aiyé.
Till	té (*suffixed*)
Time	ken *f.*

Timid	bîjâto.
Tin	kalai *f.*
To	tê (*suffixed*).
Toe	ágooi *f.*
Together	gutti.
To-day	ácho.
To-morrow	loshtâki.
The day after to-morrow	chiring.
Tongue	jip *m.*
Tooth	don *m.*
Touch	jook *f.*
To touch	jook toyki.
Towards	khing, wâri (*suffixed*).
Treacherous	hulwoykik.
Tree	tom *m. f.*
Truth	soontch *m.*
To try	siloyki.
To turn	faroyki.
Turning	fár.
True	soontcho.
Ugly	kutcho, kujeto.
To be unable	dûboyki.
To unbind	toroyki, phuttung toyki.
Uncle (father's brother)	mâlo *m.*
Uncle (mother's brother)	mowl *m.*
Under	kiri (*suffixed*).
To unfold	toroyki, phuttung toyki.
Unless	oré.
Upright	tsuck.
Valley	gah *m.*, butzel *f.*
Vein	nâr *f.*
Very	bodô.
Very well	shoh, mishtùṇ.
Vexation	phidik *m.*
To be vexed	phidik boyki.
Village	het, girom *f.*
Vine	goorbi *f.*
Voice	másho *m.*
Vulture	kwâṇroo *m.*

Wall	kùt *m.*
Walnut	ácho *m.*, kákaiyṇ *f.*
Water	woi *m.*
Water-mill	yùr *f.*
Weak	ashâtô.
Weakness	ashâtyâr *m.*
To weep	royki.
West (sunset)	boor beyi *m.* (*lit.* "it will be down").
Wet	ájo.
What	djek.
Wheat	goom.
When (*interrog.*)	káré.
When (*relat.*)	ôken.
Where (*interrog.*)	kôni.
Which	kô.
Whip	tôr *f.*
White	shaiyo.
Who (*interrog.*)	koh.
Why (*interrog.*)	keh.
Wide	shîlo.
Widow Widower	gyoos *m. f.*
Wife	gren *f.*
Wind	ôsh *f.*
Window	darî *f.*
Wine	mo *m.*
Wing	putchâli *f.*
Winter	yôno.
Winter solstice	yôno hâlôl.
Wise	bodîlo.
Wish	ruck *m.*
To wish	ruck toyki.
With	sâti (*suffixed*).
Within	mujjah, ároo.
Wolf	shâṇ *m.*
Woman	chai *f.*
Old woman	jeri *f.*
Young woman	chùmùtkir *f.*
Wood	jùk *m.*
Wool	jutt *f.*, push *m.*
Wool (*pushm*)	báphoor *f.*

Work	kom *m.*
To work	kom toyki
The world	dùniyát *f.*
Wound	gâl *m.*
To wound	gâl doyki.
To write	likoyki.
Year	ewêlo, kâl *m.*
Yellow	halijo.
Yes	áwá.
Yesterday	bullá.
The day before yesterday	ichî.

Numerals.

1	ek.	16	shoiṇ.
2	doo.	17	sutaiṇ.
3	ché.	18	áshtaiṇ.
4	châr.	19	kùnî.
5	poiṇ.	20	bî.
6	shá.	21	bî gah ek.
7	sut.	30	bî gah daiy.
8	átsh.	40	doo bî.
9	now.	50	doo bî gah daiy.
10	daiy.	60	ché bî.
11	ekaiy.	70	ché bî gah daiy.
12	baiy.	80	chàr bî.
13	tchoiṇ.	90	châr bî gah daiy.
14	tchowndaiy.	100	shul.
15	punzaiy.	1000	sâṇs.

KHOWAR, the Language Spoken by the Kho in the Chitral Valley.

Sketch of Grammar.

The Substantive.

In both numbers there are two forms, the nominative and the oblique. The genitive and accusative in the singular, and the genitive in the plural, are signified by the simple oblique form, the dative and ablative by the oblique form with postpositions added.

There are no distinctions of gender.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	a horse	istor.	horses	istor-ân.
Gen.	of a horse	istor-oh.	of horses	istor-ân-oh.
Dat.	to a horse	istor-oté.	to horses	istor-ân-té.
Acc.	a horse	istor-oh.	horses	istor-ân.
Voc.	oh horse	eh istor.	oh horses	eh istor-ân.
Abl.	on a horse	istor-oh-sōrá.	on horses	istor-ân-sōrá.
	in a horse	istor-oh-undrêni.	in horses	istor-ân-undrêni.
	with a horse	isstor-oh-sùm.	with horses	istor-ân-sùm.
	for a horse	istor-oh-buchun.	for horses	istor-ân-buchun.
	from a horse	istor-oh-sur.	from horses	istor-ân-sur.

The noun in the genitive is placed before the governing noun, as *moshoh* sor 'the man's head.'

The Adjective.

The adjective precedes the noun and has no terminations distinctive of number, as:

a strong man	koowatîn mōsh.	a swift horse	tároo istor.

Pronouns.

Pronouns have generally two forms, a nominative and an oblique form. The genitive and accusative are signified by the oblique form without postpositions; the dative and ablative by the oblique form with postpositions applied.

The Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns are declined as follows:

	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Acc.	Voc.	Abl.
I	áwá	má	máté	má	——	má sōrá.
Thou	too	tá	táté	tá	eh tù	tá sōrá.
He (*near*)	haiyá	hamoh	harmote	hamoh	——	hamoh sōrá.
she (*further*)	hess	horoh	horoté	horoh	——	horoh sōrá.
or it (*far*)	hásé	hattoghoh	hattoghoté	hattoghoh	——	hattoghoh sōrá.
We	ispah	ispah	ispáté	ispah	——	ispah sōrá.
You	bissah	bissah	bissáté	bissah	eh bissah	bissah sōrá.
They (*near*)	hamit	hamitun	hamitunté	hamitun	——	hamitun sōrá.
,, (*further*)	het	hetun	hetuuté	hetun	——	hetun sōrá.
,, (*far*)	huttet	huttetun	huttetunté	huttetun	——	huttetun sōrá.

The Reflective Pronoun is formed by adding the syllable *tun*, as:

I myself	*áwátun.*	we ourselves	*ispahtun.*
Thou thyself	*tootun.*	you yourselves	*bissahtun.*
He, she *or* it, himself, etc.	*haiyátun.* / *hesstun.* / *hásétun.*	they themselves	*hamittun.* / *hettun.* / *huttettun.*

The Interrogative Pronoun.

Which horse went *Kí* istor baghai. Whose horse is this? Haiyá istor *kùs.*

The Relative is expressed by *ki*, as:

I who went	Áwá *ki* baghestum.
This is the man you saw	Haiyá mōsh too *ki* poshirosho.

The Verb.

The verb is generally very regular, with terminations expressing tense and person, except in the perfect tense, which is often irregular in its derivation. The infinitive active always terminates in *iko*, *îko*, or *êko*.

The passive is formed by using *biko* 'to become' as an auxiliary verb.

A causal verb is formed by changing *i* in the infinitive into *ê*, or if the infinitive already terminates in *êko*, by interposing *ê*, as:

to stand	rùp*iko.*	to cause to grieve	kro*êko.*
to cause to stand	rùp*êko.*	to run	d*êko.*
to grieve.	kro*iko.*	to cause to run	dê-*êko.*

A noun of agency is formed by adding *ák* to the root of the verb, as: *korák* 'one who does,' from *koriko* 'to do,' *piyák* 'one who drinks,' from *piko* 'to drink.'

A verbal adjective is formed by adding *wâr* to the root, as: *dikwâr* 'suitable to the striking.'

A verbal noun is formed by using the infinitive present with postpositions, as:

Singular.		*Plural.*	
in the beating	diko mùji.	with the beating	diko sùm.
by	diko sōra.	for	diko buchun.

Conjugation of the verb 'To Strike.'

Infinitive Mood.

Present.		*Future.*	
to strike	diko.	to be about to strike	diko boi.

Past.

to have struck — diko oshoi.

Participles.

striking	dyow.	being about to strike	diko biti.

Past.

having struck — diti.

Gerunds.

in striking	dyowah.	from *or* by striking	dikah.

Supines.

possibly to strike	diko-á-kyah.	meet to strike	diko-bush.
must strike		diko-sher.	

Indicative Mood.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am striking	domun.	we are striking	dosiun.
thou art striking	dosun.	you are striking	domium,
he, she, it is striking	doyun.	they are striking	doñun.

Imperfect.

I was striking	diôshtum.	we were striking	diôshtum.
thou wast striking	diôsho.	you were striking	diôshtami.
he, she, it was striking	diôshai.	they were striking	diôshani.

Pluperfect.

I had struck	dirooshtum.	we had struck	dirooshtum.
thou hadst struck	diroosho.	you had struck	dirooshtami.
he, she, it had struck	dirooshai.	they had struck	dirooshani.

Perfect.

I struck	prestum.	we struck	prestum.
thou struckest	prá.	you struck	prestami.
he, she, it struck	prai.	they struck	práni.

The perfect is also used as a future præterite, as:

I shall have struck — prestum.

Præterite.

I have struck	dityasùm.	we have struck	dityasùsi.
thou hast struck	dityasùs.	you have struck	ditsasùmi.
he, she, it has struck	dityasùr.	they have struck	dityasùni.

Future.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I will strike	dom.	we will strike	dosi.
thou wilt strike	dos.	you will strike	domi.
he, she, it will strike	doi.	they will strike	doni.

IMPERATIVE.

strike thou	det.	strike you	dioor.
let him, her, it strike	diâr.	let them strike	deni.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Present.		*Perfect.*	
I may be striking, etc.	domun-á-ky-ah.	I may have struck, etc.	prestum-à-ky-ah.
Imperfect.		*Præterite.*	
I may have been striking, etc.	diôshtum-á-kyah.	I may have struck, etc.	dityasùm - á - kyah.
Pluperfect.		*Future.*	
I may have struck	diroosh tum-á-kyah.	I may have struck, etc.	dom-á-kyah.

THE PASSIVE VOICE.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present.		*Future.*	
to be struck	diko-biko.	to be about to be struck	{ dik-biko-boi. / { din-boi.

Past.

to have been struck — dik-biko-oshoi.

PARTICIPLES.

being struck	{ diroo. / { dyono.	being about to be struck	diek biti.

Past.

having been struck — { dinbiti. / { dyonobiti.

GERUNDS.

in being struck	diroowah.	from *or* by being struck	dik-bikah.

SUPINES.

possibly to be struck	dik - biko - á - kyah.	meet to be struck	dik-biko-bush
must be struck		dik-biko-sher.	

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am being struck	dinbômum.	we are being struck.	dinbosiun.
thou art being struck	dinbosun.	you are being struck	dinbomiun.
he, she, it is being struck	dinboyun.	they are being struck	dinboñun.

Imperfect.

I was being struck	dinbôshtum.	we were being struck	dinbôshtum.
thou wast being struck	binbôsho.	you were being struck	dinbôshtami.
he, she, it was being struck	dinbôshai.	they were being struck	dinbôshani.

Pluperfect.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I had been struck	dinbirooshtum.	we had been struck	dinbirooshtum.
thou hadst been struck	dinbiroosho.	you had been struck	dinbirooshtami.
he, she, it had been struck	dinbirooshai.	they had been struck	dinbirooshani.

Perfect.

I was struck	diestum.	we were struck	diestum.
thou wast struck	diesta.	you were struck	diestami.
he, she, it was struck	diestai.	they were struck	diestani.

Alternative Form.

I was struck	dinôstum.	we were struck	dinôstum.
thou wast struck	dinôsta.	you were struck	dinôstami.
he, she, it was struck	dinôstai.	they were struck	dinôstani.

Præterite.

I have been struck	dinbityasùm.	we have been struck	dinbityasùsi.
thou hast been struck	dinbityasùs.	you have been struck	dinbityasùmi.
he, she, it has been struck	dinbityasùr.	they have been struck	dinbityasùni.

Future.

I shall be struck	dinbom.	we shall be struck	dinbosi.
thou shalt be struck	dinbos.	you shall be struck	didbomi.
he, she, it shall be struck	dinboi.	they shall be struck	dinboni.

Imperative Mood.

be thou struck	dinbos.	be you struck	dinbor.
let him, her, it be struck	dinbâr.	let them be struck	dinbâni.

Conditional Mood.

Present.		*Perfect.*	
I may be being struck, etc.	dinbomun-á-kyah.	I may have been struck, etc.	dinôstum-á-kyah.
Imperfect.		*Præterite.*	
I may have been being struck, etc.	dinbôshtum-á-kyah.	I may have been struck, etc.	dinbityasùm-á-kyah.
Pluperfect.		*Future.*	
I may have been struck, etc.	dinbirooshtum-á-kyah.	I may be struck, etc.	dibom-á-kyah.

Conjugation of the verb 'To Be.'

There are two verbs 'To Be,' both of which are defective. The first, *assiko*, is used for animate beings, and the second, *shiko*, for inanimate beings only. The latter is used as an auxiliary verb also. The only existing forms are as follows:

For animate beings only.

Infinitive Mood.

Present.		*Future.*	
to be	assiko.	to be about to be	assiko-boi.

Past.

to have been assiko-oshoi.

GERUNDS.

in being assowah. from being assikah.

SUPINES.

possibly to be assiko-á-kyah. meet to be assiko-bush.
must be assiko-sher.

PARTICIPLES.

Present. *Future.*
being assow. being about to be assiko biti.

Past.

having ?

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am	assùm.	we are	assùsi.
thou art	assùs.	you are	assùmi.
he, she, it is	assùr.	they are	assùni.

Pluperfect.

I had been	assirooshtum.	we had been	assirooshtum.
thou hadst been	assiroosho.	you had been	assirooshtami.
he, she, it had been	assirooshai.	they had been	assirosshani.

Past.

I have been	assistum.	we have been	assistum.
thou hast been	assista.	you have been	assistami.
he, she, it has been	assistai.	they have been	assistani.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Present. *Pluperfect.*
I may be, etc. assùm-á-kyah. I should have been, etc. assirooshtum-á-kyah.

Past.

I might have been, etc. assistum-á-kyah.

For inanimate objects only.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present. *Future.*
to be shiko. about to be { shiko-biti. / shak-biti.

Past.

to have been shiko-oshoi.

GERUNDS.

in being showah. from *or* by being shikah.

SUPINES.

possibly to be shiko-á-kyah. meet to be shiko-bush.
must be shiko-sher.

PARTICIPLES.

Present. *Future.*
being show about to be shikobiti.

Past.

having been shiti.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

	Present.		*Past.*	
it is	sher.	it has been		oshoi.
	Pluperfect.			
	it had been		sirooshoi.	

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

	Present.		*Past.*	
it may be	sher-â-kyah.	it might have been		oshoi-â-kyah.

Other forms are supplied by the verb 'To BECOME.'

Conjugation of the verb 'To BECOME.'

INFINITIVE MOOD.

	Present.		*Future.*	
to become	biko.	to be about to become		biko sher.
	Past.			
	to have become		bow oshoi.	

PARTICIPLES.

becoming	bowah.	being about to become		biko biti.
	Past.			
	having become		biti.	

SUPINES.

possibly to become	biko-â-kyah.	meet to become	biko-bowah.
must become		biko-bush.	

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I am becoming	bomum.	we are becoming	bosiun.
thou art becoming	bosun.	you are becoming	bomiun.
he, she, it is becoming	boyun.	they are becoming	boñun.
	Imperfect.		
I was becoming	bôshtum.	we were becoming	bôshtum.
thou wast becoming	bôsho.	you were becoming	bôshtami.
he, she, it was becoming	bôshai.	they were becoming	bôshani.
	Pluperfect.		
I had become	birooshtum.	we had become	birooshtum.
thou hadst become	biroosho.	you had become	birooshtami.
he, she, it had become	birooshai.	they had become	birooshani.
	Perfect.		
I became	hôstum.	we became	hôstum.
thou becamest	howa.	you became	hôstami.
he, she, it became	hoya.	they became	hôni.

Another form of the 3rd pers. sing. is *hôr*.

Præterite.

I have become	bityasùm.	we have become	bityasùsi.
thou hast become	bityasùs.	you have become	bityasùmi.
he, she, it has become	bityasùr.	they have become	bityasùni.

Future.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I will become	bôm.	we will become	bôsi.
thou wilt become	bôs.	you will become	bômi.
he, she, it will become	boi.	they will become	bôni.

Imperative Mood.

become thou	bôs.	become ye	bór.
let him, her, it become	bai.	let them become	bâni.

Conditional Mood.

The conditional mood is formed by adding *á-kyáh* to all forms of the indicative.

Assiko is also employed to signify possession, as: *Máté joo istor assùni* 'I have two horses,' *literally* 'To me two horses are.'

The Negative.

The simple negative is expressed by *nō*. 'Not' is expressed by *noh* in a definite sense, and by *nikki* in an indefinite sense, as:

Is this your horse?	No	Haiya tá istor assùrá?	*Nō*.
Have you a horse?	No	Tá istor assùra?	*Nikki*.
I will not go		Áwá *noh* bîm.	

The Interrogative.

The interrogative is expressed in the same way as in Shina and Boorishki, by adding *á* to the verb, or, if it already terminates in *á*, by lengthening it to *â*, as:

Shall I go?	Áwâ bîm*á*?
Hast thou given?	Too pr*á*.

Sometimes the verb is omitted and the *á* suffixed to the noun, as:

Is this your horse?	Haiya tá istor*á*?

Adverbs.

There are no adverbs; their place is supplied by the past participle of the verb *Biko* 'to become,' as: *het blush*-BITI *hani* 'they came slowly,' *literally* 'they having become slow, came.'

Examples.

I.

1	What is your name?	Tá kyáh nâm?
2	My name is Jabín.	Má nám Jabîn.
3	Whence have you come?	Koorâr hâ?
4	My home was at Chitral, but now I live in Gilgit.	Má door Chitrârahoshoi, hánisen Gilitah nishyasùm.
5	What do you want?	Kyàh mushkisun?
6	I do not know.	Hùsh nákom.
7	Is that your horse?	Hess tá istorá?
8	Yes, my father gave it to me.	Jum, má tutt máté dityasùr.
9	Your horse is better than your brother's.	Tá brâroh istoroh sur tá istor jum.
10	This house is mine.	Haiyá khuttnn má.
11	When did you build it?	Kyáwát kordoosho?
12	It was built five years ago.	Kori ponj sâl hor.

II.

Yesterday I went to hunt, with me two horses were, one dog was, one hawk was, (and) with me four servants were.	Oozen áwá boghdooshtum ishkâr, másùm joo istorân assistani, î rêni assistai, î yoorj assistai, másùm chor duck assistani.
As) we were going a quail made a noise, I the dog having set on sought it; the quail came out, the hawk I let go and he took it.	Ispah boghôshtum î bertî háwâz árer, áwá rêni chuckéh mushkeshtum; bertî nisai, yoorj lákistum dosistai.
On his taking it the *kalamâs* I did: the *kalamâs* having done another quail came out. On (its) coming out the hawk I let go; very far having taken it he was not able (to seize it).	Dosiko [1] kalamâs [2] arestum: kalamâs koriko [1] îdî bertî nisai. Nisiko [1] yoorj lâkistum: boh doodéri álti noh obistai.
From his not being able I sorry became. Upon which wild ducks having come on a good pool settled. I the hawk having taken went (and) near having become let him go.	Nobiko áwá kuffá hôstum. Harooni ulli giti chuttah nishâni. Áwá yoorjoh gunni baghestum nussá bî, lâkistum.

[1] The use of the infinitive is to be noted.
[2] The *kalamas* is the ceremony of giving the head of the captured bird to the hawk.

On being let go my hawk having chosen the mallard took. With me servants were. One servant a stick having thrown (*lit.* struck) one duck killed. For the hawk having performed the *kalamás*, much pleased having become, we ourselves back home went.

Lâkiko má boorj nooweri tutt-ulli dosistai. Másùm duck assistani. Î duck bânen diti î ulli máristai. Boorjoté kalamâs kori boh khùshân biti, tun dooroté baghâstum.

III.

Oozen áwá Nomaloté boghdooshtum, terah biko Nomalik másùm shurti ghâl koriko rai areni. Másùm ghâl koráká noo astani. Hamooniki ispah sot jùn hóstum, sot Nomalik honi, te ghâl arestum; ghâl koriko ghâl ispah beshistai. Ki ispah beshêko ispáté shurti prâni, ispah shurtiyo jùti wâ ghâl arestum. Ghâl koriko ispah osht biroshai, Nomaliko troi biroshai; má istor boh bé tâkát biti tor hor. Má istor tor biko áwá yoh khwumistum. Wâ ispah beshorooshtum harooni mùji má istor kiji biko noh obestai. Áwá istoroh hùnoh bicheri istoroh sōrá oogh darestum. Oogh driko má istor tsuck jum hor.

Translation.

Yesterday I had gone to Nomal; on arriving there a man of Nomal desired to make a wager at polo with me. I had no (good) polo players with me. However, we were seven young men, and the Nomal men were seven; so we played polo; in playing we won (*lit.* exceeded). On account of our winning they gave us the wager, and we after eating the wager played again. In playing we won eight games (*lit.* it became eight), and the Nomal men won three; my horse being much exhausted fell down. On my horse falling I dismounted. Again we won to such an extent that my horse was unable to move. I having unloosed the horse's saddle poured water on the horse. By pouring water my horse became a little better (*lit.* a little well).

Vocabulary.

To be able	hostâr giko, biko.
Above	aih.
Abuse	dishloo.
To abuse	dishloo horiko.

Accustomed	âdut, fehl.
Acid	shùt.
Across	troski.
Active	tároo.
To advise	násihut koriko.
After	áchâr, áchi (*suffixed*).
Again	wâ.
Air	kupp.
Alert	shung.
All	chik.
Along	chokto.
Alongside of	prashowulti.
Always	háránùs.
Although	wâghumki.
And	wâ.
Anger	kahârni.
Angry	kahár.
To be angry	kahren biko.
Another	khoor.
To answer	jùwâb diko.
Ant	pilìli.
Anxiety	doonik.
Anxious	doonuk.
Apart	tunhâ.
Apple	pâlogh.
Apricot	jooli.
Arm	bâzoo.
Army	bol.
To arrive	toriko.
Arrow	weshoo.
To ask	bushur koriko.
Ass	gordokh.
At	ah (*suffixed*).
Aunt (father's sister) / Aunt (mother's sister)	betch.
Autumn	shároh.
Avalanche	resht.
Away	lâk.
Axe (war)	tápârzing.
,, (wood)	bárdokh.

Back	krem.
Bad	shoom, dish.
Barley	siri.
Basket	beloo.
To be	assiko, shiko.
Bean	rámbogh.
Bear	ōrts.
Beard	rigish.
To beat	diko.
Beautiful	chùst.
Because	ketchah ki.
To become	biko.
Before	nuss, prùshtí (*suffixed*),
To begin	shùroo koriko, chokiko.
Behind	áchâr.
Belly	khoyânoo.
Below	mùli, mùlah (*suffixed*).
Between	mùji (*suffixed*).
Bird	jándâr.
Bitter	trok.
Black	shâ.
Blind	kánoo.
Blood	leh
To blow	phooîko.
Blue	otch.
Blunt	mùtoo.
Body	huddum, tám.
Bone	köl.
To be born	ajiko.
Bow	dron.
Boy	duck.
Brain	mâz.
Brass	doorùm.
Brave	púr dil.
Bread	shápik.
To break	chiko (*intrans.*), chiniko (*trans.*).
Breath	hah.
Brick	ùshtoo.
Bride Bridegroom	shábok.
Bridle	iwis.

Bridge	sér, telsiri.
To bring	ángiko.
Broad	biroghun.
Brother	brâr.
Brown	jigári.
Reddish brown	krooyâto.
Bull	reshoo.
Bullet	weshoo.
But	hámùni.
Butterfly	pùlmùdùk.
By	sur (*suffixed*).
To call	hooi diko.
Camel	oot.
Cat	pooshi.
Cattle (*collectively*)	leshoo.
Charm	tayît.
Cheek	mùkh.
Chin	zenákh, oonookh.
To choose	nooweriko.
Circle	rogh.
Clean	puzgah.
Clever	khùshkorák.
Cleverness	ákùlmin.
Clothes	zupp, chalai.
Cloud	kot, merkhun.
Cock	nári kookoo.
Cold (*subs.*)	ooshucki.
Cold (*adj.*)	ooshuck.
Colour	rung.
To come	gîko.
To come out	nisiko.
Copper	loh.
Corner	bùrj.
Four-cornered	châpâloo.
Corpse	jussut, kálèr.
Cough	kopik.
To count	ishùmáréko.
Country	wuttun.
Courage	jum moshi, moshgári.
Cousin	brâr *m.*, ispoosâr *f.*; (as forms of address) lull *m.*; kai *f.*

Cow	leshoo.
To creep	rookooshiko, droshkîko.
Crooked	koli.
Crow	kâgh.
Curls (of hair)	preshoo.
Custom	miruss.
Dagger	mehmoodi.
To dance	poniko.
Dancing	ponik.
Dangerous	boortoonâsoo.
Darkness	chooi gir.
Daughter	joor.
Dawn	welâgh bêloo.
Day	ánùs.
Midday	granish.
To-day	hánùn.
Deaf	kârootoo.
Death	brik.
Deceit	fun.
Deceitful	chungâk.
To deceive	fun diko.
Destitute	chun.
Dew	prájgâr.
To die	briko.
Difficult	mùshkil, zor.
Dirty	názgùsti.
Disposition	fêhl.
To dismount	khwumiko.
To do	koriko.
Dog	rêni.
Donkey	gordokh.
Door	bitt.
Down	pust.
Dream	khùshp.
To drink	pîko.
Drum	dol.
Dry	chùchoo.
Eagle	bisber.
Ear	kâr.

Earth	chûti.
The earth	bùm.
Earthquake	bolmùji.
East	nisiko (*lit.* 'to come out').
Easy	áskân.
To eat	jùbiko.
Eclipse	grah.
Edge	dum.
Egg	aikùn.
Elbow	koorkoon.
Empty	shiti.
Enemy	dùshmun.
To enter	ootiko.
Envy	mùzir.
Equal to	burki.
Equinox	hummál.
To escape	khalâs biko.
Evening	shumma.
Ever	kyawát.
Everybody	chikmosh.
Everything	chikjinâri.
Ewe	keli.
Eye	ghutch.
Eyelid	potting.
Eyelash	phatûk.

To fail	shoksiko.
Family	roiwáloo, ashghâl.
To fall	tor biko.
Far	doodéri.
Fat (*subs.*)	zâkh.
Fat (*adj.*)	tùl.
Father	tutt.
Fault	gùnah.
Fear	bùrtooik.
To fear	bùrtooiko.
Feather	pùtch.
Female	istoshùni.
Fig	kowitt.
Fight	gutt, kot.
To find	lêko.

Finger	chámùt.
To finish	kùlêko, kùl koriko.
Fire	ungâr.
Fish	mátshi.
Flock (of birds)	röm.
Flour	peshiroo.
Flower	gumboori.
Flute	surnai, boloo.
To fly (as a bird)	ùlîko.
To follow	áchi giko, áahi bîko.
To cause to follow	chuckêko.
Following	áchá.
Foot	pong.
For	buchun (*suffixed*).
To forget	roksiko.
Forgetfulness	roksik.
Fort	noghôr.
Fowl	kahuck.
Fox	lô.
Friend	dost.
Friendship	dostî.
From	rûr, âr (*to inanimate objects*); sur (*to animate objects; suffixed*).
Frost	preshgâr.
Fruit	mêwah.
Fur	zùrch.
Full	tip.
Garden	goorzen.
Generous	lùt herdî, sukhi.
To get	lêko, poshiko.
To get up	rùpîko.
Girl	koomoroo.
To give	diko.
To go	bîko.
To go out	bêdibîko.
Goats (*collectively*)	leshpai.
He-goat	titch
She-goat	pai.
Wild goat	sherrah, tonùshoo, (*collect.*), mroi.
God	Khátsùm.

Gold	sorùm.
Good	jum.
Goshawk	saiyoorj.
Grape	droch.
Grass	jösh, moshüch.
Gratitude	shùkùr.
Great	lùt.
Green	sôz.
To grieve	kroîko.
Gun	tooik.
Gunpowder	wés.
Hail	kochùni.
Hair	poor.
Half	phutt.
Halting place	buss.
Hand	host.
Right hand	horski host.
Left hand	koli host.
Handle	gon.
Happiness	khùshâni.
Happy	khùshân.
Hard	dung.
Hare	gholdi, ghori.
Hatred	kînah.
Hawk	yoorj.
Head	sor.
Good health	tundroosti, tuzagi.
To hear	kárá diko.
Heart	herdî.
Heat	pechi, tahwi.
The heavens	âsmân.
Heavy	kaiyi.
Hen	istrî kookoo.
Herd	rom.
Here	yah, yerah, haiyerah, yoh.
High	jung.
Hollow	khâli.
Home	door.
Hope	ooméd.
To hope	ooméd koriko.

Horse	istor.
Horse-shoe	nâl.
Hot	pech.
House	khuttun.
How	ketchah.
How many	kundoori.
How much	kundoori lot.
Humble	ájiz.
Hunger	choowi.
Hungry	choowî.
Hundred	shōr.
To hunt	ishkâr koriko.
Husband	mōsh.
Ice	yôs.
Idle	kahál.
If	wâghum.
Ill	chaiyek.
Illness	chaiyeki.
In	undrêni (*suffixed*).
Industrious	korùmgâr.
Infant	duck.
Iron	chimoor.
Kettle-drum	dummumah.
To kick	pedingung diko.
To kill	máriko.
King	mihter.
King's son	mihter jow.
Knee	zânoo.
Knife	kooter.
To know	hùsh koriko.
Knowledge	âkùlmin.
Lame	kùtoo.
Land	boom.
Waste land	kùch.
Language	look.
To laugh	osiko.
Lead	háziz.
To learn	chichiko.

To leave	lákiko.
Leg	dék.
To let go	lâkiko.
Level	bârobár.
Lie	chángâk.
To lie down	poriko.
Life	jun.
Light (*subs.*)	roshti.
Light (*adj.*)	lots.
Lightning	bilphukk.
Like	ghonah.
Lip	shoon.
Little	tsuck.
A little	kum.
To live	nishiko.
Liver	shoghoon.
Long	drùng.
To look at	loliko.
Love	yâr.
To love	dosti koriko.
Low	pust.
Male	nári, shùni.
Man	mōsh.
Young man	jùwân.
Old man	zároo.
Mankind	roi.
Mare	mádiân.
Marriage	jêri.
To measure	nimêko.
Meat	pùshoor.
Medicine	wés.
Mid-day	granish.
Midnight	chooi bârobár.
Milk	chir.
Mist	gert, poorgoorâm.
Moon	muss.
New moon	nogh.
Half moon	phátooki.
Full moon	pánjerush.
Month	muss.

Morning	chooichooi, welâgh bêlo.
Moth	postwâzùr.
Mother	nun.
Mountain	zom.
Mouse	kálow.
Mouth	uppuck.
To move (*intrans.*)	kiji biko, lungiko.
To move (*trans.*)	lungiêko.
Much	boh.
So much	horoo burki.
This much	hámoo burki.
Mud	zah, tok.
Mulberry	márátch.
Muscle	kálow pùshoor.
Music	dôl bôloo.
Must	bush.
Nail (finger)	doghoor.
Name	nâm.
Narrow	turung.
Near	shoi, nussá.
Neck	gerdun.
Nephew	nowess.
Never	kyawát di noh.
New	nokh.
Niece	nowess.
Night	chooi.
No	nō.
Nobody	kahnoh, kahnikki.
North	yemin.
Nose	nusskâr.
Not	nikki, noh.
Nothing	kedrákh noh.
Now	hánisen.
Of	o- (*suffixed*).
Old	práno.
On	sōrá (*suffixed*).
Open	hùreh.
To open	bicheriko, hùriko.
Or	yá.

Order	bundêsh.
To order	bundêko.
Out	béri (*suffixed*).
To overthrow	châghaiko.
Owl	boo.
To be pained	chumiko.
To pain	chumêko.
Palace	baipush.
Partridge	koloo.
Peach	girgálogh.
Pear	tong.
People	jùn.
Perhaps	kyah.
Pigeon	kor.
Pity	ján polik.
Place	jugâ.
To place	lekiko.
Play	ishtùk.
To play (a game)	ishtùk horiko.
Pleasant tasting	zowáloo.
To please	khùshêko.
Pleased	pissun.
To be pleased	khùsh biko.
Plough	kishîni.
Point	poor.
Pool of water	chutt.
To pour	drêko.
Praise	siffut.
Pride	tákáboori.
Prince	mihterjow.
Princess	khoonzá joori.
To produce	hostâr giko.
To promise	wâda koriko.
Proud	tákáboor.
To pull	jingaêko.
Quail	bertî.
Quarrel	khùt.
To quarrel	khùt biko.
Quarter	nuss.

Queen	khùnzá.
To be quick	tézêko.
Rainbow	dronháno.
Rain	boshik.
Ram	wurkáloo.
To read	rêko.
Ready	têyâr.
To receive	lêko.
Red	krooi.
Relation	kumdâr.
Relationship	kumdâri.
To remember	herdî koriko.
Remembrance	herdiâr.
To return	áchegurikо.
Rice	grinj.
Rich	koowátin.
Ring	pùlùngùsht.
To rise	rùpiko.
River	sin.
Road	pon.
Roof	isprâz, istun.
Rope	shimêni.
Round	pindoroo.
Rough	shen.
To run	dêko.
Sad	ghumgîn, kuffah.
Saddle	hùn.
Sand	shùghoor.
Sarcasm	ghumâz.
To save	khalâs koriko.
To say	rêko
To search for	mushkiko.
To see	poshiko.
Seed	bih.
Self	tun.
To sell	bizemiko.
To send	ùshêko.
To separate	noweriko.
Servant	shudder, duck.

Shadow	châkh.
Shame	shurm.
Sharp	tookùnoo.
Sheep (*collectively*)	leshpai.
Wild sheep	ron.
Short	iskoordi.
Shoulder	kootoo.
To shout	koor koriko.
Shut	diti, kori.
To shut	botiko, diko.
Side	phâloo, wulti.
On this side	haiyawulti.
On that side	hêwulti.
Alongside	práshowulti.
Sigh	shároo.
Silent	phik.
Silver	drokhum.
Sinew	poi.
To sing	bushêko.
Singing	bashôno.
Sister	ispoosâr,
To sit	nishiko.
Skin	post.
Slave	maristun.
Sleep	orâro.
To sleep	orêko.
Sloping	brezah.
Slow	káhál.
Small	tsuck.
Smoke	kùshùn.
Smooth	ùshipoko, pálùm.
Snake	aiy.
Sneeze	ùshtoorkik.
Snow	him.
Soft	plush.
Solstice	yerwân.
Somebody	kah.
Something	kedrákh.
Son	jow.
Sorrow	kuffai.
Sound	áwâzá.

South	yessir.
Spade	bel.
Spoon	kippini, dôri.
Spring	bosùn.
To stand	rùpiko.
Star	istâri.
Stern	dung.
Stone	bort.
Storm	tofân.
Straight	hōrsk.
Strength	koowát.
Strong	koowátin.
Stupidity	bèkoo.
Summer	grishpoh.
Sun	yor.
Sweet	shirîn.
Swift	tároo.
To swim	ùsnêko.
Sword	kongôr.
Tail	room.
To take	dosiko.
To take away	áliko.
To take up	ai, áhi } koriko, gániko.
To teach	chichêko.
To tell	réko, ghush koriko.
That	hess, heh.
Then	husséwákt.
There	herah, terah.
Therefore	hámoobuchun.
These	hámit.
Thick	bosk.
Thin	jokh, tonk.
Thirst	trùshni.
Thirsty	trùshna, shùchoo.
This	haiyá.
Those	het.
Thought	khiyâl.
Throat	book, gol.
To throw	drêko, pârechiko.

To throw down	driko, petsiko.
Thumb	lotro chámoot.
Thunder	bùmbérùsh.
Thus	hámùsh, hárùsh.
Till	tá, bikáput, hámùniput.
Time	wákt.
Timid	boortwák.
Tin	kalai.
To	ròté (*suffixed*). òté.
Toe	chámoot.
Together	îbiti.
To-morrow	pingáchooi.
The day after to-morrow	pingá.
Two days after to-morrow	shoo pingá.
Three days after to-morrow	ortiri.
Tongue	ligîni.
Tooth	don.
Touch	torik.
To touch	toriko.
Towards	wulti.
Treacherous	fundek.
Tree	kun.
Truth	hōrski.
To turn (*intrans.*)	guriko.
To turn (*trans.*)	gurêko.
Ugly	durt.
Uncle (father's brother)	mik.
Uncle (mother's brother)	mik.
Under	moolla, moolto (*suffixed*).
Unless	bagèr.
To unloose	bicheriko.
Up	jung.
Upright	hōrsk.
Valley	gol, ret.
Vein	yùroo.
Very	boh.
Very well	jum.
Village	deh, wullát.

Vine	droch.
Voice	háwâz.
Vulture	bizbur.
Wall	kánj.
Walnut	jol.
Walnut tree	birmogh.
To want	mushkiko.
Water	oogh.
Water-mill	khorâ.
Weak	bêkoowut.
Weakness	bêkoowuti.
Wedding	jêrî.
Week	sot buss (*lit.* seven halts).
To weep	kuliko.
West	dokodiko.
Wet	zah.
What	kyâkh.
In what way	ketcháká.
Wheat	gôm.
When (*interrog.*)	kyáwát.
When (*relat.*)	husséwákt.
Whence	koorâr.
Where (*interrog.*)	koorah.
Which	kih (*for objects and animals*), kah (*for human beings*).
White	ishperoo.
Whip	chághez.
Who (*interrog.*)	kah.
Why	koh, kyotá, kyobuchun.
Wide	frákh, biroghun.
Widow Widower	wesòroo.
Wife	bôk.
Wind	gán.
Window	tsálákh doori.
Wine	ren
Wing	wrázùn.
Winter	yomùn.
Wise	dânâ.
Wish	rai

To wish	rai koriko.
With	sùm (*suffixed*).
Without	wé.
Woman	kiméri.
Old woman	zuroo.
Young woman	choomootkir.
Wood	dâr.
Wool	pùshp.
,, (pushum)	mùrgùlùm.
Work	korùm.
To work	korùm koriko.
The world	dùnyá.
To write	nooweshiko.

Year	yoorân.
Yellow	zirch.
Yes	dî, jum.
Yesterday	oozen.
The day before yesterday	dosh.

Numerals.

1 î.	16 josh choi.
2 joo.	17 josh sot.
3 troi.	18 josh osht.
4 chor.	19 josh nyoṇ.
5 ponj.	20 bîsher.
6 choi.	21 bîsher î.
7 sot.	30 bîsher josh.
8 osht.	40 joo bîsher
9 nyoṇ.	50 joo bîsher josh.
10 josh.	60 troi bîsher.
11 josh î.	70 troi bîsher josh.
12 josh joo.	80 chor bîsher.
13 josh troi.	90 chor bîsher josh.
14 josh chor.	100 shôr.
15 josh ponj.	(No higher number).

Once	î bár, etc.	Second	joowun.
First	áwálum.	Third	troiyum, etc.

CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII. PART II.

[NEW SERIES.]

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

PAGE

ART. VII.—The Languages of the Caucasus. By R. N. CUST, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S. 145

ART. VIII.—On the Study of the South-Indian Vernaculars. By G. U. POPE, D.D., Fellow of the Madras University 163

ART. IX.—The Pallavas. By the Rev. THOMAS FOULKES, M.R.A.S., Chaplain of Coimbatore 183

ART. X.—Translation of Books 81–93 of the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa. By the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM..... 221

ART. XI.—Notes on Professor Tylor's "Arabian Matriarchate," propounded by him, as President of the Anthropological Section, British Association, Montreal, 1884. By J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. R.S.L., etc. 275

ART. XII.—The Northern Frontagers of China. Part VII. The Shato Turks. By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S..... 293

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VII.—*The Languages of the Caucasus.* By R. N. CUST, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S.

THERE are two or three corners in the world's surface, in which a strange collection of diverse languages is found, the survivals of extinct races, once great and strong. The Central Provinces of India, the refuge of the Kolarian aboriginal tribes; the hills and valleys of Abyssinia, in which remnants of Hamitic, or even Pre-Hamitic, races, pushed aside by the advent of the powerful Semites, are still found: the plateau of Tibet, and the Eastern slopes of that plateau: all these three are instances of the phenomena, which I describe: but none is so noticeable as the Range of the Caucasus, one of the dividing lines of Europe and Asia. As after a great hunt animals of all descriptions and sizes take refuge in some secure copse, or some unapproachable mountain, so, when the great Procession of the Indo-European or Aryan, races from their primeval home on the Hindu Kúsh commenced, all the Pre-Aryan races, which were not destroyed, were pushed aside. In the West of Europe there is one solitary survival, the Basque in the Pyrenees: on the extreme East of Europe we find a cluster of languages in the Caucasus, which are neither Aryan, nor Semitic, nor Altaic.

These mysterious languages of the Caucasus have long had an exaggerated reputation. Herodotus (Book I. 203) remarks, that many and various are the tribes, by which the Caucasus is inhabited, most of them living entirely on the wild fruits of the forest: Strabo informs us (Book XI. 5), that no less than seventy Dialects were spoken in the country, which even then was called the Mountain of Lan-

guages. Pliny the Elder (Book VI. cap. 5, 12) quotes Timosthenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the effect, that Dioscurias, on the shores of the Black Sea, was once a famous city, though then deserted, so much so, that three hundred Nations, all of different languages, were in the habit of resorting to it, and in later times there were one hundred and thirty interpreters for the purpose of transacting business. Old legends had attached themselves to the Caucasus in the mind of the Greeks, for Jason came to the River Phasis, now the Riou, and fetched away the golden fleece from Colchis, now Kutais, and the immortal myth of Prometheus is connected with this range. In the minds of the Persians the Koh-i-Káf was believed to surround the world: the Mountain is still called Kafkas in the adjoining Provinces. The soldiers of Alexander the Great on their march Eastwards called the Paropamisus by the name of Caucasus, to which the epithet Indicus was subsequently attached, which survives in the modern name of Hindu-Kúsh. The Caucasus was the Northern boundary of the Persian Empire, and, though Mithridates was able to make his way along the coast of the Black Sea to the Sea of Azof, as a fact the Roman Eagles never crossed the Caucasus. The three Provinces of Colchis, Iberia and Albania, were the limits of Roman knowledge and influence, with the exception of some shadowy notion of the Suani, and of the existence of the Caucasiæ Pylæ, now the Pass of Dariel, leading through the Mountains to the unknown Sarmatia. The River, that drains the Pass Southwards, is called by Strabo in the Augustan age Aragus, and still preserves the name of Aragwa.

The Caucasus proved an insurmountable barrier against conquering Nations advancing from the South, and a serious obstacle to those, which came from the North. For a long period Russia held the Province of Trans-Caucasia, accessible by the Caspian and Black Seas, without having established her domination over the tribes of the Caucasus. At length however, after the close of the Crimean War, the Emperor Alexander II. effected the entire subjugation of the Range. The Circassians were expatriated on the West, and Schamyl

conquered on the East, and the Province of the Caucasus established as a Government under the Grand-Duke Michael, divided into Cis-Caucasia, North of the Range, and Trans-Caucasia on the South, stretching from Sea to Sea, the Southern boundary marching with the Turkish and Persian Kingdoms, but liable to in the past, and susceptible of in the future, constant change. The population of this vast Province amounts to five millions four hundred thousand, which, when brought into contrast with a similar area in British India, appears scant: the Revenue is very inconsiderable, but the Province is important, not only as a basis of invasion of Turkey, Persia, and Trans-Caspia, but of British India also. Moreover, the population is so mixed, and various, split up into such irreconcileable strata of Race, Language, and Religion, that all idea of rebellion, or a struggle for independence, is improbable. More than one Million out of the five are actually Russians. My object is to pass under review the ethnic and linguistic features of the Asiatic portion of the population of the whole Province, for it is impossible to treat the Mountain Range by itself, the population of which is estimated at about one million.

Shut up in their inaccessible Mountains, the tribes had evaded all possibility of inquiry into their language before the Russian Conquest. Some few Vocabularies had been picked up from the mouths of stray members of a clan. But the Russians are very active and apt in the work of Surveys and Ethnographic inquiry: indeed sometimes they anticipate an intended conquest by preparing a Grammar of the language of the tribe. The Afghans must have felt that some one was walking over their grave, when Prof. Dorn in 1840 published his Pushtu Grammar at St. Petersburg. As regards the languages of the Caucasus, in books of such esteem on the general subject of Philology, as those of Max Müller, Whitney, and Hovelacque, there was nothing. In his "Asia Polyglotta" Klaproth had given a few Vocabularies, and some specimens in his "Kaukasische Sprachen." Julg in his "Litteratur der Grammatiken" 1847 had referred to all the books available at the time. Max Müller in his

"Languages of the Seat of War in the East," 1855, had brought together much valuable information. Latham in his "Elements of Comparative Philology," 1862, summed up all that was known at that period, unfortunately giving no references to the authorities quoted, without which a volume of facts collected at second hand is valueless. Berger in the Report of the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg, 1876, gives a full ethnographic description of the Caucasus, but in the Russian language.

When I visited St. Petersburg for the Third Oriental Congress in 1876, I made the acquaintance of Berger, who occupied the post of Chief of the Archæological Commission of the Caucasian Province: he was good enough on a large Map to point out to me the locality of the tribes speaking different languages, and to indicate to me the important contributions to the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg by Professor Schiefner, based upon the local investigations of Baron von Uslar. This threw a new light on the subject, as all previous accounts had been entirely devoid of the geographical element. In 1878 I was fortunate enough to meet Schiefner himself at the Fourth Oriental Congress at Florence, and he promised to send me a brief sketch of our present knowledge of the Languages of the Caucasus: it reached me next year in the German language: I had it translated and published in the Annual Report of the Philological Society 1879, but before the Report appeared, Schiefner passed away, so I was only just in time to get the desired information. In the meantime another great authority, Fredk. Müller of Vienna, had made use of Schiefner's and Uslar's published works, and in his Allgemeine Ethnographie (1st edition 1873, 2nd edition 1879) had made a valuable contribution to our knowledge. Not being quite satisfied from the Geographical point of view, I had written to Mr. Morrison, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society at Tiflis, asking him to get from the Russian Authorities full Geographical and Statistical information of the population of the Region. In 1881 he sent me the Ethnological Map of the Province in which every tribe

was marked by distinct colouring, with Statistics showing the number of the population of each : this latter was translated and published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XIII. p. 353, 1881). As I could not even then reconcile some of the Ethnological Divisions with the Linguistic materials, I thought it best in the autumn of 1883 to go myself to Trans-Caucasia, traverse the whole Region, and visit the Imperial Topographical Office at Tiflis, where I experienced that remarkable kindness and sympathy, which is so freely given in Russia to strangers, and generally so coldly denied in England. Mr. Morrison and I went carefully over the large sheet-Maps then purchased, and the Ethnological Map, both in Tiflis, and subsequently in London, and arrived at certain conclusions. It will be admitted therefore that the results now stated are the outcome of peculiarly favourable opportunities, and local inquiry. As a rule Anglo-Indians, who are familiar with the administration of newly-conquered Districts, may be trusted to stick closely to facts, and to eschew all pet theories and delusive inductions. I have treated the Province of the Caucasus with the same rigour of inquiry, with which I treated in years gone by the Panjáb.

On my road back from Trans-Caucasia, Fredk. Müller presented me at Vienna with a copy of the third volume of his Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (1884), which he had been good enough to dedicate to me. In this he passes under review each of the peculiar languages of the Caucasus in an exhaustive Grammatical Note. In the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica all the Geographical and Ethnographical information available in 1876 is brought together under the words Caucasus, Circassia and Georgia. In Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1860, is a paper by Berger "Die Berg Volker der Kaukasus."

The method, which I adopt, consists of two rules.

A. That no language is to be admitted, unless the locality of the tribe, who use it, can be indicated on a Map, not prepared for the purpose, but independently by competent authorities for strictly geographical purposes.

B. That no language is to be admitted, unless some sufficient evidence, vouched for at first hand, such as a Vocabulary, Grammar, or Text, or the personal knowledge of the reporter, can be produced.

Attached to my report now made is a Sketch Map, on which the names of the tribes are indicated, and a Bibliographical Statement, setting out the names of the books, from which the information is gathered. It is obvious, that certain names of tribes are mentioned, regarding which the full information is not supplied. Such names are excluded from the list of languages. Time will show whether they use any of the languages, which are entered, or whether upon maturer information new languages will have to be added.

With a view of carrying out an exhaustive process, all the languages spoken in the Province of the Caucasus are entered, whether they are members of well-known families, or belong to the peculiar group called the Caucasian Group, with regard to which Fredk. Müller remarks (Alg. Ethn. 1879, p. 26 note): "It is doubtful, whether this Group can be traced back to one common source. It is probable that the languages spoken to the North of the Caucasus are quite distinct from those spoken to the South, and that in the Northern Sub-Group there are languages with totally distinct germs from each other."

I omit the German, French, Italian, and even Russian languages, though there are many denizens, and even settled colonies of some of these nationalities of a modern date: but they lie outside this inquiry. I commence from the Southern boundary of the Province and proceed Northward. There is a strange admixture of race and language, and the attempt to show the different features on the Ethnological Map is a very difficult one, and as regards the population of the chief towns, it is impossible. The great conquering, and commercial, races are hopelessly intermixed. Of Jews there are none, as the Armenians do the dirty work: other Nationalities such as, Greek, Pole, Bohemian, Romanian, are sparsely represented.

I. Persian	Iranian Branch of Aryan Family		
II. Kurd	do.		
III. Armenian	do.		
IV. Ossete	do.		
V. Turkí	Altaic Family		
VI. Georgian	Caucasian Group.	Southern Sub-Group.	
VII. Abkhás	do.	Northern Sub-Group	(West)
VIII. Tsherkess	do.	do.	
IX. Awár	do.	do.	(East)
X. Hurkan	do.	do.	
XI. Kasikúmuk	do.	do.	
XII. Tabasseran	do.	do.	
XIII. Kurin	do.	do.	
XIV. Artshi	do.	do.	
XV. Ude	do.	do.	
XVI. Tshetshen	do.	do.	(North)
XVII. Tush	do.	do.	

I shall describe each separately: of some languages there are several Dialects; of others there are several synonyms: others are spoken by clans or tribes bearing tribal names. It is probable that the more powerful Iranian, or Altaic, Languages may have swallowed up in the struggle of life scores of smaller languages, as they will no doubt swallow up some of the small ones recorded above: yet these seventeen names represent all that remains of the seventy of Strabo, and the three hundred of Pliny.

I. Persian. A few words are sufficient for this celebrated language. As Trans-Caucasia was until 1826 part of the Persian kingdom, it is natural to find, that the use of the language has outlived the political domination: besides there exists a considerable commerce betwixt the two countries. The pure Persian-speaking population amounts to 8000. It is interesting to find amidst the settled population of the Province two Persian Colonies, speaking distinctive Persian Dialects: (1) Talish, the Dialect of a small District with a population of 43,000 round a town of that name, and the better known Caspian Sea Port of Lenkoran; this Dialect

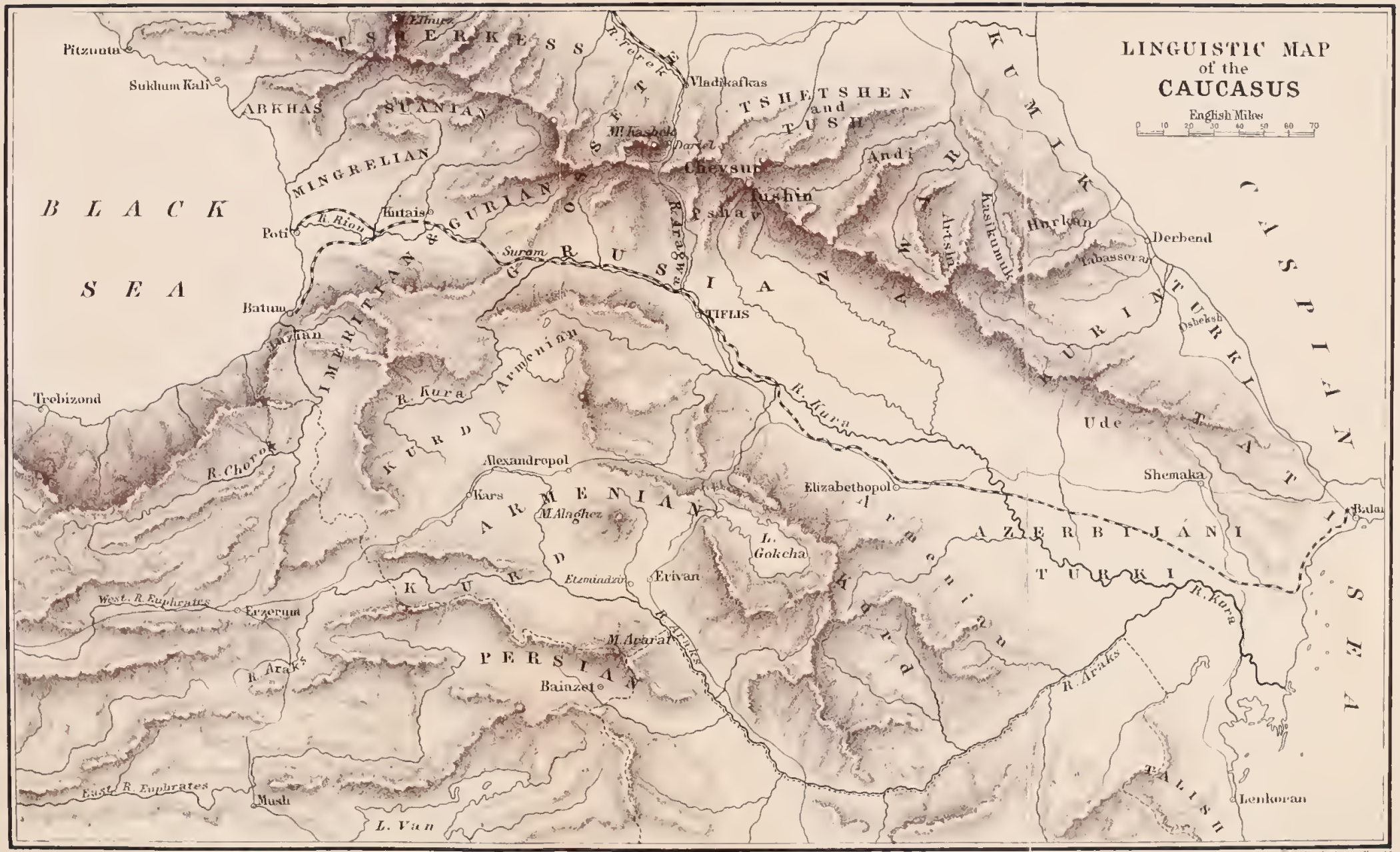
has the character of being an ancient one, differing in forms, and words from modern Persian. (2) Tati, spoken in the District of Bakú on the Caspian Sea, and the Peninsula of Aspheron, with a population of 81,000 : it is supposed by some to be only a modern patois, corrupted by Turki, but according to Beresine its name carries the appearance of antiquity, for in the celebrated Tablets of Behistún the word "Thatiya" occurs repeatedly preceding the name of Darius, meaning "Darius spake." This hypothesis seems doubtful.[1] All the Persians are Mahometan, but Shiah, and hostile to the Turks, who are Súni.

II. Kurd. Forty-four thousand of this Nation have crossed the frontier and settled in the Southern portions of Trans-Caucasia. They are all Mahometan.

III. Armenian. Nearly three-quarters of a million of this industrious and respectable community are subjects of Russia, and occupy a large but broken area in Trans-Caucasia, especially in the towns. They speak a different Dialect from that used by their co-religionists in Asiatic Turkey. They are all Christians, and the whole Bible has been lately translated into their Dialect, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

IV. Ossete, called also Iron. This is one of the Languages spoken within the Range of the Caucasus, but, as it belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Aryan Family, its description follows the other members of that Branch. The tribe numbers one hundred and eleven thousand : they occupy a compact territory in the very centre of the range, and it is traversed by the high road through the Dariel Pass that leads from Tiflis to Vladikafkas. Some of these are Mahometan ; the greater part are Christian, retaining many Pagan customs; they hold the upper valley of the River Terek, as well as the Mountain tract to the West as far as the head waters of the Ardou, and the Mamisson Pass. The evidence of their language is quite decisive as to their origin.

[1] See J.R.A.S. (o.s.) Vol. XI. p. 176, and Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 985. S. "sáns," G. "sagen," E. "say." We have no proof whether the word is "Tati," as written by the Russians, or "Thati."



R. N. Cust, J. R. A. S. N. S. Vol. XVII. 1885.

V. Turkí. Of this important Nationality the Russian statistics give the following details:

I. Osmánli	700
II. Azerbijáni	976,000
III. Karachai.....	20,000
IV. Kabarda	14,000
V. Kumik	78,000
VI. Noga	10,000
VII. Kirghíz	11,000
VIII. Jaghatai.....	77,000
IX. Kalmuk	11,000
	1,197,700

One million and one hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred. Of these the Azerbijáni are the most important, and spread over the greater part of Trans-Caucasia, and they are homogeneous with the population of the Persian adjoining Province of Tebriz to such an extent, that a translation of the Bible is now passing through the Press at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which will be intelligible to both. Allusion was made at the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg in 1876, by Berger, to the importance of this language, and to the fact, that it had never been studied. Last year at Tiflis I made particular inquiries of the scholar Amirkhanians, employed in this translation of the Bible, and found that the only notice of this Language was in a Grammar of the Turkish Language in the Russian Language by Kasim Beg, translated into German by Zenker. Of the other varieties of the Turkí Language (excepting of course the Osmánli) we know little. The Kumik occupy the low lands betwixt the Caspian Sea and the Eastern slopes of the Caucasus, and the Gospel of St. Matthew is in course of translation for their use. The New Testament has been translated into Kirghíz, and the Gospel of St. Matthew into Jaghatai or Trans-Caspian Turki. Of some of the rest we have scant Vocabularies. A scientific detail

of the different varieties of the important Turkí Language is greatly to be desired. The Turkí tribes poured in from the North in historic times, causing great displacement of Aryan and Pre-Aryan Languages, and now that the whole of the scattered portions of the tribe are gradually coming under the firm rule of the Russians, their importance will be greatly increased. They are all Mahometan, of the Súni sect.

VI. Georgian. We now arrive at the first of the Languages specially identified with the Caucasus, and belonging to none of the great Language-Families of Asia. Fredk. Müller divides the Group (for they have no pretence to such affinity among each other, as would justify the use of the word "Family") into a Southern and Northern Sub-Group, and the Georgian with its Dialects composes the Southern Sub-Group. The Statistical account states the following facts:

I. Grusian	340,000
II. Imeritian and Gurian	380,000
III. Tushin, Phsav, and Chevsur ..	20,000
IV. Mingrelian	198,000
V. Suanian	12,000
	950,000

The origin of the name Georgian is presumably the Persian word "Gurj." The third Subdivision is unimportant: Tiflis, the Capital of the Russian Province, is the chief town of Grusia, Kutais of Imeritia, and Poti of Mingrelia. Suania is a small Mountainous District difficult of access. They are all sometimes called the Kartalinian tribes, from their speaking a language called by themselves Kartli. The Grusians, or Georgians proper, inhabit the basin of the River Kúr East of the Suram water-shed, and spread up the valley of the Aragwa to the very foot of the main range, and occupy the valley of Kakhetia. The Imeritians occupy the valley of the River Riou or Phasis, West of the Suram Range. They are separated from the Mingrelians by the River Zenesquali. The Mingrelians extend to the Black Sea. The Gurians are

a small Sub-tribe to the South of the Mingrelians, and beyond these are the Lazians, who were known by that name in the time of Strabo, and have lately been annexed to Russia. The Suanians are mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. All these Sub-tribes speak dialects, more or less distinct, of the common language, the Georgian; or some may even be called Sister-Languages. All the tribes are Christian, except the Lazian. The language is essentially Non-Aryan. It has two alphabets, both of which derive from the Armenian alphabet: one is used for the Bible and religious works, the Kutsuri, or Priest's; the other is the Mekhedsuli Kheli, or Soldier's, which is the ordinary cursive script. The translation of the Bible dates back to the eighth century, and there are other specimens of archaic literature. This is a strong language, with great vitality, and will hold its own, and become the vehicle of culture and civilization.

In a general way the tribes, which make up the Northern Sub-Group, in the Western Regions of the Caucasus have been called the Circassian, in the Central Regions the Mizdzhedzi, and in the Eastern Regions the Lesgian: these are Ethnic terms. Almost all the Lesgians were Christians before the twelfth Century.

VII. Abkhás or Abas. This tribe occupies the Coast of the Black Sea from the point of Pitzunta to the confines of Mingrelia: they are kindred to the Tsherkess: the population numbers twenty-two thousand. Their language has been thoroughly studied and described. Mr. Peacock, Consul at Batúm, at my request, is preparing a collection of Sentences upon a fixed plan. They were once Christian, are nominally Mahometan, but practically Pagan.

VIII. Tsherkess. These are the famous Circassians: their proper name is Adighé. After a prolonged struggle they were subjugated by the Russians in 1864, and emigrated in a body of 400,000 to Turkey in Europe: the Russians made a solitude, and called it peace. The Statistics still show a population of one hundred and fifteen thousand, under the designation of Kabarda and other Circassian

Mountain tribes. The name of Kabarda appears twice in the Statistics, and is marked off separately in the Map: first as a portion of the Turki population, and secondly as a portion of the Tsherkess, who knuckled under to the Russians, and hold the country North of the Range from the valley of the River Kuban to that of the River Terek. All these tribes are Mahometan. Their language has been studied, but it has not been treated grammatically in accordance with the requirements of Philology, either by Schiefner or Fredk. Müller. The latter omits it entirely from his Grammatical Notices in Vol. III. of his Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, as if he considered that the Language had ceased to exist, which can hardly be asserted, as regards the emigrants into Turkey, or those who stayed behind in their native Mountains.

IX. Awár. These mountaineers number one hundred and fifty-five thousand, and their habitat is in the Eastern portion of the Range, in the very heart of Dághestan. Materials for a study of their language were collected by Berger, and on this basis, with the help of soldiers in the Circassian battalion stationed at St. Petersburg, Schiefner in 1862 published his Essay on the Awár. When Uslar published his more comprehensive essay on the Northern Dialect of this language, Schiefner returned to the subject, and published a comprehensive account, comparing the Awár grammatically, as well as lexicographically, with the other languages of the Caucasus. This is the only one of the Lesgian tribes, who have a written language, and they use the Arabic character. They are Mahometan.

X. Hurkan. In the Statistics this tribe is called Dargin, but the Philologists prefer the name entered above. There are three main Dialects, Akusha, Tschardak, Wurkun: the former is the most widely spoken, and best known. The population, which speaks this language, amounts to eighty-eight thousand: their habitat is East of the Awár, in the latitude of Derbend on the Caspian Sea. Uslar made investigations into the language, which Schiefner reported in 1871, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

XI. Kasikúmuk, who call themselves Lak. This tribe dwells in Central Daghestan, and number thirty-five thousand. They occupy a small enclave in the latitude of Derbend, betwixt the Awár and the Hurkan. Uslar made investigations, which Schiefner reported in 1866, followed by Fredk. Müller.

XII. Tabasseran. This small tribe of sixteen thousand occupy a small enclave South of the Hurkan. Uslar was engaged in the study of their language, when he was prematurely cut off in 1875, and his work has never been printed. We know that the tribe and the language exists, but nothing further. The Philological investigation has still to be made.

XIII. Kurin. This is an important tribe in South Dághestan, extending to the confines of the Tati population of the Bakú District, and numbering one hundred and thirty-one thousand. The tribe dwells both sides of the River Samur, as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea, cutting through the territory of the Azerbijáni Turki. Uslar made investigations, which were reported by Schiefner in 1873, followed by Fredk. Müller. The Kurin language has been greatly affected by the Azerbijáni Turki.

XIV. Artshi. The name of a village with a population of only six hundred, within the enclave of the Kasikúmuk, yet Uslar reports that the inhabitants use a peculiar and isolated language. Fredk. Müller describes it.

XV. Ude. This language is only spoken in two villages to the South of the Kurin, and therefore quite outside the boundary of Dághestan. They are surrounded by villages, the inhabitants of which speak Azerbijáni Turki, and the population is barely ten thousand. The influence of the Turki on this language has been excessive. Schiefner published an Essay on this language, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

XVI. Tshetshen. } It seems expedient to treat together
XVII. Tush. } these two languages.

The Compiler of the Statistics takes no notice of the second name, but gives a population of one hundred and

sixty-five thousand for the first. They inhabit the Northern slopes of the Eastern Caucasus extending down the valley of the River Terek from the territory of the Ossete on the West: they touch the Awár on the South, but do not extend up to the highest ranges. Their language is very distinct from all the others, and there are a great many Dialects. Schiefner mentions that with the aid of a native he made an exhaustive treatise upon the Tush language in 1856. The appearance of this paper led Uslar, who had been commissioned to draw up an ethnographic description of the tribes of the Caucasus, to make similar investigations in the Tshetshen language, which stands in the closest connection with the Tush. Uslar's work relates chiefly to the dialect of the residents of the plain, and Schiefner was able on this basis in 1863 to show the relationship of the language to the cognate Tush, and the greater antiquity of the latter. One of the tribes is named Kisti, and some authorities have used this name incorrectly for the whole. Fredk. Müller treats the two Languages as one with dialectal differences.

The Ethnographical Map, prepared by the Russian Government, accounts for every square mile of the territory, and on a careful scrutiny the names of the following tribes remain without having any peculiar language of their own, and without being upon authority assigned to any language already noticed: they are all in the Lesgian or West Caucasus Group.

1. Andi....	35,000	A subtribe of the Awár.
2. Dido....	9,000	do. do.
3. Agúl....	5,000	W. of Tabasseran.
4. Rutul ..	12,000	E. of Kurin, a subtribe of the Awár.
5. Tsakhur	4,000	W. of Rutul.
6. Dsheksh	8,000	S. of Kurin.
7. Khinalug	2,000	In the Kurin enclave.
8. Kriz....	5,000	In the Kurin enclave.
	80,000	

Uslar died prematurely, so possibly there may be some

other forms of speech spoken by the eight subtribes above noted, and there may be other dialects of the languages which have been recorded. On the other hand, we find in no volume on the Caucasus vocabularies, or notices of languages, which cannot be located, which is so common a feature in volumes on Africa. All other names, which appear in the pages of travellers, are ethnical, synonyms, or sub-tribal names, or the varying names, given to each tribe by its neighbours, which is often a cause of confusion and double entries. If a new Uslar were deputed to the Region, his microscopic investigations might reveal new phenomena, though on a small scale.

We are most fortunate in having the careful studies of two such great Scholars as Schiefner and Fredk. Müller, based upon the local investigations of Uslar. I have no sympathy with those, who treat the vocabularies of tribes, segregated for Centuries in inapproachable mountains, as mere linguistic puzzles, furnishing materials for comparison with, and possibly fortuitous resemblance with, Vocabularies of tribes, who never possibly could have come into contact with them, or derived from the same source. But the study of the structure of a language is always interesting, so also is the degree to which that structure has been insensibly modified by the contact of powerful neighbouring languages. This opens out the still unsettled question of Mixed Languages.

I will conclude with an anecdote illustrating practically the Poliphony of the Caucasian Province. When I was at Bakú on the Caspian Sea in October 1883, I hired a carriage to drive six miles to the Petroleum Fields. My coachman, a good intelligent fellow, spoke nothing but Azerbijáni Turki, but my landlord, an Italian, explained to him carefully what he was to do, and we did very well until we arrived at the middle of the machinery. I was unable to formulate any question, and he had not the innate skill of a practised guide to explain by gesture what was going on around us. I was in despair, when I beheld a gentleman approaching me, whom by his dress and appearance I recognized to be an Armenian. Hat in hand I addressed him

consecutively in French, German, and Italian, and on each occasion he shook his head to indicate his inability to comprehend me. He then addressed me in what I knew by the sounds were Armenian, Azerbijáni Turki, and Russian: I shook my head hopelessly. It would have been an absurdity for me to address him in English, or for him to address me, as doubtless he was able, in Georgian. Nor did he presume to vex my soul with Tsherkess; or Awár, or any Mountain-language. We stood blandly smiling at each other, when under a sudden inspiration he muttered, rather than spoke, "I suppose you do not know Persian?" in the sweet language of Iran. "Not speak Persian," I replied, "I have been familiar with it since I was a youth." We then fraternized, and he explained everything, as he was a proprietor of many Petroleum Wells. He took me into his office, and gave me coffee and fruit, and we parted as warm friends, exchanging cards.

Appendix of Authorities.

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Authority.
I.	Persian.....	Talish.....	Beresine, Recherches sur les Dialectes Persans, Casan, 1853.
	Do.	Tati.....	(1) do. do. (2) Eichwald, Reise auf der Kaspischen Meer. Stuttgard, § 303.
II.	Kurd.....	—	Justi, Kurdische Grammatik, St. Petersburg, 1880.
III.	Armenian...	Trans-Caucasian.	Of the Standard Language there is an abundant Literature, but of this Dialect there is nothing, except the text of the Translation of the Bible.
IV.	Ossete.....	—	MaxMüller's Survey of Languages, 1855, p. 34.
			Sjogren, Sprachlehre u. Worterbuch, St. Petersburg, 1844.
			do. Studien, St. Petersburg, 1848.
			Fredk. Müller, Algemeine Ethnographie, Vienna, 1879, pp. 27, 527.
			do. Proc. Academ. Vienna, 1861, 63, 64.
			Rosen, Sprachlehre, 1846; Abhandlung. Berlin. Acad. 1862, 63, 64, 67.
			Schiefner, Tales, Texts, Proverbs, Animal Legends.
			Lerch, Plural Suffix, Memoires Academ. St Petersburg, 1864.
			Salemann, Conjugation, Beiträge zur Vergleich. Sprachf. (Kuhn), 1874.

V. Turki	I. Osmánli..	Well known.
	II. Azerbijáni	(1) Berger, Popular Songs, noticed in Report of Third Oriental Congress, 1876. (2) Kasim Beg, Turkish Grammar (Russian), pp. 318-340; translated into German by Zenker, 1848, Leipzig.
	III. Karachai.	Klaproth, Reise II. Anhang, pp. 273-279.
	V. Kumik ...	do. do. pp. 273-288.
	VI. Noga ...	do. do. pp. 273-282.
		Bodenstedt, Journal of German Orieutal Society, vol. v. p. 245.
	VII. Kirghíz...	(1) do. La Langue des Kjirghíz, Journal Asiatique, 1825.
	VIII. Jaghatai Tartar.	Vambéry, Sprachstudien, Leipzig, 1867.
	IX. Kalmuk..	Vater Probeu, 1816; Zwick, Grammatik der West-Mongolisch Sprache, 1851.
		Makarow ou the Turki Languages spoken iu the Caucasus (Russian), described in Mélanges Asiatiques, vol. i. p. 127, hy Boethlingk.
VI. Georgian ...		Brosset, Grammar (French), Paris, 1834 and 1837.
		Klaproth, Voc. and Grammar, Paris, 1827.
		do. Asia Polyglotta.
		Tschubiuof, Dict., Georgian-Russian-Freuch, St. Petersburg, 1840.
		Fredk. Müller, Algemeiue Ethnographie, 1879, p. 497.
		do. Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii.
		Rosen, Abhandlungen Berlin. Acad. 1846.
VII. Abkhas.....		Rosen, Abhandlungen Berlin. Acad. 1845, pp. 405, 444.
		Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, Memoires Academ. St. Petersburg, 1863.
		Fredk. Müller, Alg. Ethn. 1879, p. 49.
		do. Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 49.
		Klaproth, Voc. Paris, 1823.
VIII. Tsherkess...		Klaproth, Grammar and Voc. Paris, 1823.
		L'Huilier, Grammar and Dictiouary, Odessa, 1846.
		Loewe, Dictionary, Londou, 1854.
		Sjogren, Bulletin Historico-Philologique, vol. iv. p. 165.
IX. Awár		Schiefuer, Versuch. St. Petersburg, 1862.
		do. Ausführliche bericht über, Uslar's Studien, St. Petersburg, 1872.
		do. Texte, do. 1873.
		Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 66.
		Graham, J.R.A.S. N.S. Vol. XIII. 1881.
X. Hurkan ...		Uslar, bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1871.
		Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii p. 108.
XI. Kasikumuk.		Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1866.
		Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol iii. p. 33.

XII. Tabasseran.	Uslar's work in MS.
XIII. Kurin.....	Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1873. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 128.
XIV. Artshi	Uslar, Bulletin Academ. St. Petersburg, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 99. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 102.
XV. Ude	Schiefner, Memoires Academ. St. Petersburg, 1863, Series vii. vol. vi. No. 8, p. 119. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol iii. p. 139.
XVI. Tshetshen.	Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1836. Klaproth, Langues des Mizdzhedzi, Paris, 1823. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 158.
XVII. Tush.....	Schiefner, Memoires Academ. St. Petersburg, vol. ix. p. 160. Klaproth, as above. Fredk. Müller, as above.

Art. VIII.—*On the Study of the South-Indian Vernaculars.* By G. U. Pope, D.D., Fellow of the Madras University.

The writer desires to say something regarding the Vernacular Languages of Southern India; to urge upon Englishmen whose work lies there the value of their cultivation; to give some account especially of a certain department of Tamil literature; and to lay before English scholars a few specimens of what is believed to be unique among the productions of Oriental thought.

Our power of benefitting our fellow-subjects in India must greatly depend upon our intimate and sympathetic acquaintance with their habits of thought and feeling; and it is, I imagine, an undoubted fact that the great majority of Englishmen connected with India do not possess this knowledge to any great extent, and perhaps hardly think it worth acquiring.

I am not now hinting any blame. It is especially hard to know 'native character' anywhere, and English people have no special aptitude for the study. Nor is the course of study pursued by most young Englishmen as preparatory to entering on the duties of Indian official life any great help in this particular direction.

In many ways we fail to understand the people of India. Hindûs are often spoken of as apathetic. I should term them fervid. My first teacher of Tamiḷ was a most learned scholar, long dead (peace to his ashes!), who possessed more than any man I have known the *ingenium perfervidum*. He was a profound and zealous Vaishṇavite. I remarked one day a long white line or scar on his neck, where his rosary of huge Eleocarpus beads hung, and ventured to ask him (I had to wait on such occasions for the *mollia tempora fandi!*)

its history. "Well," said he, "when I was a boy, I could learn nothing. Nothing was clear to me, and I could remember nothing. But I felt my whole soul full of an intense love of learning. So, in despair, I went to a temple of *Sarasvati* (the goddess of learning) and, with a passionate prayer, I cut my throat and fell bleeding at her feet. In a vision she appeared to me, and promised I should become the greatest of Tamiḷ scholars. I recovered, and from that day, by her grace, I found all things easy, and *I am what she said I should be.*" I believe he was so; and from that noble enthusiastic teacher I learnt to love Tamiḷ and to reverence its ancient professors.

A great danger to which we English people are exposed is that of undervaluing those of other races with whom we are brought into connexion, and of permitting ourselves to be quite sure that, whenever they differ from ourselves they are wrong, perhaps barbarous, perhaps even wicked.

A great deal may be learnt of a people from its literature; and of the vernacular literature of India most Englishmen are of course profoundly ignorant. The vernaculars of India have not the literary interest and importance that attach themselves to Sanskrit or Chinese. It is, however, with the hope of exciting some curiosity regarding one of these vernaculars that I write. The Tamiḷ language is spoken by from ten to fifteen millions of our fellow-subjects, who are the inhabitants of the Southern Karnatic, comprising ten Collectorates, about one-half of the Madras Presidency. There are several languages of South India which are closely allied to it, the offspring of a common parent. The principal of these are the Tamiḷ, the Telugu, the Kanarese, and the Malayâḷim; the Tamiḷ being by far the most cultivated and copious of the group.

The Telugu is perhaps better known than the Tamiḷ, being a remarkably mellifluous language; but it is inferior to Tamiḷ in power, in resources, and in literature. The Tamiḷ people themselves are among the most active and enterprizing of our Eastern fellow-subjects. They have a greater power of accommodating themselves to circumstances than any

other Indian race, and are employed as domestic servants almost all over British India, while large bands of Tamiḷ Coolies are to be found in the Mauritius, British Guiana and the West Indian Islands. The northern part of Ceylon is entirely occupied by them.

Now the Tamiḷians have a literature which is, in some respects, unique in the East. And I am not speaking here merely of translations or adaptations from the Sanskrit, of which there are very many in Tamiḷ, as in all other Indian languages; but of works which are the outcome of the genius of the people themselves, and are as thoroughly Tamiḷian as Shakspere is English. They possess an extensive and interesting literature, which is not only independent of Sanskrit, but opposed to its influence. Its authors cordially disliked Brâhmanism and Brâhmans, and have striven, with considerable success, to found a literature which should rather be the rival of that composed in the great northern language than its offspring. Everywhere we find traces of the conflict between the Northern or Sanskrit, and the Southern or Tamiḷ schools. Thus (in *Nâlaḍi* 243) one of the Tamiḷ poets says :

எந்நிலத்து வித்திடினுங் காஞ்சிரங்காழ் தெங்காகா ;
தெந்நாட்டவருஞ் சுவர்க்கம் புகுதலால்
" தன்னூற்ரு னுகு மமுமை "; வடதிசையும்
கொன்னுளர் சாலப் பலர்.

" Whatever soil you sow it in, the '*Strychnos*' nut
Grows not a cocoa-palm. Some of the *Southern* land
Have entered heaven! '*Man's life decides his future state.*'
Full many from the *Northern* land inhabit hell."

It is true that most of the books current in all Indian languages are translations from the great Sanskrit epics or adaptations of them; but I hold that from these you can gain little more knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of the peoples of India, than might be gained by a foreigner regarding those of the English people from a study of Dryden's Virgil or Pope's Homer.

All Europeans who go to India to live and work ought to learn the vernacular of the people among whom they live; but, above this, all who seek to influence these people for good must have a respectable knowledge of that which influences them most, their own favourite literature.

To read the Hitôpadêsa or *Panchatantra* (a foreign book, not known in Tamiḷ till this century) or a few fables, mostly of Persian origin, is not to know Tamiḷ.

A hindrance to the real study of Tamiḷ exists in the fact that servants of Government are compelled or encouraged to learn a little of several Oriental languages, and rarely remain long among the people whose language they know best. Few men, however, whose time is otherwise much occupied, have the power to gain a thorough working knowledge of more than one language besides their own. An Englishman in India should know *one* vernacular thoroughly and a little of Hindustâni. Many 'go up' in several languages, and attain real facility and proficiency in none.

And Tamiḷ, at least, will repay those who, like that distinguished civilian Mr. F. W. Ellis, in the last century, thoroughly master its literature.

For, as has been said, there is in Tamiḷ a considerable number of works, chiefly of an ethical or moral character, which are of quite exceptional merit, in every point of view, and possess unbounded influence over the minds of the people.[1] I propose to say something in this paper of three of these: the *Kurraḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the *Nâlaḍi* by unknown authors, and the works of the poetess *Avvai*. I shall say little, because I do hope that complete editions of these three, with English translations and elucidations, which I have prepared, may yet be published.

The greatest of these is the work of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. He was, according to universal tradition, a Pariah weaver, of Mailâpûr or S. Thomé, a suburb of Madras, which city in his

[1] The Telugu has also a poetical work on moral subjects; 'the verses of *Vêmana*'; but these are immeasurably inferior in all respects (except their wonderful—quite unequalled—rhythm) to the Kurraḷ, as any one can see who looks into the translation of *Vêmana* by the late Mr. C. P. Brown, the prince of Telugu scholars.

days was not in existence. His date is uncertain, though we may safely limit it to between A.D. 1000 and 1200. His very name is unknown, his title of Tiruvaḷḷuvar meaning simply 'Pariah priest' or 'soothsayer.' Mailâpûr, then a sea-port of some importance, was the very place which the universally received tradition of ancient Christendom regards as the scene of the Apostle S. Thomas's martyrdom. And it is a noteworthy circumstance, that from precisely the spot so hallowed in the annals of Christianity should have proceeded, some centuries later, the Oriental book which more than any other in the wide range of Eastern literature seems to reflect the moral teaching of the Great Master whom all the Western world reveres. Indeed, the student of South-Indian history will find that Christian influences have always been most active there. Missionaries of no mean repute from Alexandria, of whom Pantaenus was one, visited Mailâpûr, where there has been a Christian community from the earliest times, in close communication with the Christians of Malabar.[1] The Syrian Missionaries, and, in after-times, S. Francis Xavier, the noble band of Madura martyrs, Beschi (who was Chandâ Sahêb's prime minister), De Nobili (nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine), and many others, have by their lives and writings powerfully influenced the Tamiḷ mind, and that influence pervades its literature and has even perceptibly modified some of its sectarian developments.

But to return to the great Tamiḷ poet. M. Ariel (in a letter to Burnouf, published in the Journal Asiatique, 1848) speaks of his work as "the masterpiece of Tamiḷ literature, —one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought." Again he says: "That which above all is wonderful in the Kurraḷ is the fact that its author addresses himself without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason; that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and

[1] I may refer to Dr. German's interesting work, "Die Kirche der Thomas Christen," and to Dr. Neale's "Patriarchate of Antioch," p. 48.

truth ; that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life ; that he is equally perfect in thought, in language and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of the Divine Nature, as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart."

Owing to the assiduous labours of Dr. Graul, the Kurraḷ (with other Tamiḷ books) has been edited in Germany with German and Latin versions.

M. Ariel has also published in French a translation of a portion of the Kurraḷ. But in English no complete translation has yet appeared. Mr. Ellis translated about twenty-three chapters ; Mr. Drew published twenty-four chapters ; but no complete translation has ever been published in English, nor has any edition with critical apparatus been issued under English auspices. And this is remarkable, considering our connection with the land of the Tamiḷs.

It is much to be desired that a complete edition of the 'Tamiḷ Moral Poets' should be published, with lexicon, concordance, notes, and English version. This could easily be issued in England ; since Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. have recently printed and published a Tamiḷ Hand-book in three volumes, which for beauty of typography and correctness surpasses anything yet printed in Tamiḷ.

Tradition says that in Tiruvaḷḷuvar's days there was a great Academy in the Southern Madura, of which all learned Tamiḷ scholars were members, and of which the god Śiva himself condescended to be the President. This learned corporation possessed a miraculous bench, that floated on the waters of the great *tank* or lake belonging to the famous Madura temple. This bench had the faculty of expanding to make room for any worthy candidate, and thus the academy was kept select. When the Pariah bard presented himself with his 1300 couplets, his want of caste was alleged as a reason for his exclusion. Meekly acquiescing, he craved permission but to lay his book on the end of the bench. His request was granted ; but no sooner had the book rested on the bench, than the whole of the members of the Academy

found themselves floating in the tank, the weight of the poem having upset the bench, which in fact there and then finally disappeared.

The advent of the new poet was fatal to the Madura Sanskrit-Tamiḷ school.

Before giving a few specimens of the work, I must say a word or two about the difficulty of translation. Nothing, not even a Greek chorus, so defies the efforts of the student as does very much of the high Tamiḷ poetry. The poetical dialect of Tamiḷ allows every kind and any amount of ellipsis, so that a line is often little else than a string of crude forms artfully fitted together. The best compositions are quatrains or couplets, each containing a complete idea: a moral epigram. Their construction resembles that of a design in mosaic. The materials fitted together are sometimes mere bits of coloured glass, but sometimes also very precious stones and pure gold. And the design? Why you walk round it, and try to catch it in all lights, and feel at first, and often for a long time, as if it meant nothing at all, till you catch some hint, and at once it lies revealed, something to be thought of again and again, some bit of symbolism it may be, not unfrequently grotesque, often quaint, but sometimes also of rare beauty.

Especially of Tiruvaḷḷuvar it may be said, as Archbishop Trench says of S. Augustine (S. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture, p. 154): "He abounds in short and memorable, and, if I might so call them, epigrammatic sayings, concentrating with a forceful brevity the whole truth which he desires to impart into some single phrase, forging it into a polished shaft, at once pointed to pierce, and barbed that it shall not lightly drop from, the mind and memory."

The Kurraḷ in three books treats of virtue, domestic and ascetic, of wealth or the state, and of love. It is divided into 133 chapters, each consisting of ten couplets.

His first chapter is 'The Praise of God,' but theology is no part of his general subject; and he scarcely alludes to a Divine Being in the remaining chapters. This is his introductory chapter:

அகர முதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்; ஆதி
பகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு. (க)

1. A as its first of letters every speech maintains;
The '*Primal Deity*' is first thro' all the world's domains.

கற்றதனலாய பயனென்கொல் வாலறிவ
னற்றா டொழாஅ ரெனின? (உ)

2. No fruit have men of all their studied lore
Save they the '*Purely Wise One's*' feet adore.

மலர்மிசை யேகினன் மாணடி சேர்ந்தார்
நில மிசை நீடுவாழ் வார். (ங)

3. His feet '*Who hath pass'd o'er the full-blown flower*,' who gain,
In bliss long time shall dwell above this earthly plain.

வேண்டுதல் வேண்டாமை யிலான டிசேர்ந்தார்க்
கியாண்டு மிடும்பை யில. (ச)

4. His feet '*Whom want affects not, irks not grief*,' who gain,
Shall not, thro' every time, of any woes complain.

இருள்சேர் இருவினையுஞ் சேரா இறைவன்
பொருள்சேர் புகழ்புரிந்தார் மாட்டு. (ஞ)

5. The men who on the '*King's*' true praise delight to dwell,
Affects not them the fruit of deeds done ill or well.

பொறிவாயி லைந்தவித்தான் பொய்தீர் ஒழுக்க
நெறிநின்றார் நீடுவாழ் வார். (ஙு)

6. Long live they blest, who've stood in path from falsehood free'd,
His '*Who quench'd lusts that from the sense-gates five proceed.*'

தனக்குவமை யில்லாதான் றாள்சேர்ந்தார்க் கல்லால்
மனக்கவலை மாற்றல் அரிது. (எ)

7. Unless His feet '*to Whom none can compare*' men gain,
'Tis hard for soul to find relief from anxious pain.

அறவாழி யந்தணன் றாள்சேர்ந்தார்க் கல்லாற
பிறவாழி நீந்தல் அரிது. (அ)

8. Unless His feet, '*the Sea of good, the fair and Bountiful*,' men gain,
'Tis hard of being's changeful sea the further bank to attain.

கோளில் பொறியிற் குணமிலவே எண்குணத்தான்
தாளை வணங்காத் தலை. (கூ)

9. Before His feet the '*eight-fold Excellence*,' with unbent head,
Who stands, like palsied sense, is to all living functions dead.

பிறவிப் பெருங்கட லீந்துவர் நீந்தார்
இறைவ னடிசேரா தார். (ஹ)

10. They swim the sea of births, the '*Monarch's*' foot who gain;
None other reach the shore of being's mighty main.

Of course there is a good deal here that needs elucidation; but the sublimity of the Monotheism is evident. The translation of the whole work is before me, awaiting the opportunity of publication, and I would willingly quote much more of it; but, without wearying the reader, a dozen couplets more, taken at random, may be given:

Purity of heart.

மனத்துக்கண் மாசில னாத
லனைத்தற னாகுல நீர பிற.

Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue's name;
All else, mere pomp of idle sound, no real worth can claim.

The household.

அன்பு மறனு முடைத்தாயி னில்வாழ்க்கை
பண்பும் பயனு மது.

If love and virtue in the household reign,
This is of life the perfect grace and gain.

The wife.

இல்லதெ னில்லவண் மாண்பானு
ளுள்ளதெ னில்லவண் மானுக் கடை.

There is no lack within the house, where wife in worth excels;
There is no luck within the house where wife dishonour'd dwells.

Children.

குழலினி தியாழினி தென்ப தம்மக்கண்
மழலைச்சோற் கேளா தவர்.

'The pipe is sweet,' 'the lute is sweet,' by them 'twill be averred,
Who music of their infants' lisping lips have never heard.

Love.

அன்பகத் தில்லா வுயிர்வாழ்க்கை
வன்பாற்கண் வற்றல் மரந்தளிர்த் தற்று.

The loveless soul the very joys of life may know,
When flowers, in barren soil, on sapless trees shall blow.

Gratitude.

மறவற்க மாசற்றார் கேண்மை;
துறவற்க துன்பத்துட் டுப்பாயார் நட்பு.

Kindness of men of stainless soul remember evermore!
Forsake thou never friends who were thy stay in sorrow sore!

Justice.

கேடும் பெருக்கமு மில்லல்ல; நெஞ்சத்துக
கோடாமை சான்றோர்க் கணி.

The gain and loss in life are not mere accident;
Just mind inflexible is sages' ornament.

Humility.

எல்லார்க்கு நன்றும் பணித லவருள்ளுஞ்
செல்வர்க்கே செல்வந் தகைத்து.

Humility to all is goodly grace; but chief to them
With fortune blest. 'Tis fortune's diadem.

The tongue.

தீயினுற் சுட்டபு ணுள்ளாறு மாறுதே
நாவினுற் சுட்ட வடு.

In flesh by fire inflamed, nature may throughly heal the sore;
In soul by tongue inflamed, the ulcer healeth never more.

Forgiveness.

அகழ்வாரைத் தாங்கு நிலம்போலத் தம்மை
யிகழ்வார்ப் பொறுத்த றலை.

As earth bears up the men who delve into her breast,
To bear with scornful men, of virtues is the best.

Truth.

தன் னெஞ் சறிவது பொய்யற்க பொய்த்தபின்
றன்னெஞ்சே தன்னைச் சுடும்.

Speak not a word which false thy own heart knows,
Self-kindled fire within the false one's spirit glows.

Benevolence.

தெருளாதான் மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டற்றுற் றேரி
னருளாதான் செய்யு மறம்.

When souls unwise true wisdom's mystic vision see,
The 'graceless' man may work true works of charity.

It is not, however, by such quotations merely that the real value and significance of the Kurraḷ is to be judged. The whole scope and connexion of chapters v.–xxiv. should be studied to show the beauty of the life of the Tamiḷ householder as the South-Indian *vates sacer* contemplates it. The ideal householder leads on earth a consecrated life (50), not unmindful of any duty to the living, or to the departed (42). His wife, the glory of his house, is modest and frugal; adores her husband; guards herself, and is the guardian of the house's fame (ch. vi.). His children are his choicest treasures; their babbling voices are his music; he feasts with the gods when he eats the rice their tiny fingers have played with; and his one aim is to make them worthier than himself (vii.). Affection is the very life of his soul: of all his virtues the first and greatest. The sum and source of them all is love (viii.). His house is open to every guest, whom he welcomes with smiling face and pleasant word, and with whom he shares his meal (ix.). Courteous in speech (x.), grateful for every kindness (xi.), just in all his dealings (xii.), master of himself in perfect self-control (xiii.), strict in the performance of every assigned duty (xiv.), pure (xv.), patient and forbearing (xvi.), with a heart free from envy (xvii.), moderate in desires (xviii.), speaking no evil of others (xix.), refraining from unprofitable words (xx.), dreading the touch of evil (xxi.), diligent in the discharge of all the duties of

his position (xxii.), and liberal in his benefactions (xxiii.), he is one whom all unite to praise (xxiv.).

It is not irreverent to put side by side with this the words which I feel sure he had heard, or at least the summary of them (Phil. iv. 6–8):

> "Whatsoever things are pure,
> whatsoever things are honourable,
> whatsoever things are just,
> whatsoever things are of good report,
> if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise,
> think of these things."

Tradition (reflecting, doubtless, in many things the spirit of a much later age) says that the life of the poet in *Mailâpûr*, with his wife *Vâsugi*, was in perfect accordance with these chapters. She was the embodiment of all the *Kurraḷ* requires in the 'help to household life.'

In his youth, her father, *Mârka-sagâyan*, struck with his virtues, offered the poet his daughter in marriage. Tiruvaḷḷuvar was inclined to marry, because domestic virtue is the highest, yet resolved first to try the maiden's temper and gifts; and accordingly replied: "If she will take this sand and make it into rice for me, I will take her as my wife." *Vâsugi* meekly took the basket of sand, and feeling sure that what the holy man ordained was possible and right, proceeded to boil it; and, as (in v. 55) the virtuous woman is said to have power with the gods, so it came to pass with her; a miracle was wrought on her behalf, and she brought him the rice for which he asked. So she became his wife, faithful and obedient.

In after days, when the poet's fame had spread through all the Tamiḷ country, one day a noble stranger came to the weaver's cottage, and asked the question (so much discussed in those times), "which is greater, domestic life, or a life of asceticism?" The sage, while courteously entertaining the stranger, gave no reply in words to the question. The enquirer was left to see domestic life in its perfect grace, and judge for himself. What he saw was this. One day

when *Vâsugi* was drawing water from the well the sage suddenly called her, and the obedient wife instantly came, *leaving the bucket hanging mid-way in the well.*

Another day, when the good housewife brought her husband his morning meal of cold rice, he complained that it *burnt his mouth!* when she, unquestioning, and unhesitating in her attention to his comfort, instantly began to fan it. Another day, at noon, when the glaring light was everywhere, the sage, who was at work at his loom, let fall his shuttle, and *called for a light to seek it!* The wife, with unquestioning obedience, lit a lamp and brought it him!

The enquirer had learnt his lesson: "Where such a wife is found, domestic life is the best. Where such a wife is not, the life of the ascetic is to be preferred."

So the poet and his *Vâsugi*, this Griselda of the Tamiḷ olden days, lived, till the time that she must leave him, and gain "release." The dying wife looked wistfully at her husband. "What is it?" said he. "When you married me, and on that day I stood and spread the rice for you (literally, *for you, my god*), you gave me a commandment to place always, with your meals, a cup of water and a needle. I know not why it was." "It was," he replied, "that if a grain of rice were spilt, I might pick it up and purify it." Satisfied, the meek *Vâsugi* closed her eyes for ever

She had never during her whole married life questioned her lord's command! And also, it is clear, no grain of rice had ever been spilt!

As he lay that night, after her death and cremation, and pondered, he was heard to exclaim (there are many various readings of the verse):—

> Sweet as my daily food! O full of love! O wife,
> Obedient ever to my word! Chafing my feet,
> The last to sleep, the first to rise, O gentle one!
> By night, henceforth, what slumber to mine eyes?

What ever may be thought of these characteristic traditions, it is the singular glory of the poet to have drawn

this picture of the perfect householder ; and it speaks loudly in favour of the Tamiḷ race that these couplets are enshrined in the hearts of the whole people. Dynastic changes, Muhammadan raids, and irruptions of races, through a dozen centuries, have changed many things in the South :

> Old times are changed, old manners gone,
> And strangers fill the *Pâṇḍyan's* throne,

but the Tamiḷ race preserves many of its old virtues, and has the promise of a noble future. Their English friends, in teaching them all that the West has to impart, will find little to unteach in the moral lessons of the Kurraḷ rightly understood. Sir A. Grant says : "Humility, charity, and forgiveness of injuries, being Christian qualities, are not described by Aristotle." Now these three are everywhere forcibly inculcated by these Tamiḷ moralists. These are the themes of their finest verses. So far, then, we may call these Tamiḷ poets Christian ; and to understand them, to free them from mistaken glosses, to teach them, to correct their teaching where it is misleading, and to supplement it where it is defective, would seem to be the duty of all who are friends of the races that glory in the possession of these poetical masterpieces. Sir A. Grant (Aris. Ethics, i. 81), treating of Greek morality "before the birth of Moral Philosophy," says truly : "It is obvious that such a code as this could only arise among an essentially moral and noble race." This is precisely what I claim for the Tamiḷ-speaking peoples, and on the same ground. We shall not do all the good we might do among them till we more unreservedly recognize this.

No doubt many things in this remarkable literature say more to us than they did to those for whom they were written. Many of these epigrammatic masterpieces have a profound significance, of which their authors themselves were hardly conscious. Their resemblance to the gnomic poetry of Greece is remarkable as to their subjects, their sentiments, and the state of society when they were uttered. They also, like many of the Grecian masterpieces, belong

to a period antecedent to the formation of anything like a prose style.

A few words regarding the second great work of the series, the *Nâlaḍi*, will suffice.

The work which stands next in estimation to the Kurraḷ among the Tamiḷ people is the *Nâlaḍi-nânnûrru*, or '400 Quatrains.' The tradition regarding it is that 8000 sages brought their verses to the King of Madura, who, to test their worth, caused the palmyra leaves on which they were written to be thrown into the River Vaigai. Those that floated against the current were to be preserved. Three collections of leaves stood the test, one was found to contain these 400; and the two others consisted of similar collections of verses, which are extant under the names of *Paṛa-moṛi* (='Old words') and *Arra-nerri-çâram* (='Essence of the way of Virtue'). The two latter works are inferior.

I suppose that the meaning of the tradition is, that these are verses of various ancient Tamiḷ poets, which the stream of time has not been able to sweep away into oblivion. Since they were not allowed to perish, they may be presumed to have been the most popular compositions of those olden times. The authors seem to have been Jainas. Perhaps we may refer them to the time of Kûna Pâṇḍya, some time in the eleventh century A.D.

They are of very unequal value, often obscure, sometimes trivial. The prevailing tone is cynical, and we miss in them the healthy humanity of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. They have been forced by a later native editor into an arrangement harmonizing with that of the Kurraḷ; the result of which is, that the title of a chapter often affords no clue to its contents. They are mostly of much later date, I think, than the Kurraḷ, and often seem to indicate an acquaintance with it.

I have translated the whole 400 quatrains, and should like to print *nearly* all of them. There is room here but for half a dozen. I must mention that, though by different unknown hands, I feel sure I can see the work of one principal writer in about half of them. He was a Tamiḷian Antisthenes.

1. *The funeral.*

சென்றே எறிப ஒருகால், சிறுவரை
நின்றே எறிப பறையினை.
நன்றே, காண்!
முக்காலைக் கொட்டின் உள் மூடித்திக் கொண்டெழுவர்
செத்தாரைச் சாவார் சுமந்து.

They march and then strike once. A little while they wait,
Then strike a second time the drum. Behold, how brave!
The third stroke sounds: they veil *it*, take the fire, go forth.
The dying bear the dead!

2. *Summer friends.*

ஆர்த்த பொறிய அணிகிளர் வண்டினம்
பூதெதொழி கொம்பின்மேற் செல்லாவாம்;
நீர்த்தருவி
தாழா உயர்சிறப்பிற் றண்குனற நன்னட!
வாழாதார்க் கில்லைத் தமர்.

Lord of the goodly land, adown whose hilly heights,
Cool, clear, the torrents ceaseless flow! The beetle, bright
With many a beauteous spot, seeks not the bloomless bough:
The unprosperous have no friends.—[Hor. I. xxxv. 25–28.]

3. '*Vanitas vanitatum.*'

நட்புநார் அற்றன, நல்லாரும் அஃகினர்,
அற்புத் தலையும் அவிழ்ந்தன;
உட்காணுய!
வாழ்தலின் ஊதியம் என்னுண்டாம? வந்ததே
யாழ்கலத் தன்ன கலி.

Severed are friendship's ties; minished are pleasant ones;
Love's bonds are loosen'd too; then look within and say,
What profit is there in this joyous life of thine?
The wail as from the sinking ship is heard.

4. *The good housewife.*

நாலாறும் ஆரும் நனிசிறிதாய் எப்புறனும்
மேலாறு மேலுறை சோரினும்,
மேலாய
வல்லாளாய் வாழுமூர் தற்புகழும் மாண்கற்பின்
இல்லாள் அமர்ந்ததே இல்.

On every side the narrow dwelling lies exposed;
On every part the rain drips down; yet, if the dame
Has noble gifts, by townsfolk praised for modest worth,
Call such a housewife's blest abode *a home!*

5. *Penitence.*

விளக்குப் புகஇருண் மாய்ந்தாங் கொருவன்
தவத்தின்முன் னில்லாதாம் பாவம்;
விளக்குநெய்
தேயவிடத்துச் சென்றிருள் பாயந்தாங்கு நல்வினை
தீர்விடத்து நிற்குமாந் தீது.

As when lamp enters darkness flies, so sin stands not
Before man's penitence. As when in lamp the oil
Wastes, darkness rushes in, so evil takes its place
Where deeds of virtue cease.

6. *Various paradoxes.*

ஓதியும் ஓதார் உணர்விலார்; ஓதாதும்
ஓதி அனையார் உணர்வுடையார்;
தூய்தாக
நல்கூர்ந்துஞ் செல்வர் இரவாதார்; செல்வரும்
நல்கூர்ந்தார் ஈயார் எனின்.

The unintelligent may read but are unread!
Men of intelligence unread are men well read!
In utter penury who scorn to beg are rich!
And poor are wealthy men who give no gifts.

The third in the series is *Avvai*, 'The Mother,' whose name also is unknown. She is commonly said to have been a sister

of *Tiruvalluvar*, though I feel sure she belongs to a later period. She composed two school-books, in universal use, in which a series of moral and prudential precepts are expressed in elegant and very condensed sentences, each beginning with a different letter of the alphabet. Besides these, about fifty quatrains of great excellence are, on good grounds, attributed to her. Legends regarding her abound, most of them connected with miracles which she is supposed to have wrought. All ascribe to her a quaint and highly original character. One story about her is amusing. The 'wonderful old woman' was sitting one day in the verandah of a small way-side temple, with her feet stretched out straight before her, a position not considered respectful in the presence of a superior. The priest of the temple rushed out with the question, "Are you not ashamed to stretch out your feet in the presence of the Sâmi (idol or lord)?" To which she replied, "Very true, Sir, if you will show me where the *Sâmi* is not, I will stretch out my feet there!"

I cannot give more than one or two of her quatrains, though I have translated them all. She was asked, it is said, to compose some verses about the four great topics discussed by Hindû authors, 'virtue, wealth, pleasure, and heaven;' since Tiruvaḷḷuvar had sung his 1330 couplets on the three former. She replied in a quatrain:

ஈதல்அறம்தீவினைவிட் டீட்டல் பொருள்எஞ்ஞான்றும்
காதல் இருவர் கருத்துறவைத்
தாதரவு
பட்டதே இன்பம் பரனைநினைந் திம்மூன்றும்
விட்டதே பேரின்ப வீடு.

> Giving is *virtue; wealth* what's gained eschewing sin;
> And evermore 'tis *pleasure* when, their hearts at one,
> Two live in love, sustaining and sustain'd. To leave
> All three, heart fix'd on God, is perfect bliss of *heaven*.

I am not sure, however, that these are her lines, though given to her by almost universal tradition. They savour of

a later date and of a different school. There is no reason to doubt her authorship of the following:

சிரியர் கெட்டாலுஞ் சிரியர் சிரியரே!
அல்லாதார் கெட்டால் அங்கென்னும்? சிரிய
பொன்னின்குடம்உடைந்தாற்பொன்னாகும்; என்னாகும்
மண்ணின் குடம் உடைந்தக் கால்?

Tho' worthy men be ruin'd, worthy men are still
Right worthy men; when worthless men are ruin'd, what
Are they? If vase of gold be broken, still 'tis gold!
What is there left, when shatter'd lies the earthen pot?

I am quite sensible that this paper is superficial, and in itself of little worth; but I have written on this subject because I feel that there is a real and growing danger that the vernaculars of India should be neglected. This is certainly a critical period in the history of public education in our Eastern dominions. I trust whatever else the late Educational Commission may be the means of effecting, it will give a mighty impulse to vernacular education in every part of the land. There is a positive rage for the study of English among all (or nearly all) classes in India; and, certainly, it is our wisdom to encourage and extend thorough English teaching everywhere. But, while we can leave the higher English culture to those who can pay for it, a moderate knowledge of English, in combination with a thorough training in their own language, should be extended to and even imposed upon all.

To neglect, and to encourage the people to neglect, such a language as Tamiḷ would be a fatal mistake. There are, it must be confessed, unmistakable symptoms of decay in Tamiḷ scholarship. The books published in Madras are often wretchedly incorrect. Good Munshis are very scarce. New Tamiḷ works of any value are hardly produced at all.

The action of the Madras Educational Department, and of the Managers of aided schools and colleges, has been, and is, such as very greatly to stimulate English education; but I think somehow vernacular education languishes.

Sir A. J. Arbuthnot, the first Director of Public Instruction in Madras, a statesman and a man of culture, himself a scholar in one vernacular, aimed at the extension of really scientific vernacular training throughout the whole Presidency. This has I am afraid somewhat languished. There are some ten or twelve vernaculars in the domain cared for by the Madras Director of Public Instruction, and he cannot feel an interest in them all.

European missionaries, too, occupy themselves more with English teaching than formerly; and there are scarcely any that find leisure for a thorough study of Tamil. Natives are always in danger of despising the treasures of their own language.

Should there not be some one European official for each of the great vernaculars, whose duty it would be to attend to this one subject? It is certainly more important in Madras that there should be able professors of the vernacular than of Sanskrit. And these should be Europeans, for this in India gives more importance to the subject.

In every way it is the part of an enlightened Government to foster native learning, and especially such as exists in the ancient vernaculars of South India.

Art. IX.—*The Pallavas.* By the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, M.R.A.S., Chaplain of Coimbatore.

The accumulation of materials for the history of the Pallavas during the last few years has been remarkably rapid and extensive: and those materials are of high quality and great importance. The broad outlines of the history of these old kings during the greater portion of their long political existence are now known fairly well: and we may wait hopefully for a similar discovery of such additional details as are wanted to fill up the open spaces within those outlines. A great gain has thus been obtained for the students of the ancient history of Southern India: the rule of a powerful and enlightened dynasty over a large portion of the Dakhaṇ now fills up a long period of time which until quite recently was supposed to have been occupied by the wanderings of a few half-savage nomads; and a natural position has been thus found in the civilized progress of these kings, for some of the most remarkable works of ancient Indian art, lying as they do within the limits which are now known to have formed the territory of the Pallavas. It is a very remarkable rehabilitation; and all the more so because it was so unexpected: and it is not the less welcome though it has destroyed the old pet theory of the Daṇḍakáraṇya in its numerous shapes and chameleon colourings, which has so persistently claimed to be the key of the ancient history of the Dakhaṇ.

This rehabilitation is in great part due to the incidental statements contained in the inscriptions of the kings of other early Dakhaṇ dynasties, with whom the Pallavas were in pretty constant antagonism for several centuries; and partly also to the direct statements of similar inscriptions of the Pallavas themselves. The clue afforded by these

facts has led to the recognition of other valuable materials, many of them quite unconsciously recorded, which lie scattered amongst the facts collected in other researches. Of this latter class of materials there is probably a large quantity yet to be gathered: and these fresh materials may be expected to provide *clues into fresh fields of investigation.* The sources from which the materials which have been utilized have been obtained may be given here, as a rough outline of the bibliography of the subject, to assist those who may desire to pursue the study more fully. The chronological form in which it is presented will show in a general way when and by whom these facts were first brought to light: it will also be found useful in connection with the historical tables further on.

Chronological List of Authorities.

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1816. Replies to the Mirási Questions: *Ellis.*
1827. Trans. Lit. Soc. Madras, vol. i.: *Ellis.*
1828. Catalogue Mackenzie MSS.: *Wilson.*
183). Trans. R. A. Soc., vol. ii.: *Babington.*
1832. As. Res., vol. xvii.: *Wilson.*
1834. Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. iii.: *Prinsep.*
1836. Foě Kouě Ki: *Remusat.*
1837. Mahâwanso: *Turnour.*
,, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. vi.
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1838. Madras Jour. Liter. and Science, vol. vii.: *Elliot; Taylor.*
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,, Ariana Antiqua: *Wilson.*
1845. Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vol. xiii.: *Taylor; Elliot.*
1846. Jour. R. A. Soc., vol. viii.: *Dowson.*
1847. Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vol. xiv.: *Taylor.*
1848. The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian: *Laidlay.*
„ Jour. As. Soc. Bombay, vol. ii.: *Ball Gangadhur Shastree.*
1849. Ibid., vol. iii.: *Le Grand Jacob.*
1850. Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vol. xvi.: *Taylor.*
1853. Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. xxii.: *Gubbins.*
1854. Ibid., vol. xxiii.: *Cunningham.*
1857. Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. v.: *Stevenson.*

1858. Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vol. xix.: *Elliot.*
1859. Ibid., vol. xx.: *Elliot.*
1860. Jour. R. A. Soc., vol. xvii.: *Wilson.*
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,, Catalogue Madras MSS., vol. iii.: *Taylor.*
1865. Jour. R. A. Soc., vol. i. (New Series): *Dowson.*
1868. Ibid., vol. iii. (N.S.): *Fergusson.*
1869. Travels of Fah-Hian: *Beal.*
,, The Seven Pagodas: *Carr.*
1870. Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. xxxix.: *Foulkes.*
1871. Ancient Geography of India, vol. i.: *Cunningham.*
1872. Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. viii.: *Bháú Dáji.*
,, Ibid., vol. ix.: *Bháú Dáji; Fleet.*
,, Indian Antiquary, vol. i.: *Boswell; Burgess.*
1873. Ibid., vol. ii.: *Rice.*
1874. Ibid., vol. iii.: *Eggeling.*
,, South Indian Palæography, 1st Edition: *Burnell.*
,, Archæological Report, W. India, Belgâm: *Burgess.*
1875. Ind. Ant., vol. iv.: *Fleet.*
,, Nágavarma's Canarese Prosody: *Kittel.*
1876. Ind. Ant., vol. v.: *Fleet; Bühler.*
,, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. xi.: *Fleet.*
,, Arch. Rep. W. Ind., Kaṭhiawád: *Burgess.*
1877. Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. xii.: *Fleet.*
,, Ind. Ant., vol. vi.: *Bühler; Fleet.*
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,, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. xiii.: *Bhagvánlál Indraji.*
,, Madras Jour. Lit. and Sc.: *Rice.*
,, Arch. Rep. W. Ind., Bidar: *Burgess.*
,, S. I. Palæogr., 2nd Edition: *Burnell.*
1879. No. 9, Archæol. Survey W. Ind.: *Burgess.*
,, Mysore Inscriptions: *Rice.*
,, Ind. Ant., vol. viii.: *Foulkes; Rice; Fleet.*
1880. Jour. R. A. Soc., vol. xii. (N.S.): *Sewell.*
,, Ind. Ant., vol. ix.: *Foulkes; Fleet; Thomas.*
,, Cave Temples of India: *Fergusson and Burgess.*
1881. No. 10, Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.: *Burgess.*
,, Ind. Ant., vol. x.: *Rice; Fleet; Oldenberg.*
1882. Ibid., vol. xi.: *Burgess; Fleet; Sewell; Bühler.*
,, Kanarese Dynasties: *Fleet.*
,, Amarávatí Stúpa: *Burgess.*
,, Lists of Antiquities, Madras: *Sewell.*
1883. Ind. Ant., vol. xii.: *Elliot; Bühler; Sewell; Fleet.*
,, Salem District Manual, chap. i. and Appendix: *Foulkes.*
,, Dynasties of Southern India: *Sewell.*
1884. Ind. Ant. vol. xiii.: *Fleet.*
,, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vol. xvi.: *Bhagvánlál Indraji.*
,, Jour. R. A. Soc., vol. xvi. (N.S.): *Sewell.*

The dates assigned to the earliest inscriptions of the Pallava kings hitherto discovered place them a little earlier than the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian's visit to India. Although his travels did not extend to Southern India, his narrative contains a short pregnant chapter of hearsay information which throws much light in a general way upon the political and religious condition of the Dakhaṇ at the time of his visit: and by a fair inference, his description is applicable to some considerable time earlier. I have endeavoured to show, in a contribution to the Indian Antiquary for 1878, that Fa Hian's extensive and well-civilized kingdom of Ta-thsen—in which name Remusat long ago detected the Dakshiṇa (Dakhaṇ)—was the kingdom of the Pallavas: and everything which has been added to our knowledge of the Pallavas since that paper was written has tended to confirm the position which it maintains.

This chapter of Fa Hian's travels may be regarded as marking off the dividing line between that period in the history of the Pallavas which is covered by documentary evidence, and the period preceding it for which at present only scattered fragmentary references exist, which need the help of more direct information before they can be confidently placed in their historical position. From the third century—that which preceded Fa Hian's visit—the inscriptions above referred to are succeeded by a number of others, both of the Pallavas themselves and of their rivals, belonging to each of the succeeding centuries down to the final extinction of the rule of these kings.

In the present early stage of the investigation the most useful form, perhaps, in which this documentary information can be gathered together is in the shape of the following chronological table, in which those passages of the inscriptions which refer to the Pallavas are quoted in full. Some other matter of substantially similar character is also included in it; and occasionally some historical inferences are added, drawn from these materials or tending to illustrate them. The different dates assigned to some of the facts

by different investigators have necessarily involved a few instances of repetition.

Chronological Table of the History of the Pallavas.

A.D.

300–400. Reigns of Chandra-varmá, Vijaya-Nandi-varmá, and Vijaya-Buddha-varmá (Pallava).

Eggeling, Indian Antiquary, iii. 152. *Fleet*, ibid., v. 175. *Bühler*, ib., 209. *Foulkes*, ib., viii. 280; Salem Manual, ii. 352.

„ Reign of Skanda-varmá (Pallava).

Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. liii.

„ Vedenúr in Mysore belonged to the Pallavas.

Rice, Mys. Insc., p. liii, liv.

„ Reign of Vijaya-Skanda-varmá (Pallava).

Burnell, South Indian Palæography, 136. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50; ix. 101; Kanarese Dynasties, 15, 16. *Sewell*, Dynasties, 71.

„ Trilochana Pallava reigned in the Dakhaṇ.

Elliot, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, xx. 78. *Rice*, Mys. Insc., p. liii, liv; Ind. Ant., ii. 156; viii. 246. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vii. 243, 245; Kan. Dyn., 19. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72.

„ Inscriptions of this date at Amarávatí.

Fergusson, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, iii. (new series) 147.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Tunga- or V.-Buddha-varmá (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 175; ix. 100, 103; xiii. 49; Kan. Dyn., 15. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Chaṇḍa-varmá (Pallava).

Burnell, S. I. Pal., heading of plates i, xxii.

„ Grant of Trinetra Pallava: probably a forgery.

Sewell, Lists, i. 85.

„ Jaha-Simha Vijayáditya (Chálukya) invaded the Dakhaṇ, and lost his life in his warfare with the Pallavas.

Elliot, Mad. Journ. Lit. & Sc., xx. 78. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.) 251. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., vii. 156; viii. 25, 93; Mys. Inscr., p. lix, lx. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vii. 245. *Sewell*, Dyn., 8, 72; Lists, i. 148.

300–400. (*continued*) His son, Vishṇu-vardhana "renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race."

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xx. 78; *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.) 251. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., ii. 156; viii. 25, 94. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vii. 243, 245, 246.

„ Fa Hian's rock-cut five-storeyed vihára existed.

Remusat, Fa Hian, 314. *Wilson*, Jour. R. A. S., v. 133. *Sykes*, ib., vi. 312. *Laidlay*, Fa Hian, 317. *Beal*, Fa Hian, 139. *Cunningham*, Ancient Geography of India, i. 522. *Fergusson*, History of Indian Architecture, 135. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., vii. 1; Salem Man., i. 3, 10. *Fergusson & Burgess*, Cave Temples, 129. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72.

„ Trinetra Pallava introduced Brahmans into his country.

Wilson, Catalogue Mackenzie Manuscripts, i. p. cxx. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. See *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vii. 246. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 10. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 135, 144.

„ Trinetra Pallava made an alliance with an ancestor of Kuḍiya-varmá.

Sewell, Lists, i. 24.

300 (cir.). Jaya-Simha (Chálukya) "began to subdue the Pallava dynasty that ruled over part of the South."

Kittel, Nágavarmá, p. xxvii.

313 (cir.). Buddhist relics removed from Dharaṇíkoṭá to Ceylon.

Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 537, 542.

318 (cir.) Páli inscriptions at Amarávatí.

Boswell, Ind. Ant., i. 151.

400 (cir.) Vishṇu-Shápávamukta king of Kánchipura mentioned in the Allahabad pillar-inscription.

Bháú Dájí, Jour. As. Soc. Bombay, viii. 247.

„ The Dravida kingdom conquered by Dhruvaníti (Kongu-Karnáta).

Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiv. 9.

„ Vengipuram, the capital of the Pallavas.

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xi. 304; Ind. Ant., vii. 21. See also Ind. Ant., ii. 156; v. 50.

400 (cir.) The kingdom of the Pallavas was Fa Hian's kingdom (*continued*) of Ta-thsen.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 1 ; viii. 172 ; Salem Man., i. 10, 11 ; ii. 354.

400–500. Reign of Vijaya-Chaṇḍa-varmá (Pallava).

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xi. 302. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 16, 61, 67, 70, 135. *Feet*, Ind. Ant , v. 69, 175, 177. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 170. *Sewell*, Dyn., 100.

„ Reigns of the Pallava kings Skanda-varmá I., Víra-varmá, Skanda-varmá II., Simha-varmá I., Vishṇugopa-varmá, Simha-varmá II., Skanda-varmá III., Nandi-varmá, Vijaya-Buddha-varmá, and Atti-varmá. (Sometimes A.D. 400–600.)

Eggeling, Ind. Ant. ii. 272 ; iii. 152. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50, 154 ; ix. 100, 102. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 36. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 167, 169, 280 ; Salem Man., ii. 352, 362. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 16. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71, 100.

„ Grant of Vijaya-Nandi-varmá (Pallava).

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xi. 303 ; Ind. Ant., vii. 21. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 15, 16, & pl. xxiv. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 175. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 2, 3 ; ii. 352. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71, 100.

„ Grant of Vishṇugopa-varmá, "the pious yuva-mahárája of the Pallavas, who are the receptacles of the royal glory of other kings that have been conquered by their valour, and who have prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according to the proper rites."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 50 ; ix. 99. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. *Foulkes*, Salem. Man., i. 3. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

„ Grant of Simha-varmá II., "the pious great king of the Pallavas, who are a most exalted race ; who are possessed of wondrous fame which has been acquired by the strength of their arms and has become celebrated and established ; who have prepared for celebration many sacrifices according to the proper rites ; who are almost equal to Shatakratu (Indra)."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 3.

400–500. Grant of Nandi-varmá, "the dharma-mahárája of
(*continued*) the Pallavas, who are of the ancestral family of Bháradvája; who by his piety towards God, has secured every kind of prosperity for himself and of happiness for his subjects; who is always ready to perform his vows to offer sacrifices, righteously undertaken; who is radiant with victory obtained by the daring punishment of his enemies in many battles; who is always ready to uphold righteousness marred by the corruptions of the Kaliyuga; who constantly meditates on the mercy of God; who is a disciple of Bappa Bhaṭṭáraka, and an eminently religious man:—the son of the Mahárája Shrí Skanda-varmá, who reverenced the gods, the Brahmans, the religious superiors, and aged men; who was willing to be directed by his elders; whose abundant righteousness was increased by his gifts of good kine, gold, land, and other gifts; who was skilled in the protection of his subjects, and was himself very truth:—the grandson of the Mahárája Shrí Simha-varmá, who obtained success by his celebrated strength; before whose majesty the assembly of kings bowed down; the unrivalled hero of the earth:—the great-grandson of the Rája Shrí Skanda-varmá, the great patron of the Brahmans; by whom all the divinely appointed rules of right conduct were collected and confirmed by the might of his own arm."

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 167; Salem Man., i. 3; ii. 349, 362.

,, Grant of Simha-varmá II. (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154, 175. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 15, 16, 61, 67, 70. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

,, Grant of Atti-varmá (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 154; ix. 99, 102, 103 (A.D. 300 to 400; "early date"); Kan. Dyn., 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

400–500. (*continued*) "Previous to the arrival of the first Châlukya in the Dakhaṇ, the Pallavas were the dominant race."

Elliot, Jour. R. A. Soc., i. (N.S.) 251; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 78, 79. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.), 251. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., ii. 156. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., v. 50; Kan. Dyn., 19. *Burgess*, Archæol. Rep. W. India, Bidar, 23. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 2. *Sewell*, Dyn., 1. *See* Ind. Ant., ix. 99.

„ "The first Châlukya established his sovereignty in the peninsula about the fifth century A.D., by conquest of territory from the Pallavas, south of the Nerbudda."

Sewell, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 31.

„ The Pallavas were at the height of their power in the Dakhaṇ.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 6.

„ The basin of the Pálár formed part of the Pallava dominions.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 172.

„ The Pallava dominions extended from Orissa to the mouth of the Southern Pennár along the eastern coast; and inland, along the eastern boundary of the Kongu-Karnáta kingdom, and across the Tungabhadrá north-westwards far into the Northern Dakhaṇ.

Foulkes, Salem Man., i. 4, 10. *Sewell*, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 31. *See also* Lists, i. 193.

„ The Pallavas defeated by the Kadambas.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 22; Kan. Dyn., 9. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 148.

„ The Pallavas defeated by Mṛigesa-varmá (Kadamba), who was "a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas."

Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ix. 234; Ind. Ant., v. 50; Kan. Dyn., 9, 15. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., vi. 25. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxix, liv. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 176.

„ Viṣhṇu-varmá (Pallava) slain by Ravi-varmá (Kadamba).

Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 15. See *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177.

400–500. Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa, lord of Kánchipura, "uprooted" by (*continued*) Ravi-varmá (Kadamba).
Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 30. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxix, liv. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 9, 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72.

,, Brahmans received land-grants from the Pallava kings.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 167, 281; Salem Man., ii. 362.

450 (cir.). Inscription in Java in a development of the Pallava character.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 131.

468 Jaya-Simha Vallabha invaded the Dakhaṇ.
Burgess, Arch. Rep. Bidar, 24.

480 (cir.). The king of Drávida paid tribute to Aviníta or Durvaníti (Ganga).
Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 4. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 9. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant., i. 362. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xliii. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177.

489 (cir.). A rock-inscription at Badámi calls "the Pallava the foremost of kings."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., vii. 247; ix. 100.

,, Grant of Pulakeshi (Chálukya).
Wathen, Jour. R. A. Soc., v. 345. *Dowson*, ib. i. (N.S.) 250, 256. *Elliot*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 79; Jour. R.A.S., i. (N.S.) 251. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 17.

,, Badámi, a Pallava stronghold, captured by the Chálukyas.
Burgess, Arch. Rep. Bidar, App., 131. *Fleet*. Ind. Ant. ix. 99; Kan. Dyn., 15, 18 (table), 20. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

,, Kánchipura burnt by Pulikesi I. (Chálukya).
Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 9; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 201. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep. Bidar, 25; *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 20.

500–600. Reigns of the Pallava kings Rájendra-varmá and his son Devendra-varmá.
Eggeling, Ind. Ant., iii. 152. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., ii. 354.

,, Reign of Vishṇu-simha-, or Nara-simha-varmá (Pallava).
Fleet, Ind. Ant., ix. 99; Kan. Dyn., 16. *Sewell*, Dyn., 71.

500–600. Reign of Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa (Pallava); ? Ati Rana (*continued*) Chaṇḍa.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lv. *See* Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiii. 5, 53.

„ Pallava inscriptions at Betmangala, Ávani, Nangali, Shríniváspúr, Nandi, and Goribidnúr, in the Mysore country.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

„ Copper coins of the Pallavas found extensively in the Masulipatam district.

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 237.

„ The Pallavas ruled the Vengi country.

Eggeling, Ind. Ant., iii. 152. *Rice*, Mys Inscr., p. liii.

„ Badámí temporarily recovered by the Pallavas.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., ix. 100.

„ Mṛigesa (Pallava) built a Jama temple at Palásiká.

Buhler, Ind. Ant., vi. 31; *Fleet*, Kán Dyn., 15.

500–516. An ambassador from Southern India visited China.

Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vi. 66; *Sykes*, Jour. R. A. S, vi. 458.

550 (cir.). Vilanda (Ganga) "subdued the Pallavendra Narapati."—The Pallava king trodden to death by elephants in battle.

Rice, Ind. Ant. ii. 156, 160; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. for 1878, p. 141, 147.

570 (cir.). Grant of Devendra-varmá (Pallava).

Eggeling, Ind. Ant., iii. 152; *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

585 (cir.). 610–634. Pulikesi II. (Chálukya), "the sun to melt the frost which was the army of the Pallavas," "caused the leader of the Pallavas who aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of Káṇchipura, which was concealed under the dust of his army."

Fleet, in Burgess' Arch. Rep., Bidar, 138; Ind. Ant., v. 51, 68, 73; viii. 245. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 281. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 189.

589–636. The Dráviḍa country conquered by Kongaṇi-varmá III. (Ganga-Karnáta).

Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 5. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiv. 10. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant., i. 362. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 148, 177.

600 (cir.). Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya) "forced the king of Kánchí, 'who had never bowed down to any man,' to lay his crown at his feet."
Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24.

600–700. Reign of a Pallava king in Kalinga.
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 243. *Sewell*, Dyn., 43.

„ Pallava inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas and Shálavan-kuppam, near Sadras.
Burnell, S. I. Pal. 53. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lii.

„ Coins and copper seals of the Pallava kings found along the sea-shore south of Madras.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 243, 248.

„ Pallava victories over the Chálukyas.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 277, 281.

„ "Gaṇḍa-deva (Ganga-Karnáta) fought with the Drávida-rája in Kánchi-desa, defeated him, and exacted tribute from the country."
Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 6. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiv. 12. *Burgess*, Ind. Ant., i. 362.

„ The Pallava kings were renowned for their learning, skill in warfare, and personal valour.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 280.

„ One of the Pallava kings was "an enthusiastic worshipper of Vishṇu."
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 277, 281; Salem Man., ii. 362.

608 (cir.). Vikramáditya (Chálukya) "made the lord of Kánchi kiss his lotus feet."
Elliot, Jour. R.A.S., iv. 10; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. vii. 202.

610 (cir.). Conquest of the Vengi-Pallavas by Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (Chálukya).
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 79; Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.) 251. *Dowson*, Jour. R. A. S., i. (N.S.) 258. *Foulkes*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxxix. (I.) 153; Salem Man., i. 4, 9; *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 21. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 26. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., vii. 6; Mys. Inscr., p. lii. *Fleet*, Dyn., 15, 23. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 19, 36, 42, 47; Dyn., 10, 15, 72.

„ Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya) "with irresistible might subdued the Pallava dynasty."
Bhagvánlál Indraji, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xvi. 4, 5.

610 (cir.) Káma-rája, Raṇa-jaya (Pallava) at the Seven (*continued*) Pagodas.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.; Ind. Ant. viii. 94.

„ The Pallavas were defeated and ruined by Satyáshraya (W. Chálukya), and driven behind the walls of Kánchi.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 67, 73; Dyn., 24; *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lv. *Sewell*, Dyn., 10, 15, 72.

620 (cir.). Narasimha Pota-varmá (Pallava) was defeated by Vilanda-rája (Ganga), and trodden to death by elephants.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 78. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xliii, liii, lv. lxii. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11, 72.

„ The Pallava king paid tribute to the Ganga.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. xliii.

622 (cir.). Inscription of Kubja-Vishṇu-vardhana (E. Chálukya), the conqueror of the Vengi-Pallavas.

Foulkes, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxxix. (i.) 153 (from Proceedings of the Madras Government). *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 137, and pl. xxvii.

634 (cir.). Pulikesi II. (Chálukya) in alliance with Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa II. (Pallava).

Fleet, Ind. Ant., viii. 244; Kan. Dyn., 15.

635 (cir.). The Pallavas were ruling at Kánchi.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., viii. 245. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 108. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 189.

640 (cir.). The Pallavas were defeated by the Kadambas.

Sewell, Dyn., 2, 72.

„ The Chinese Hiwen-thsang visited Kánchipuram. It was at this time six miles long. Its inhabitants were brave, just, learned, pious, and tolerant in religion.

Julien, Memoires, ii 118, 397; La Vie, 190. *Wilson*, Jour. R. A. S., xvii. 130. *Cowell*, Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., 5th edit., 294. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 280; Salem Man., i. 8; ii. 362. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 172, 177; Dyn., 2, 71, 72.

„ The flourishing condition of the north-eastern districts of the Pallava dominions at this time and earlier is shown by the numerous Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples found by Hiwen-thsang throughout this portion of his route.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 6; Salem Man., i. 9.

640 (cir.) Buddhist buildings of great beauty at Dhanaka-(*continued*) kaṭa.

Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 540 (after Julien, i. 188).

„ Hiwen-thsang found large Buddhist establishments at Dhanakacheka.

Fergusson, Jour. R.A.S., iii. (N.S.) 143; xii. (N.S.) 108. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 95.

„ A richly sculptured Buddhist monastery at Pingkila.

Julien, ii. 106. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal. 16. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 9.

„ Atiraṇa-chaṇḍa Pallava reigned.

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiii. 51. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 12. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 108, 154. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 2.

650–670. Shankaráchárya preached in Kánchipura.

Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vii. (1) 513; Catal. Mad. MSS., iii. 523, 700. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 37. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177; Dyn., 72.

N.B. Shankaráchárya's date is not settled. The latest authorities give from A.D. 550 to 600 (*Telang*, Ind Ant., April, 1884), and A.D. 800 to 900 (*Max Müller*, Sacred Books of the East, xv. p. xii, 1884).

650–700. The Rathas and caves at the Seven Pagodas.

Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 110, 403, 438, 449, 451. *Sewell*, Lists, i. App. p. xxix.

„ The Undavalli cave at Bejwáḍa.

Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 403. *Sewell*, Lists, i. App. p. xxix.

658–681. The Pallavas were defeated by Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya), and Kánchipura captured.

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 156; Mys. Inscr., p. lv, lxi. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 75; Kan. Dyn., 27. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 282. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177; Dyn., 10, 15, 72.

658 (cir.). Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya), while heir-apparent, "at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three (component) dominions."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 87; vii. 301; ix. 129; x. 134; *Foulkes*, Salem Man., ii. 363.

658 (cir.) (*continued*) The Pallavas and others "were brought into a similar state of servitude . . . . . ."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 93; vii. 303.

" He had "the lotuses which were his feet besprinkled with the waters which were the rays of the watering-pot which was the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kánchi, who bowed down to no other."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 87; vii. 106; viii. 28; ix. 129; x. 134.

" His "feet were kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kánchí, who always bowed down before him."

Fleet, Ind. Ant, vii. 111.

" His "feet were kissed by the crown of the king of Kánchi, who never bowed to any other man."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 27; Mys. Inscr., 299. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 30.

" "After conquering the Pallava king whose insults threatened destruction to the [Chálukya] dynasty, he had become possessor of Kánchipura."

Rice, Mys. Inscr., 236, 241.

" He "seized the city of Kánchi after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his family." He captured Kánchipura, "the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne, . . . whose lord bowed down to no other."

Bühler, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ii. 372; Ind. Ant., vi. 61; vii. 301. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 87; x. 134; *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 30; *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 282; Salem Man., ii. 363.

" He "achieved the ruin of the Pallavas, and though delighting much in Kánchiká, which is, as it were, the wanton girdle of the woman who is the country of the South . . . . ."

"He conquered that family of mighty wrestlers [namely, the 'Mahá-malla-kula,' the Pallavas] who were possessed of the title of 'Royal Wrestler.' By him, the ruler of the Southern

region, was Kánchi captured, the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne,—which was girt about by a moat that was very deep and difficult to be crossed,—and which was as it were the girdle of the sea-king Jayateshvara."

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 78.

N.B.—Mr. Fleet remarks: "In the epithets applied to Vikramáditya I, a clear allusion is made . . . to some interruption of the Western Chálukya rule that was effected by the leader of the Pallavas, the lord of Kánchi." See *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 75, 85; vii. 219; ix. 129; x. 132. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 8, 9; ii. 363. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., x. 37.

660 (cir.). Jayateshvara Pota-rája (Pallava) conquered by Vikramáditya I. (Chálukya).

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. l, liii; Ind. Ant., x. 37.

668 (cir.). A land-grant to a learned Brahman of Drávida by Shiva-ráma (Kongu-Karnáta).

Dowson, Jour. R. A. S., viii. 5.

,, Chaṇḍa-daṇḍa, lord of Kánchi, "uprooted" by Ravi-varmá (Kadamba).

Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ix. 234; Kan. Dyn., 9.

670. The Pallavas subverted the Chálukya throne.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 133, 134, 135; Kan. Dyn., 26; and the references above. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190; Dyn., 10.

675 (cir.). The Pallavas were defeated by Vikramáditya I.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 75. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190.

677 (cir.). The Pallavas re-conquered him.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 75. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., x. 37. *Sewell*, Dyn., 10.

679 (cir.). The Pallavas were crushed by him, and Kánchi again taken.

Sewell, Dyn., 10.

,, Vinayáditya (Chálukya) conquered the Pallavas for his father,—that family of mighty wrestlers possessed of the title of 'Rája-malla.'

Burgess, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 31. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190.

692 (cir.). He "captured the proud army of Trairájya, the king of Kánchi."

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 156; viii. 28; Mys. Insc., p. liii, 299. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., x. 134.

„ He "destroyed the power of Trairájya Pallava," and "reduced to subjection Pallava . . . . ."

Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 146; Mys. Inscr., 237, 241. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., x. 134.

„ Trairájya Pallava was defeated by Vinayáditya, and his whole army and his capital captured.

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24; Mys. Inscr., p. lvi, lxi. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 28. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11.

694 (cir.). Vinayáditya "churned the lords of Kánchí."

Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 10; Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., vii. 202. *Fergusson & Burgess*. Cave Temples, 154 (after Ind. Ant., ii. 272; iii. 152; v. 154; vii. 303.)

700 (cir.). A Pallava stone inscription at the Seven Pagodas.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., pl. xii.

700–800. Shrí-vallabha (Kongu-Karnáta) "gained a great victory over the Pallava king [Narasimha-Potavarmá], in which the latter lost his life."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 23; x. 27 (after Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc. for 1878, p. 141).

„ One of the Pallava kings was "a devotee of Maheshwara."

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 281; Salem Man., ii. 362.

„ Brahmans received land-grants from the Pallava kings, and were greatly patronized by one of them.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 281; Salem Man., ii. 362.

„ Cave temple of Uṇḍavalle.

Fergusson & Burgess, Cave Temples, 97. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 77; App. p. xxix.

„ "The Pallavas were ruling over the east of the Mysore country from that time onwards."

Rice, Ind. Ant., x. 39.

705. Vinayáditya (Chálukya) "disabled the insolent forces of Dhuerayu [*sic* for Trairájya] king of Kánchi."

Le Grand Jacob, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., iii. 205, 207.

725. Maru-varmá, rája of Nirgunda in North Mysore, married the daughter of the Pallava king.
Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 156, 161.

725–755. Kánchi was "subjugated" by Danti-durga (Rashṭrakúṭa).
Burgess, Arch. Surv. W. Ind., No. 10, p. 96.

„ The army of Karnáṭa "was expert in defeating the lords of Kánchi . . . . ."
Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 61.

733 (cir.). The king of Kánchi was conquered by Vikramáditya II. (Chálukya).
Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 85. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 31; *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177, 190.

„ The great temple of Paṭṭadakal was built by Vikramáditya II.'s queen "expressly to celebrate another victory over the king of Kánchi by her husband."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., vi. 85. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 24.

". . . . . in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kánchi."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 163, 164, 165.

„ The Pallava king, Nandi Pota-varmá I., was conquered and slain by Vikramáditya II. (Chálukya), and Kánchi again captured (745 cir.).
Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24, 25, 94; Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi; *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11, 73.

„ Vikramáditya II. "determined to root out the Pallavas, the obscurers of the splendour of the former kings of his line and by nature hostile, going with great speed into the Udáka province, slew in battle the Pallava named Nandi-Pota-varmá who came against him, captured his defiant lotus-mouthed trumpet, his drum called 'Roar-of-the-Sea,' his chariot, his standard, immense and celebrated elephants, clusters of rubies which by their radiance dispelled all darkness, and entering without destruction Kánchí, the zone (*kánchí*) as it were of the lady the region of Agastya's abode (*i.e.* the South), ac-

quired the great merit of covering with gold Rája Simheshvara and other *deva kula* sculptured in stone, which Narasimha Pota-varmá, the protector of indigent Brahmans, . . . had made."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 24, 28; Mys. Inscr., 300.

750 (cir.). Inscription of Nolambádhirája (Pallava).

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 90; Mys. Inscr., p. ix, lvi, 212; *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., x. 125.

755 (cir.). Danti-durga (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa) defeated "the whole army of the Karnáṭaka, which had been renowned for the humiliation of Shrí Harṣha, the king of Kánchi, etc."

Ball Gangadhur Shastree, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., ii. 372. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., v. 149; xii. 187.

„ The king of Kánchi was conquered and "dispersed" by Danti-varmá II. (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa).

Ind. Ant., xi. 108, 111; xii. 11. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar 33; *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 33. *Sewell*, Dyn., 94.

„ The Pallavas were conquered by him twice after this date, and Kánchi was again taken.

Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 162; Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn, 11.

„ He "was expert in defeating the lords of Kánchí . . "

Burgess, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 33.

„ Reign of Víra Mahendra (Pallava).

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxiii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 30.

758 (cir.). The Pallava king Nandi Pota-varmá II. was slain by Kirti-varmá II. (Chálukya), and Kánchipura captured.

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 23, 25, 28; Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi, lxii. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 29. *Sewell*, Dyn., 11.

„ While he was heir-apparent Kírti-varmá II. begged of his father to send him "to subdue the king of Kánchí, the enemy of our race;" and he "marched forth, and going against him broke the power of the Pallavas, who, unable to make war on a large scale, took refuge in a hill-fort; and capturing his lusty elephants, his rubies, and treasury of gold, delivered them to his father."

Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 28; Mys. Insc., 301.

768 (cir.). Reign of the Nolamba-rája (Pallava) Áhava-duggan, or Ahitara-javanam.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi.

,, A Pallava pillar-inscription at Haraḷu-koṭe, Mysore.
Rice, Ind. Ant., x. 36. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 125.

770 (cir.). Dhruva (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa) "humbled the pride of the Pallavas."
"Having obtained from the humbly bowing Pallava,—whom on the one side (Dhora's) ocean-like cavalry pressed, that exulted over its crushed foes, that roamed about and was formidable on account of its bravery, while on the other side the self-moving ocean restrained him . . . ."
Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 69. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 156.

777 (cir.). A Pallava princess was the wife of the king of Nirgunda in North Mysore.
Rice, Mys. Insc., p. lvi, 288.

,, "Kuṇḍavve, daughter of the Pallava king, erected a Jaina temple, in the north of Shrípura."
Rice, Ind. Ant., ii. 155. *Kittel*, Nágavarmá, p. xxi.

778 (cir.). Dhruva (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa) "caused the Pallava king to bow down before him."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 125.

,, He conquered Dantiga, king of Kánchi.
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 34.

785–810. Govinda III. (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa) "drew towards himself . . . . the entire wealth of the Pallavas."
Bühler, Ind. Ant., vi. 63, 71. *Rice*, Inscr., p. lvi. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 162.

788 (cir.). The Buddhists were finally driven from Kánchi by Hemasitala.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxv, lxvii. *Taylor*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.) 121; viii. 284. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi. *Sewell*, Dyn., 73.

,, Hemasitala, or Yemasitala, or Himasila, brought a large Jaina colony from the North to Kánchi.
Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.) 110; Mad. Jour Lit. and Sc., vii. 8.

788 (cir.) He was the last Buddhist king of Kánchipura.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 20.

„ He became a Jaina convert.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. vii. 319; viii. 261.

700–900. The caves at the Seven Pagodas.
Burgess, Ind. Ant., xi. 97.

„ Reigns of the Pallava kings Simha-vishṇu, Mahendra-varmá I., Narasimha-varmá I., Mahendra-varma II., Parameshvara-varmá, Narasimha-varmá II., Nandi-varma, and Pallava-malla Nandi-varmá.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 273; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 362. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn, 16, 26. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72, 73.

„ An inscription at Amarávatí has the following names of Pallava kings:—Simha-varmá I., Simha-vishṇu, Nandi-varmá, Simha-varmá II., Arka-varmá, Ugra-varmá, and Mahendra-varmá.
Burgess, Amarávatí-Stúpa, 50. *Sewell*, Dyn., 100.

800–900. Grant of Pallava-malla Nandi-varmá (Pallava).
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 273; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 355. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 16, 26. *Sewell*, Dyn., 72, 73.

„ His war with Udayana, king of the Shabaras.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 279, 282; Salem Man., ii. 364.

„ His war with Pṛithiví-vyághra, king of Uisháda.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278; Salem Man., ii. 364.

„ His war with the Páṇḍyan king.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278; Salem Man., ii. 364, 365.

„ A pretender to the Pallava throne was supported by the chieftains of Drávida. The lord of Kánchí suppressed the rebellion.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 278, 282; Salem Man., i. 4; ii. 363.

„ The basin of the Pálár was still ruled by the Pallavas.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 274; Salem Man., ii. 355, 365.

„ The Grantha character was used in a Pallava land-grant.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 274; Salem Man., ii. 355.

„ The shore-temple at the Seven Pagodas.
Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 158.

803. Dantiga, king of Kánchí, conquered by Govinda III. (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa).
Burgess, Ind. Ant., i. 205. *Bühler*, Ind. Ant., vi. 13, 59. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lvi, lxii. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., xi. 126, 127; Kan. Dyn., 34. *Sewell*, Dyn., 73.

804. Grant of Vattiga, Battiga, Chattiga, or Baddiga (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvi, lvii; Jour. R.A.S., xiv. (N.S.) 22.

814–849. The Pallava king was conquered by Gaṇḍa-deva (Kongu-Karnáta), who then entered into an alliance with him.
Dowson, Jour. R.A.S., viii. 6. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiv. 12. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 177; Dyn., 51, 73.

830 (cir.). Reign of Ereva Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lvii.

850 (cir.). Grant of Ereva Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Insc., p. lvii.

894 (cir.). Inscription of Víra-Nolamba-, or Víra-Mahendra (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. xlv.

898 (cir.). Reign of Víra Nolamba.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

900–1000. The Pallava kings Jaya-varmá-deva, Ananta-varmá-deva his son, and Rájendra-varmá-deva his son, reigned at Kalinga-nagara.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 53.

„ An inscription in characters of this date at Amarátí (Oomrawati).
Sykes, Jour. R. A. S., vi. 342.

921. The king of Java sent his four sons and a daughter to be educated in S. India.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xvi. 133.

944 (cir.). Reign of Víra Nolamba, Víra Trinetra (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

973. Kakka III. (Ráṣhṭra-kúṭa) was a "very Antaka (Yama) to the family of the Nolambas (Pallavas)."
Fleet, Ind. Ant., xii. 271.

985. Reign of Ananta-varmá-deva (Pallava).
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 53.

988. Two Pallava inscriptions at Molkalmuru, Mysore.
Rice, Mys. Insc., p. liii, lviii.

1000–1100. Conjeveram was the capital of the Pallavas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36, 37.

„ The Pallavas were feudatories of the Choḷas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36.

„ The Pallava dynasty came to an end.
Rice, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc. for 1878, p. 141.

„ The Pallava territory was in the hands of the Choḷas.
Sewell, Dyn., 2.

„ Someshvara-deva I., Áhava-malla (Chálukya), burnt Kánchi.
Elliot, Jour. R. A. S., iv. 13; Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., vii. 205.

„ A Pallava grant of this period.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 114.

1042–1067. Áhava-malla II. (Chálukya) married a Pallava princess, and formed an alliance with the Pallavas against the Choḷas.
Bühler, Ind. Ant., v. 318. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 98; Mys. Inscr., p. lxv, lxvii, 327.

1050 (cir.). Reign of Sthira-gambhíra Nolamba (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lii., lviii, 327.

1064. The Pallavas were finally overthrown by Adondai, son of Kulottunga I., Rájendra Choḷa.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 40. *Fergusson & Burgess*, Cave Temples, 148. *Sewell*, Dyn., 2, 16, 18, 19, 73: all following *Elliot*, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiii. 40. See also Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xiv. 244. *Caldwell*, Gram. Drav. Lang., Introd. p. 136. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 172, 173; ix. 49; Salem Man., i. 3, 11, 40, 41; ii. 354, 380.

„ Adondai converted the Jaina bastis into Hindu temples, leaving only five for the Jainas.
Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.) 110.

1070 (cir.). Áhu-malla (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lviii, 328.

„ The Pallava king paid tribute to Bhuvaneka-malla (Chálukya).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxiii.

1074. The Pallava king was conquered by Someshvara II. (Chálukya).
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 48.

„ Shrí Ballavarasa reigned at Bankápura.
Fleet, Ind. Ant., x. 129.

1075. The Pallava king was "ruined" by Udayáditya-deva (Kongu-Karnáta).
Fleet, Ind. Ant., iv. 210. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., 143.

1077. Grant by Rájendra Pallava-raiyam at Kánchi.
Sewell, Lists, i. 178.

1079. Jayasimha-deva Nolamba Pallava, "prince of the world-renowned Pallava race," was governor of Banavásí under the Chálukyas. He was "younger brother" of the reigning Chálukya king Vikramáditya VI.
Fleet, Ind. Ant., v. 51; Kan. Dyn., 52. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 90, 98; Mys. Inscr., p. lviii, lxvi, lxxii, 306.

1081. Vikramáditya VI. (Chálukya) "overcame Balavarája . . ., and sat on the throne."
Elliot, Jour. R. A. Soc., iv. 15; Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., vii. 207; Ind. Ant., i. 85.

„ Expedition of Vikramáditya VI. against Kánchí and the Pallavas.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxvi.

1100–1200. "A Pallama (Pallava) ráya appears at Basava's time."
Kittel, Nágavarmá, p. xxvii.

„ The Nomlambavádi province was constituted by the Western Chálukyas as a barrier against the encroachments of the Cholas, and committed to a Pallava feudatory.
Rice, Ind. Ant., viii. 98.

1104 (cir.). The Pallava country was in the possession of Permádi I. (Sinda).
Fleet, Kan. Dyn., 53, 96.

1105. Grant of Pallava-ráya in the North Arcot district.
Sewell, Lists, i. 158.

1114. Vikramáditya VI. (Chálukya) "forced the Pallava king to have his hands full of sprouts [pallava]."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 176.

1115. Grant of a feudatory Pallava-ráya in the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xx. 98.

1120 (cir.). The Pallava king was defeated by Vishṇuvardhana (Ballála), "a wild fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lviii, 331.

„ Reign of Narasimha-varmá (Pallava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

1140 (cir.). Jagadeka-malla (Chálukya) drove the Pallavas from their kingdom, which he added to his own dominions.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lii, lviii, lxviii.

1157. He destroyed the Pallava kings, and ruled over their kingdom.
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 58.

1158. He "forced Pallava to hold the sprout."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 153.

1165. He "forced the group of Pallava kings to hold the sprout."
Rice, Mys. Inscr., 61.

1182. Koṭa Keta Rája acquired the country south of the Kṛishṇa by the favour of Trináyana Pallava.
Sewell, Lists, i. 64.

1200–1400. The Pallavas disappear.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 36.

1223. A Pallava king was conquered by Singhanadeva (Yádava).
Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lviii (aft. Ind. Ant.).

„ The Pallavas were still reigning.
Fleet, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xii. 19.

„ Last mention of the Pallavas.
Sewell, Lists, i. 177.

1228. Grant of Shríman Mahámandaleshvara Jana Pallava Sittiya-deva Mahárája in the Kistna district.
Sewell, Lists, i. 48.

1300–1400. Revival of the influence of the Kurumba chieftains in the Toṇḍamaṇḍala after its conquest by the Ráyas of Vijayanagara.
Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.); Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., vii. 321.

1500-1600. The Kurumba chiefs of the Toṇḍamaṇḍala still held large forts there.
Taylor, Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 433.

The history of the Pallavas from the third or fourth century A.D. down to the twelfth or thirteenth century is continuously recorded, however fragmentary the form, in the inscriptions and the other materials from which the above table has been constructed. We first met with them ruling over a very large portion of the eastern and north-western districts of the Dakhaṇ. We have seen two powerful kingdoms, those of the Western and the Eastern Chálukyas, carved out of their territory. We have followed their half-successful strivings to avenge themselves on these persistent hereditary rivals, possibly in the never-lost hope of recovering their old traditional possessions; and we have also traced the retaliatory efforts of the Chálukyas to restrain, if not to destroy, their very troublesome enemies, down to the rise of the Choḷas, the common scourge of both: and we have seen the exiled heirs of these grand old Pallavas, whose blood had now been mingled with that of the Chálukyas, retiring westwards after the conquest of Kánchipura by the Choḷas, towards some of their ancient seats in Kuntala, and finally disappearing there, fretful, rebellious, and humiliated, and their great name mocked at.

The materials for the traditionary period which preceded those nine centuries are of a different kind; scattered notices needing other light for their interpretation; facts indirectly or incidentally supplied in the midst of foreign matter; coins which have been but partially examined; and very especially,

remarkable architectural monuments, whose origin and date are still subject to well-merited controversy. Notwithstanding this, they have all a special value in the present infant stage of the investigation, and deserve to be gathered together. Out of these materials I have constructed the following table; premising that it is not exhaustive, and that its dates are open to re-arrangement, and its facts to critical inquiry.

Table of Materials for the Early History of the Pallavas.

B.C.

600–500. Gautama Buddha converted the people of Kánchipura.

Sewell, Lists, i. 176, after Hiwen Thsang.

The Bodhi-sattva Dharma-pála born there.

Julien, Hiwen Thsang, La Vie, 190; Memoires, ii. 119. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 176.

315 (cir.). Cháṇakya Viṣhṇa-gupta, a native of Drávida, was Chandra-gupta's prime minister.

Turnour, Maháwanso, p. 21. *Stevenson*, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb, v. 2. *Max Müller*, Anc. Sansk. Lit. (2nd edit.), 281 ff.

300–200. Inscriptions at Amarávatí.

Bühler, Ind. Ant., xi. 268.

„ The Pittapúr tope: implying Buddhist influence in the Kṛiṣhṇa delta.

Elliot, Ind. Ant, xii. 34. See *Sewell*, Lists, i. 23.

250 (cir.) Ashoka built many Buddhist topes in the neighbourhood of Kánchipura.

Sewell, Lists, i. 176, after Hiwen Thsang.

200–170. Inscriptions on the Jaggayyapeṭa tope.

Bühler, Ind. Ant., xi. 256. *Burgess*, Amarávatí Stúpa, 55.

Some time after Ashoka. Growth of the Pallavas on the Eastern coast.

Sewell, Dyn., 1.

200–1. Bactrian coins found on the sea-shore near Madras.

Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 242, 243.

157. Numerous Buddhist monks from the Pallava country visited Ceylon.

Turnour, Maháwanso, i. 171. *Upham*, Mahávansi, i. 152; Ratnákarí, ii. 39; Ratnávalí, ii. 222; *Fergusson*, Tree and Serp. Worship, 195. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 4.

157. A magnificent Buddhist chaitya at Manjerika.
Turnour, Mahâwanso, i. 188. *Cunningham*, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 535.

150–100. Inscriptions of a monk of Drávida in the Buddhist Cave of Kánhari.
Stevenson, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., v. 29. See *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 185.

„ "Dharani-Kota, considered to have been at one time the capital of Telingana."
Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, 32.

„ Dharaṇikoṭa supposed to be the ancient capital of the Ándhra kings.
Elliot, Ind. Ant., vii. 21. *Bhagvánlál Indraji*, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xiii. 310. *Burgess*, Arch. Rep., Bidar, 54; No. 10, Arch., Surv. W. Ind., 32, 33, 38; Amarâvatí-Stúpa, 45. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 247.

31 to A.D. 436. The Amarávatí tope built by the Ándhras or Ándhrabhṛityas.
Sewell, Dyn., 1.

1–100. Leaden coins of the Bactrian type or of the Ándhrabhṛitya kings found at Amarávatí, Dharaṇíkoṭa, and the Seven Pagodas.
Wilson, As. Res. xviii. 566, 579, 582. *Elliot*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 238 ff. *Boswell*, Ind. Ant., i. 151. *Bhagvánlál Indraji*, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xiii. 308, 310.

„ Ándhra and Pallava coins found at Amarávatí.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xix. 220; xx. 75. *Thomas*, Ind. Ant., ix. 64. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 63.

„ Inscriptions at Amarávatí.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 541. *See* Jour. As. Beng., vi. 218. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 4.

„ Inscription on a cell at Shailarvada.
Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, 247.

„ The Pallavas were ruling in the Southern Dakhaṇ.
Foulkes, Ind. Ant., viii. 170; Salem Man., i. 3; ii. 352.

„ The Kurumbars [Pallavas] built forts and palaces in the basin of the Pálár.
Taylor, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (II.), 111, 112.

„ The Kurumbars (Pallavas) carried on an extensive foreign commerce both with the West and East.
Sewell, Lists, i. 172.

1–100. Vishṇu-bhúpa reigned at Kánchipura.
Burgess, Arch. Rep. W. Ind., 1876, ch. iii. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., vi. 57. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. xxxii.

„ Hasti-varmá reigned at Vengi.
Rice, Mys. Inscr , p. xxxii.

„ The Amarávatí sculptures;—"nearly two thousand years old."
Boswell, Ind. Ant., i. 372.

78. Sháliváhana was an ancestor of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

85. A large colony emigrated from the coast of Telingána to Java.
Taylor, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xvi. 132.

90. The Amarávatí tope was founded by Gotamí-putra Shátakarṇi (Ándhra).
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind , i. 542.

142. The Amaravatí tope completed.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 542 (after Prinsep's Jour. vi. pl. x., and Bhilsa Topes, 188).

Early in the SS. } Reign of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv.

100–200. Rise of the Pallavas.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 13 to 16: see *Weber*, Hist. Ind. Lit., 188*n*. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. li. *Fleet*, Kan. Dyn., 15. *Sewell*, Dyn., 100.

„ Reigns of Mádhava-varmá, Kulakelana, and Nilakaṇṭha the father of Mukunti Pallava.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii.

„ Vishṇu king of Kánchipura, of the Samudragupta pillar-inscription.
Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (i.) 515.

„ The Amáravatí tope was already in existence.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 533. *Burgess*, Amarávatí Stúpa, 27.

„ Buddhist caves, temples, sculptures, copper figures, etc., in the neighbourhood of Amarávatí.
Elliot, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xix. 225. *Boswell*, Ind. Ant., i. 153, 374. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 63; Jour. R. A. Soc., xii. (N.S.) 98.

100–200. Páli inscriptions at Amarávatí.
Sewell, Lists, i. 83.

,, Sculptures in the temple of Malleshvara-svámi at Bejwáḍa.
Boswell, Ind. Ant., i. 152.

,, Buddhist tope at Guḍiváḍa, Kistna district.
Sewell, Lists, i. 52.

,, Buddhist tope at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Kistna district.
Sewell, Lists, i. 77, 83.

Early Centuries } Roman coins found by Mackenzie at Amarávatí.
Wilson, As. Res., xvii. 561.

,, Hindu copper coins found at Dharaṇikoṭa.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., ii. App., p. ccxxxviii.

,, Ándhra coins, beads, etc., found at Guḍiváḍa.
Sewell, Lists, i. 52.

,, Roman coins found on the sea-shore near Madras.
Sewell, Lists, i. 190.

,, Hindu gold, silver, and copper coins found at the Seven Pagodas.
Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., ii. App., p. ccxxvi, ccxxviii, ccxxxi.

,, Short inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas in the Pallava character.
Goldingham, As. Res., v. 75. *Babington*, Trans. R. A. Soc., ii. 258. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 37, 62. *Burnell*, in Carr's Seven Pagodas, 224.

,, Short Inscriptions at Amarávatí and the Seven Pagodas in the Cave character of B.C. 100 to A.D. 200.
Burnell, S. I. Pal., 12.
N.B.—For some of the various dates assigned to the temples, sculptures, and inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas, see *Elliot*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., xiii. 53. *Taylor*, 26. *Burnell*, S. I. Pal., 37, 38. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 1; Salem Man., i. 10. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., i. 25; Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. for 1878, p. 141. *Fergusson and Burgess*, Cave Temples, 110, 157. *Sewell*, Dyn., 15, 73; Jour. R. A. Soc., xvi. (N.S.) 32. See also *Fergusson*, Hist. Ind. Arch., 326.

,, Ancient Pallava temples at Kánchipura.
Sewell, Jour. R. A. S., xvi. (N.S.) 36.

„ Mallesudu, or Malleshvara (Malicheren) reigned at the Seven Pagodas. It was originally called 'Malla-puri' after his name.

Chambers, As. Res., i. 156. *Taylor*, Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc., viii. 65; xiii. 39. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 14.

„ In his reign 'Mahábalipoor' was destroyed by an inundation of the sea.

Chambers, As. Res., i. 156. *Carr*, Seven Pagodas, 15.

„ Reign of Atyanta Káma Pallaveshvara.

Foulkes, Salem. Man., i. 2.

140 (cir.). Ptolemy's emporium for the Golden Chersonese and the farther east was within the Pallava territory on the eastern coast.

Foulkes, Ind. Ant., vii. 7; Salem Man., i. 10.

„ Arcot identified with Ptolemy's Arcati Regio Soræ.

Ellis, Papers on Mirási Right, 230, 242. *Wilson*, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxxxiv. See *Caldwell*, Gram. Drav. Lang., Intr., p. 96.

„ Mámallapuram, the Seven Pagodas, identified with Ptolemy's Malearpha.

Gubbins, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxii. 667.

200–300. Buddhists from Benares settled near Kánchipura.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lxv, lxxvii. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. lxxxviii. *Foulkes*, Salem Man., i. 6, 10.

„ Portions of the Amarávatí tope were built.

Fergusson, Tree and Serp. Wor., 172, 178; Hist. Ind. Arch., 72.

„ Reign of Mukunti Pallava, or Mukanti P.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii. *Taylor*, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (i.) 496; Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 511, 529, 533. *Fergusson*, Tree and Serp. Wor., 171. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liii, lxxxviii. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 164.

„ He was fourth in succession from Sháliváhana.

Taylor, Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 216.

„ He was the founder of the Pallavas.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

„ Dharaṇikoṭa was his capital.

Wilson, Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv.

„ He built the Amarávatí tope.

Fergusson, Jour. R. A. Soc., iii. (N.S.) 135, 146. *Rice*, Mys. Inscr., p. liv. *See* Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc. for 1878, p. 141. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 135.

„ He introduced Brahmans into the Pallava country.

Rice, Mys. Inscr., p. lxxxviii.

300–400. Introduction of the Pallava written character into the Kánchipura kingdom.

Burnell, S. I. Pal., 35, 36. *Fleet*, Ind. Ant., ix. 100. See Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., iii. 113, 119.

„ The principal sculptures of the Amarávatí tope were executed.

Fergusson, Free & Serp. Wor., 172, 178; Ind. Ant. iii. 61; Hist. Ind. Archit., 72. *Foulkes*, Ind. Ant., viii. 1. *Rice*, Ind. Ant., viii. 25. *Fergusson & Burgess*, Cave Temples, 64, 90. *Sewell*, Lists, i. 1. See *Congreve*, Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc., xxii. 44. *Thomas*, Ind. Ant., ix. 137.

One of the very early facts contained in this table deserved to be referred to more prominently; namely, the statement, that a large number of Buddhist monks from the Pallava country visited Ceylon in the year 157 B.C.: it claims to afford a firm historical standing-place for the investigator in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, from which he may proceed to sketch a tentative survey of the field of Pallava history during the subsequent centuries until he arrives at the somewhat similar documentary boundary-mark of Fa Hian's narrative. I have elsewhere[1] made use of this fact to show that the dominions of the Pallavas were of very great extent at that early time, and that these kings ruled over the largest of the contemporary Buddhist kingdoms of India. The reigning king of Ceylon, Dutthagámini, a zealous Buddhist, erected a great memorial stúpa at Anuraddhapura: and when it was completed, a very large number of Buddhist monks assembled from the whole of Ceylon and from the continent of India to assist at its consecration. It is evident enough that the numbers of the monks as given in the Maháwanso are greatly exaggerated: but, whether these numbers are

[1] Salem Manual, i. 4, 5.

multiples of the actual numbers, or whatever the form of the exaggeration may be, the relative proportions of the various contingents may be accepted with less questioning. It is also necessary to remark that the large integer in Turnour's number of the Pallava monks has been inserted by mistake. In his text[1] the number is 460,000, as Upham has correctly translated it, and not 14,60,000 as Turnour's translation gives it.

Rejecting Turnour's interpolated million, the total number of his Indian monks is 1,264,000:[2] the Pallava monks were therefore nearly one-third of the whole of the Indian visitors. The alternative result for my present argument is, either that the Pallava dominions in the second century B.C. were much more extensive than those of any other contemporary Indian king; or, that Buddhism prevailed much more extensively in their dominions at that time than in any other Indian kingdom. Possibly the facts may fairly sustain both of these deductions. From the latter side of the alternative alone the conclusion would still be, that the Pallava kingdom had already arisen, and that it was very extensive.

Considering the estimation in which these historical books of Ceylon have so long been held, it is not likely that this conclusion will be controverted. In the event of its being established, it naturally leads up at once to the question of the origin of the Pallavas: and the solution of that question may lead to the discovery of the few remaining lost links of the chain between the annals of the Buddhists and the records of classical history.

One of the most pressing questions connected with the early history of the Dakhaṇ has reference to the founders of the city of Dharaṇikoṭa; and the question of the builders of the Amarávatí tope is involved in it.

Professor H. H. Wilson,[3] as far back as 1828, stated, on the authority of the Mackenzie manuscripts, that Dharaṇikoṭa was the capital of Mukunti Pallava, thus making it a

[1] "Chattarisatasahassáni sahassánicha satthicha bhikkhu. . . ."

[2] Upham has curtailed the passage: he does not give either the names or the numbers of the last five of the fourteen contingents.

[3] Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. lviii.

possession of the Pallavas in Mukunti's time; and Mr. Lewis Rice[1] accepts that view. In that passage Wilson placed Mukunti in the third century A.D.; but in another[2] he raised him to a date early in the era of Shálivâhana. The Rev. W. Taylor[3] made him the fourth in succession from Shálivâhana, and his date would so be about the middle of the second century A.D.

On the other hand, Bhagvánlál Indraji,[4] Sir Walter Elliot,[5] and Mr. Burgess[6] suppose it to be the old capital of the Andhras.

I do not sufficiently know the grounds on which Bhagvánlál Indraji and Mr. Burgess have based their view; but it seems probable, from the similarity of the words used, that Sir Walter Elliot, in the passage above referred to, was intending to reproduce Professor Wilson's statement,[7] that Dharaṇikoṭa was "considered to have been at one time the capital of Telingána." In that case, Sir Walter Elliot's use of the word 'Andhra' is in its modern sense[8] as the equivalent of the word 'Telingána,' or the whole region in which the Telugu language is spoken; but this is very far from being identical with the historical Andhra country of the Puráṇas. With this interpretation, the Pallavas are not necessarily excluded from Dharaṇíkoṭa by Sir Walter Elliot's statement. If, however, the historical Andhras of the Puráṇas were in his mind, as they were in Bhagvánlál Indraji's and Mr. Burgess's, the case assumes a much more difficult form, and resolves itself into a question of the ancient geography of the Dakhaṇ. The territorial limits of the puráṇic Andhras are not sufficiently known; but, judging from such materials as I know of, they could scarcely have included any portion of the country lying on the

[1] Mys. Inscr. (1879), p. liv.
[2] Cat. Mack. MSS., i. p. cxxiv.
[3] Cat. Mad. MSS., iii. 216.
[4] Jour. As. Soc. Bomb. (1877), xiii. 310.
[5] Ind. Ant. (1878), vii. 21
[6] Arch. Rep., Bidar (1878), 54; Cave Temples (1880), 247; No. 10, Arch. Surv. W. Ind. (1881), 32, 33, 38; Amarávatá Stupa (1882), 45.
[7] Ariana Antiqua (1841), 32.
[8] See Burnell, S. I. Pal., 16 note.

Kṛishṇa. It seems also worth mentioning that, as late as the seventh century—taking it for what it is worth in its bearing on any earlier date—the southern boundary of the Ándhra kingdom lay far to the north of that river; for Hiwen Thsang travelled a long distance after leaving the country then called Ándhra before he reached the banks of the Kṛishṇa.

If Dharaṇikoṭa and a great extent of country north and south of it belonged to the Pallavas in the second century before our era, as I think is implied in the passage of the Mahâwanso referred to above, especially when taken together with what is known of them before the arrival of the Châlukyas in the Dakhaṇ, it follows with a large amount of probability that the erection of the Amarávatí tope is to be attributed to the Pallavas. Mr. Rice[1] says that it was built by Mukunti Pallava; and in this statement he was apparently following an earlier opinion of Mr. Fergusson.[2] General Cunningham[3] attributes it to the Ándhra king Gotami-putra Shâtakarṇi. Considering the nature of the grounds for these individual names, it will not be surprising if both of them should fail to be maintained; while still giving the Pallavas the credit of the work.

Another question—one which has already received some attention—has reference to the name of the Pallavas. As it stands the name is a good Sanskrit word;—'pallava,' 'a leaf-bud,' 'a tender leaflet,' 'a sprout,' and some other meanings. The names of their neighbours, the Choḷas and Kadambas, are similarly connected with the vegetable world. This was the sense in which the name presented itself to those who composed the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and those of other kings containing references to them. Instances of this occur in the inscription of Pallava-malla,[4] where by a play on their name their tender hands and feet are compared to "young leaflets"; and also in some of the Châlukya

[1] Mys. Inscr., p. liv.
[2] Jour. R. A. Soc., iii. (N.S.), 135, 146.
[3] Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 542.
[4] Salem Man., ii. 359.

inscriptions,[1] which speak of the humiliated Pallavas being forced "to hold the sprout." Similarly an inscription of one of the Ballála kings[2] describes him as "a wild fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava."

The name "Pallava" occurs in the Puráṇas;[3] but only as a variant in some copies of the usual form, "Pahlava," or "Pahnava."[4] The Pahlavas are described by Wilson[5] as "a northern or north-western nation often mentioned in Hindu writings, in Manu, the Rámáyaṇa, the Puráṇas, etc. They were not a Hindu people, and may have been some of the tribes between India and Persia." Manu[6] names them in company with some other seeming foreigners: yet he does not exclude them from the Hindu pale, but classes them with outcasts who were once Kṣhatriyas, but had fallen to the level of Shúdras "by their omission of holy rites and seeing no Bráhmaṇs"; meaning, apparently, that they were Buddhists or some other class of sectarians. The Vishṇu-Puráṇa[7] and the Hari-vamsha[8] name them among the allies of the Haiháyas,—the Shakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, and Páradas, foreigners still,—in their war with Sagara; thus raising them into very ancient times, and making them the contemporaries of the ṛishi Vasishṭha. In later times, Varáha-mihira,[9] who belongs to the sixth century A.D, locates them in the south-west of India. In his Sanskṛit Dictionary Wilson suggests that they were the Parthians: and perhaps Prinsep[10] did the same in a modified sense. The name 'Párthava,' 'a Parthian,' is said to be capable of being Prákṛitized into 'Pahlava': but Nöldeke[11] maintains, on grammatical grounds, that this form could not have existed in India before the second to the fourth century A.D., and

[1] Mys. Inscr., 61, 153.
[2] Ibid., 331.
[3] See Wilson's Vish. Pur., 189, 195, 374.
[4] Ibid., 195 note.
[5] Ibid, 189 note.
[6] Manu, x. 44.
[7] Vish. Pur., 374.
[8] As. Res, xi. 64.
[9] Jour. R. A. Soc., v. (N.S.), 84.
[10] See Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vi. 386 note.
[11] See the note in Weber's Anc. Sansk. Lit., (Trübner's), pp. 187, 188.

doubtfully at all before the first century. It is in Sanskṛit compositions, however, and not Prakṛit, that the name 'Pahlava' has come down to us: and by the rules of Prákṛit the Sanskṛit conjunct 'hl' becomes 'lh.' Both of these conjuncts, it may be noted, become 'll' in Tamil, which was the vernacular language of the Pallavas at Kánchipura.

The inscriptions of the Pallavas claim for them a pure Hindu descent, assigning them to the gotra of Bharadvája;[1] and tracing them through him up to Brahmá, and the Invisible Deity.[2] This may be mere flattery of the Court sycophants; or, it may indeed be said that the king followed the gotra of his purohita: still, there is implied in it either an unconsciousness or a forgetfulness of the foreign origin of the ancestors of the Pallavas at that time.

Kittel[3] has suggested a different and more homely derivation of their name, identifying them with the Poleyas or Pollavas, or the Paḷḷas of the southern districts: and some other names more or less resembling the name of Pallavas might be added to these; with, however, very little chance of their being discussed while the Pahlava theory remains undisposed of.

Should Wilson's Parthian theory, or Professor Weber's Arsacidan modification of it, be maintainable, it will be worth noting that the Pahlavas existed with some form of political organization in or near the Dakhaṇ at some early date in the Christian era. This is shown by the inscription of Gotami-putra's Queen in the Nasik Caves,[4] mentioning the conquest of the Pahlavas by her husband; and also by Rudradáman's inscription at Girnar,[5] which speaks of two victories over the Pahlavas gained by his feudatory Shátakarṇi of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, the lord of Dakṣhiṇápátha. It may also be interesting to note, that among the Pahlavas of those days there were men of high mental ability and practical technical skill: the inscription of Rudra-

[1] See Nandi-varmá's grant, Salem Man., ii. 351.
[2] Pallava-malla's grant, Salem Man., ii 359.
[3] Nágavarma's Can. Pros, xxi, xxvii; Ind. Ant., viii. 50.
[4] Stevenson, Jour. As. Soc. Bomb, v. 42. See also vol. vii. 117, and ix. 145.
[5] Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., xiii. 315; and Ind. Ant., xii. 272.

dáman mentions incidentally that Shátakarṇi's minister was a Pahlava; and that it was this Pahlava minister who succeeded in overcoming the seemingly hopeless engineering difficulty at the breach of the Sudarshana lake.[1]

One question more deserves to be noticed here in connection with the earliest times and localities of the Pallavas. There are references in the annals of the Buddhists to an ancient building-dynasty ruling on the Kṛishṇa, who were amongst the early royal converts to Buddhism—the Nága-rájas of Manjerika. The Maháwanso describes a very magnficent Buddhist chaitya in the Manjerika country:[2] and some other very early architectural works of this neighbourhood may be classed with it.

General Cunningham places Manjerika in the maritime districts of the Kṛishṇa. It seems very probable that this kingdom derived its name from the river Manjera, its still surviving name, which runs in a remarkable doubling course to the north of the cliffs of Bidar towards the bed of the lower Godávarí. The limits of Manjerika must therefore be extended largely to the north and north-west of General Cunningham's location. This part of the Dakhaṇ lay in the route of the Pallavas as they stretched southwards from the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda, where the most northward traces of them and of their earliest seats have been discovered, to the successive basins of the Godávarí, the Kṛishṇa, and the Pálár: and some part of it must have belonged to the puráṇic Andhras. Had the Pallavas anything to do with these ancient Nága kings?

Coimbatore, Madras Presidency.
June 19*th*, 1884.

[1] See also Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vii. (ii.) 342; Jour. R. A. Soc., vi. 477, and iv. (N.S.) 130; Jour. As. Soc. Bomb., vi. 15; vii. 34, 114; viii. 120, 121, 237, and ix. 5; Burgess' Arch. Rep., Kaṭhiáwáḍ, 133; Ind. Ant., vii. 257, 263; x. 225, 226; Rice's Mys. Inscr., li; and Fleet's Kan. Dyn., 14.

[2] Turnour's Maháwanso, i. 188; and Cunningham's Anc. Geog. Ind., i. 535.

Art. X.—*Translation of Books* 81–93 *of the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa.* By the Rev. B. Hale Wortham.

The Mahâtmya Devî is an episode of thirteen chapters (81–93) occurring in the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, and, as the title suggests, is occupied with an account of the Great power of Devî, or Durgâ, the wife of Śiva. The story is introduced by a Râjâ, named Suratha, and a Vaisya, named Samâdhi. The Râjâ has been overcome by enemies, and finally driven from his kingdom by his ministers, who have taken possession of his treasures. The Vaisya's own family have risen against him and sent him adrift, after seizing on his riches. Both of these two unfortunate persons retire into solitude to meditate on their troubles, and in the course of their wanderings in a certain forest, they meet and become acquainted. They mutually relate their difficulties, and in comparing notes, find with astonishment that they are both possessed by the same feeling—attachment or affection for those who have ill-treated them. The Râjâ is full of anxiety for the welfare of the ministers and people who have risen against him; the Vaisya still retains his affection for his unworthy wives and children. They ask each other—What means this? How is it that we still feel affection for worthless people, even though they be relations? Unable to discover any solution of this difficulty, they agree to consult the Sage, whose dwelling was not far distant. The Sage immediately answered their question, and told them that their mental sensations were produced by Mahâmâyâ He proceeds to tell them that they do not stand alone: that they share this illusion in common with all animate beings. Mahâmâyâ, he says, is the great illusive power by which the world was created, by which even the Creator himself is enveloped.

"She is the great goddess by whom even the hearts of the wise are detained, by whom the worlds were made."

The Râjâ then begs for somewhat clearer knowledge of this great creative power; in answer to this question the Sage recounts the history of Devî. "The world in its outward form is eternal and she created all things; she too is everlasting, and only assumed outward form for the benefit of the deities." The Rishi relates the manner and the reasons for which she assumed visible form. Vishṇu (he says) lay wrapped in the sleep of meditation upon the waters which covered the earth, and upon him reclined Brahma. The Titans Madhu and Kaitabha approached with the intention of killing Brahma. Brahma then invoked Mahâmâyâ and called upon her to raise Vishṇu from his sleep for the destruction of the two giants. She did so in answer to his prayers, and the Titans after a contest of 5000 years were slain by Vishṇu.

Thus one after another follow the miraculous conflicts of Devî with various powers and demons. The demon Mahishasura conquered the deities, and usurped the place of Indra. The deities then had recourse to Iśa, or Vishṇu, praying him for help against the demons. A great light issued forth from the bodies of Vishṇu and of all the divine beings: from that light Devî was formed. Mahishasura was then encountered by her and destroyed, after which she received the praises of all the assembled deities.

We may pass over the history of the following encounters, which are of very much the same character as that already referred to. At the end of the tale the Rishi points the moral to Suratha and the Vaisya; he tells them that their minds are held bound by Mahâmâyâ, the illusion of the mighty goddess. He urges them to pay adoration to her, so may they attain to freedom and liberation. This course they carry out and are accordingly rewarded. The king is restored to his kingdom, and freed from his enemies: the Vaisya choosing the more spiritual gifts of wisdom, and freedom from worldly attractions, receives the due answer to his prayer.

There have been various interpretations of this myth. Some have referred it to the constellations. They have identified Virgo as the goddess Devî: they have seen Mahishasura in Centaur, and in Leo, the lion upon which the goddess rode to the conflict. Others have looked upon the legend in the light of a "Solar myth." The deities are the light, the Asuras the darkness. The light is overpowered by the darkness, which in its turn is put to flight by the approaching dawn. The legend is an elaborated version of the myth according to which darkness is continually, and at fixed intervals, getting the better of the light, in its own turn driven back by victorious dawn. Devî springs from the light which emanated from the deities (82. 9 sq.). She illuminates the heavens with glory (85. 45). Her teeth are red like pomegranate flowers (91. 39). She is the colour of gold, the glory from which she springs fills all the regions with flame. She is the great and beneficent goddess, putting darkness to flight, under the form of a malevolent demon, for the good of the deities, and for the benefit of the world.

Perhaps, however, we may look on the legend from a spiritual point of view, and regard it as an allegory personifying the good and evil principles; setting forth in a parable the conflict that is always going on between light and darkness, between good and evil.

Editions and MSS. known to be in existence of Devî Mahâtmya.

1. Edited in Germany by L. Poley, Berlin. 1831, Lat. Trans.
2. Edited in Calcutta by Gaurîśakara Tarkavâgîsa, 1858, 4to.
3. Edited in Calcutta by a native, with an Eng. Tr., 1823, and
4. Re-edited by Janârdan Râmchandrage, Bombay, 1868.
5. Translation in Greek published at Athens by Demetrius Galanos in 1853.
6. Text with Hindi Version, pub. at Meerut, 1881.
7. Text with Bengali Comm. ed. Gopâlachandra Chakravarti at Calcutta, 1878.
8. Text edited by Professor K. H. Banerjea in the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, Calcutta, 1862.

There are 10 or 12 texts in Devanâgarî, Telugu, and Grantha characters in the British Museum.

MS. in Dr. Wright's Collection at Cambridge.

Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa.

Book 81.

Devî mâhâtmyârambhaḥ.[1]

OM.

Salutation to Chandikâ.

Mârkaṇḍeya said:

1. Sâvarṇiḥ, the son of Sûrya, was called the 8th Manu. Listen to me, and I will relate his history to you fully.
2. Sâvarṇiḥ, the son of the Sun, pre-eminent in virtue,[2] became lord of the Manvantaras through the mighty power of Mahâmâyâ.
3. Long ago, in the days of Svârochisha, there was a king by name Suratha, sprung from the family of Chaitra, ruling the whole earth.
4. While he was ruling his subjects with justice, as though they were his own sons, princes, who never laid their weapons aside, became hostile to him.
5. And they fought in battle with him; and though his sceptre was very powerful, he was overcome by those (princes), whose arms were never laid aside.
6. Then ruling only his own land, he entered into his city: and he, pre-eminent in virtue, was attacked by his enemies, who were very strong.
7. Since he was weak, his treasure and his power were taken away from him by his ministers, who were at that time hostile and opposed to him in his own city.
8. Then, being deprived of his sovereignty, the king, under pretence of hunting, mounted his horse, and set out alone into the forest.
9. There he saw the hermitage of a very wise and illustrious Brâhman, filled with tame animals, and glorified by the presence of the Saint himself.

[1] Called also Saptaśati, because it consists of 700 slokas, or Chandipatha, the recitation of Chanda's acts.

[2] Or possessor of great shares (Mahâbhâga). 20 shares of the produce of the Earth were to be dedicated to god and priests; 6 to the king; 4 enjoyed by the cultivator (Translation of M. D. by Râmassvami). Cf. Marcaṇḍeya Pûr., Book viii. sl. 105.

10. And he remained for some time in that place, hospitably entertained, wandering about in different parts of the hermitage of the excellent Saint.
11. He then thought within himself, his mind being allured by love: "I have lost that city, ruled from ancient time by my forefathers: whether it be well ruled or not by my evil ministers
12. I know not. What delights will not my chief minister Sûrahastâ gain, together with Damada, now that he has gone over to the side of the enemy.
13. Those who constantly followed me for the sake of gaining favour from my liberality, now are obedient to other kings.
14. They will waste and destroy the treasure which I have collected with such care, since being naturally prone to extravagance, they will always act extravagantly."
15. In this wise the king meditated continually. One day he met a Vaiśya wandering about by himself near the hermitage of the Brâhman.
16. The king addressed him and said: "Who are you? and why have you come here? You seem as if grieved, or for some reason or other distressed in your mind."
17. The Vaiśya, hearing himself addressed by the king with words of kindness, answered the prince with the respect due to him.
18. "I (he said) am a Vaiśya; my name is Samâdhi; I come of a wealthy family; but my wives and children, who are evil disposed to me through desire of my wealth, have turned me adrift.
19. My wives and children have stripped me of my possessions; my trusted friends have abandoned me; filled with grief, I have come into this forest.
20. And as long as I remain here, I know nothing of my sons' condition—(whether they be) well or ill—nor do I know how my relations or wives fare;
21. Whether there be good or bad fortune at home: whether my sons be fortunate or unfortunate."

The Râja said:

22. "Sir! Tell me why you have this affection for the wives and children, who drove you from your home, that they might take possession of your wealth."

The Vaiśya said:

23. "The words which you have spoken have I also uttered. But what can I do? My mind is not influenced harshly against my own family.

24. They have coveted my wealth, and have disowned me; they have cast off love for their father, respect for the head of their family; but yet my heart still feels love for them.

25. What may be the reason of this? I am indeed a reflecting man, but yet I do not understand why my mind should be full of love for worthless people, even though they be relations.

26. I am full of grief and anxiety on their account. What can I do, for my mind is not hardened towards them, though they may have ceased to love me?"

Mârkaṇḍeya said:

27. Then, O Brâhman, they went together to the Sage, the Vaiśya Samâdhi, and the most noble King.

28. And the King and the Vaiśya, having saluted him according to his dignity, seated themselves near him, and put various questions to him.

The Râja said:

29. "Venerable Sir! I desire to ask you this question, therefore tell me the answer; for indeed my mind is full of grief, through being deprived of the self-reliance which is its proper condition.

30. I know the truth (as to the transitoriness of all things), but yet as if I were ignorant, this love for all the different portions of my kingdom absorbs me. What is the meaning of this, most excellent Sage?

31. This man also, who is in affliction, cast off by his sons, wives and servants, and deserted by his own relations, nevertheless still feels affection for them.

32. Thus then we, though we recognize the fault of being

attracted by objects of sense, are yet filled with exceeding great grief and have our minds absorbed by external things.

33. Whence, O Eminent in virtue, comes this confusion even to the wise? whence comes this folly which blinds even the eyes of us who are intelligent beings?"

The Sage answered:

34. "All creatures have intelligence with regard to objects which are within the range of their senses: but the objects upon which the senses are exercised differ in each class.

35. Some creatures are blind by day, others by night; some see equally well by day and by night.

36. Men have intelligence, how should they not? since all animals, birds and cattle possess it also.

37. There is then in men the same sense as that which exists in animals; and in animals the same as in men. They have also another form of sense common to both.

38. See these birds, even though they have some sense, still pressed by hunger, are blindly intent on taking out even a single grain which they find in the beaks of dead birds.

39. Do you not see how men too, O most eminent one! are filled with love for their children only through the desire of mutual convenience?[1]

40. So they fall into the whirlpool of love, and the pit of confusion, through the power of Mahâmâyâ, making this world their abiding-place.

41. Nor is this marvellous, for the sleep of meditation which envelopes the lord of the world is the Mahâmâya[2] of Hari, and by it the whole world is thrown into confusion.

42. Devî Bhagavatî draws along by force the minds of all

[1] *pratyupakârâya* 'mutual convenience or self-interest.'

[2] Mahâmâyâ is the great illusive power of God which projects the universe out of itself.

intelligent beings, and Mahâmâyâ hands them over to Moha.

43. By her the whole world of beings, animate and inanimate, is created, and she herself is the propitious giver of blessings to men for their liberation.

44. She is perfect wisdom, she is eternal. She is the cause of their liberation, she, the ruler of all rulers, establishes the world.

The Râja said:

45. Sir! tell me! who is this Devî whom you call Mahâmâyâ? whence did she spring? and what are her functions?

46. What is the power of this Devî? what is her outward form? whence was her origin? All this, most learned Brâhman, I desire to hear from thee.

The Sage continued:

47. She is eternal, the earth in bodily form. By her all things were made. Moreover, hear from me how her birth into the world is in various ways.

48. Although she is born again and again into the world for the benefit of the deities, yet she is still held to be eternal.

49. Once, the adorable lord Vishṇû, at the end of a kalpa, had spread out Śesha for his couch on the world which was covered with water, and was wrapped in the sleep of meditation.

50. Then two terrible Asuras, called Madhu and Kaitabha, sprung from Vishṇû's ear, desired to kill Brahma.

51. And Brahma, the lord of creatures, was resting on the lotus navel of Vishṇû. He then beholding the two terrible Asuras, and the sleep that overpowered the harasser of men;

52. Praised the sleep of devotion that dwelt in the eyes of Hara, with mind intent upon rousing him from slumber.

53. He praised the queen of all, the creatrix of the world, the cause of stability and of destruction, and the adorable slumber of Vishṇú, of incomparable glory.

Brahma said:

54. Thou art Svâhâ,[1] thou art Svadhâ,[2] thou art Vashat-kâra,[3] thou hast the nature of sound; thou art nectar, thou art the imperishable, the eternal having the nature of the threefold mâtra.

55. Thou art Ardhamâtra, thou art the everlasting, thou art Sâ, whose name is not to be spoken; thou art Savitrî, Devî, the supreme mother.

56. By thee all is upheld: by thee the world is created: by by thee it is guarded. O Devî! at the end (of time) thou art the destroyer of the universe.

57. In creating thou wearest the form of the Creator: in upholding the universe thou hast the form of the guardian. At the end thou bearest the form of the destroyer, O thou who art the incarnation of the world.

58. Thou art mighty wisdom, thou art mighty delusion, mighty intelligence, mighty memory, mighty confusion, Bhagavatî, Devî, Mahâsurî.

59. Thou art Prakṛiti, thou art the author of the three guṇas in all: terrible as the Kâlarâtri, the Mahârâtri, the Moharâtri.

60. Thou art glory, thou art the supreme lady, thou art modesty, thou art wisdom shown by enlightenment; thou art bashfulness; thou art prosperity, praise, rest, and also patience.

61. Thou art armed with the sword and the trident: terrible also with the spear and the chakra: bearing the shell and the bow; armed with the club as a weapon and the arrows.

62. Thou art beautiful—most beautiful—beyond all other beautiful things: thou art higher than the highest—the supreme Queen.

63. Whatever may exist: wherever it may exist; in the regions of entity or nonentity; of all that thou art

[1] Svahâ, a term used in the act of oblation.
[2] Svadhâ, a word used in the śraddhas for the Manes of Ancestors.
[3] Vashat-kâra, a formula of prayer from the Vedas used at sacrifices.

the motive power. What praise then should I not give thee?

64. Who would not offer praise to thee, since by thee, Vishṇû, the lord—the creator of the world, the preserver of the world, and the destroyer of the world—is brought under the power of the slumber of devotion?

65. Vishṇû and Îśâna have been made to assume a bodily form by thy power: who then can offer thee praise worthy of thee?

66. Thou, O Queen! art famous for thy almighty power: confound the two horrible Asuras, Madhu and Kaitabha.

67. O mistress of the universe, restore the Immoveable one to consciousness, and let him wake up to kill the Asuras.

The Ṛishi said:

68. Thus was Tâmasî Devî praised by the Creator, that she might rouse Vishṇu for the destruction of the Asuras.

69. And she sprang forth from the eyes, mouth, nose, arms, and breast (of Vishṇu), and stood before Brahma the offspring of Avyakta.[1]

70. And Janârdana, the lord of the world, rose up freed (from sleep) by thee (Devî), and from his couch on the deluge of waters he beheld the two Asuras,

71. Madu and Kaitabha, evil-disposed, exceedingly strong, having great vigour, with eyes red with rage, desiring to destroy Brahma.

72. Then Hari, the lord, rising up, fought against them, waving his arms over them for 5000 years.

73. And the two Asuras, filled with might and pride, confused through Mahâmâyâ, addressed Kesáva and said: 'Ask of us, and we will grant you a favour.'

Bhagavân answered:

74. 'Be content, you shall both be slain by me: this is the only favour I beg of you, for this I have chosen.'

[1] Avyakta: name of Vishṇu.

The Ṛishi continued:

75. Then the Asuras, who had been answered thus by Bhagavân, the lotus-eyed, said to him, 'Kill us not in that place where the waters cover the Earth.'
76. 'So be it,' the Adorable one answered: and he, the bearer of the shell, the chakra, and the club, placed their heads on his thigh and split them with his chakra.
77. Thus Devî, praised by Brahma himself, sprang forth. Now I will relate further to you the history of her power.

Thus ends the 81st Book, recounting the destruction of Madhu and Kaitabha.

Book 82.

The Ṛishi continued:

1. Long ago a battle raged for a hundred years between the Devas and the Asuras. Mahisha was king of the Asuras and Indra of the Devas.
2. And the army of the Devas was defeated by the mighty army of the Asuras: and Mahishasura, being victorious, became the king of the Devas.
3. Then the conquered Devas chose Prajapati, born from the lotus, as their leader, and went to the place where Garuḍadhvaja and Ísa were.
4. And the deities told the two Gods what Mahisha had done, and how the Devas had been defeated;
5. And how he had seized on the powers of Varuṇa, Yama, Indu, Anila, Agni, Indra, Sûrya and of the others:
6. And how all the Devas had been turned out of Svarga, and were wandering about the earth like mortals through the evil-disposed Mahisha.
7. After the deities had recounted all the deeds of their enemies (they continued): "We have come to you as suppliants: therefore let his death be decreed."
8. When Madhusûdana and Sambhu heard the words of the Devas, they became filled with rage, and they frowned, bending their brows.

9. And great glory went forth from the face of Vishṇu, who was exceedingly wroth; and from Brahma and Śankara;
10. Overpowering brightness also equal to that issued from the other deities headed by Śakra.
11. And the Suras saw him flaming like Mount Kuṭa with great brightness, filling all the regions with flame.
12. And from that (glory) the female essence sprang, unequalled in majesty, coming forth from the bodies of all the united devas, filling the three worlds with her glory.
13. Her face was formed from the glory of Sambhu: her hair from Yama: her arms from the glory of Vishṇu.
14. Her two breasts from Saumyâ: her waist was from Indra: from Varuṇa her legs and thighs: her hips from the glory of the Earth.
15. Her feet from the glory of Brahma: her toes from the Sun: her fingers from the demigods: her nose from Kuvera.
16. Her teeth were formed from the glory of Prajapati, her threefold eyes from the glory of Pâvaka.
17. Her two eyebrows from the glory of Sandhi, her ears from Anila: Durgâ was created from the glory of all the united deities.
18. Then the immortals, who had been injured by Mahisha, beholding her created by the united glory of all the deities, were filled with delight.
19. And the bow-bearer gave her a dart fashioned like his dart: Krishṇa gave her a Chakra like his own Chakra:
20. Varuṇa a shell: Hutâśana a spear: the Maruts gave her a bow and two quivers full of arrows.
21. Indra, the king of the immortals, gave her a thunderbolt, drawing it forth from his own thunderbolt. The thousand-eyed one gave her also a bell taken from his elephant Airavata.
22. Yama gave her a staff fashioned like his own sceptre of death: the Lord of the ocean gave her a net: Prajapati a rosary: Brahma a pot.

23. The Sun threw his rays over her as a halo of light proceeding from all the pores in her skin: Death gave her a sword and a white shield.
24. The sea of milk gave her a pearl necklace and two indestructible garments: also a jewel crest, and two earrings and bracelets:
25. And a heavenly shining ornament shaped like a half moon, and bracelets for all her arms, two beautiful anklets,
26. Also rings for all her fingers, set with jewels. Viśvakarma gave her a glittering axe,
27. Weapons also of various forms, and an impenetrable breastplate; moreover, an unfading lotus crown for her head.
28. And the Ocean gave her a beautiful lotus (to wear) on her breast; Himavant gave her a lion to bear her and many jewels.
29. And the Lord of Treasure gave her a cup filled with nectar: and Śesha, the king of the Nagas, who bears up this earth, gave
30. Her a crown made of serpents adorned with great gems; and Devî was honoured with weapons and ornaments by the rest of the Suras.
31. And she was greeted with loud acclamations; the whole heaven was filled with shouts and laughter in her honour.
32. There was a great echo from the mighty sound: the world trembled and the sea was shaken.
33. The earth and all the mountains were moved: the Devâs saluted her, riding upon the lion, and exclaimed "Be victorious!"
34. The Saints rejoiced in her, and bent before her in adoration. The enemies of the deities saw the agitation of the three worlds,
35. And rose up to attack (her) with their armament fully equipped. "Ah! what is the meaning of this?" exclaimed Mahishâsura, full of anger.
36. Then, accompanied by the rest of the Asuras, he ran to

the place whence the sound proceeded, and there he saw the goddess and the three worlds filled with her glory,

37. The earth trembling at the weight of her footsteps, her garments decorated with jewels: and Pâtâlâ vibrating with the sound of her bow-string.

38. He saw her standing there, filling the sky with her thousand arms: and then the fight between the enemies of the Suras and the goddess began.

39. All the regions blazed through the various darts and missiles that were thrown. Then fought the mighty general of Mahishâsura's army named Chikshura.

40.[1] And Châmara fought also with a complete army: and the mighty Asura, Udagra, with sixty myriads of chariots.

41. And Mahâhanu, and Asiloma,

42. And Vaskala also joined in the battle with myriads, endless in number, of horses, elephants and chariots.

43. And Vidala,

44. And other mighty Asuras with him, fought, accompanied by thousands of chariots, elephants and horses.

45. These all fought against the goddess, attended by endless chariots and elephants;

46. And Mahishâsura also fought, accompanied by horses, and armed with javelins, lances, and mighty clubs.

47. Some fought against Devî armed with swords, some with sharp spears, some with axes: some hurled spears at her, and threw nets over her;

48. And some tried to kill Devî by striking her with their swords. But Chandikâ,

49. The goddess of unmoved countenance, without any effort, raining upon them showers of weapons, cut their darts and missiles in twain: and she was praised by the Suras, and the Ṛishis.

50. And the Queen shot forth her weapons and missiles

[1] Sl. 40–46. These ślokas have been somewhat condensed and abbreviated, since they consist merely of repetitions.

against the Asuras, and Vahanakeśarî (the lion-bearer), shaking his mane in rage, went through the

51. Hosts of Asuras, like fire through a grove of trees; and the sighs which the goddess sent forth in the battle immediately became troops of Amazons,
52. Who fought by hundreds and thousands with spears, lances, swords and axes.
53. And they, endowed with power by the goddess, overthrew the Asura host; some of them sounded drums, others conch shells.
54. Others sounded the tambourine in the great onslaught. Then Devî, armed with her trident, her club, and her multitude of spears,
55. And with swords also, destroyed the Asuras by thousands, and struck down others with fear at the sound of her bell.
56. Some of the Asuras she bound to the earth with her net, some she dragged along: others she cut in half with the sharp strokes of her sword.
57. Some lay down on the earth bruised by her trident, others vomited blood wounded by her javelins.
58. Some fell to the ground, their breasts torn asunder by the spear, some were killed on the battle-field by the showers of arrows.
59. The enemies of the gods, like an army in number, gave up their lives; on the battle-field the arms of some, the necks of others, were cut off.
60. The heads of some fell, others were cut through the middle: some of the mighty Asuras fell to the ground with their legs cut off.
61. Some were cut in half by Devî, each part having one leg, one eye, one arm: others fell to the earth having lost their heads;
62. But the headless trunks fought against the goddess, seizing mighty weapons, and others danced in the battle, sporting, to the sound of musical instruments.
63. Others of the Asuras, headless trunks, holding daggers,

swords and spears, called out to the goddess, "Stop! Stop!"

64. And the earth became impassable, because of the Asuras, the horses, elephants, and chariots that lay about over the vast battle-field.

65. And the great streams flowed red with blood because of the slaughter of the army of the Asuras with its horses, elephants and chariots.

66. In one moment Devî brought destruction on the great army of the Asuras, even as fire on a heap of wood and grass.

67. And the lion, shaking his mane, sent forth a mighty roar, and drew, as it were, the breath of the enemies of the gods out of their bodies.

68. And the Amazons of the goddess fought against the multitude of the Asuras, and overcame them, and the deities praised the Amazons and rained flowers upon them.

Thus ends the 82nd Book recounting the destruction of the army of Mahishâsura.

Book 83.

1. When Chikshura, the Mighty Asura, the general, saw his army destroyed, filled with rage, he went to attack the goddess.

2. And the Asura rained showers of arrows on the goddess in the battle, as the clouds on the peak of Mount Meru send forth streams of water.

3. But the goddess easily destroyed the multitude of his darts, and killed with her weapons his horses and charioteers.

4. Immediately she broke his bow, and cut down his standard which was raised on high; and when his bow was broken, she pierced him in all his limbs with her arrows.

5. Then, after his bow-bearer had been killed, and he had been deprived of his chariot; after his horses and his charioteer had been slain, he charged upon the goddess,

6. And he smote the lion on the head with his very sharp sword which he bore, and quickly wounded the goddess in the left arm.
7. Then, O Prince! the sword, when it touched her arm, broke; and he, with eyes reddening in rage, seized hold of his spear.
8. And the Asura aimed the spear which flamed with brightness like the sun in the sky, at Bhadrakâlî.
9. And the goddess, seeing this spear hurled at her, put forward her own spear, and broke it into a thousand pieces. Then the Mighty Asura,
10. The harasser of the deities, seeing that Mahisha, the lord of the army, possessed of mighty power, had been killed, mounted upon his elephant and went against Devî.
11. And he straightway hurled his spear at the goddess; but Ambikâ immediately destroyed its splendour and struck it down to earth, overcome by her incantations.
12. And when he saw that his spear had lost its splendour, and had fallen on the ground, overcome with rage, he aimed his mace at her; but she destroyed it with her darts.
13. Then the lion springing up, stood on the forehead of the elephant, and fought raised up aloft in an exceeding great battle with the enemy of the immortals.
14. Then the Devî and the Asura descended from off the elephant, and continued the battle with great and powerful blows.
15. And the lion sprang up into the air, and coming down again, split the head of Châmara in twain with his talons.
16. Udagra was wounded in the battle by the Queen, with stones and trunks of trees. She laid Kavâla low with her teeth, her fists, and her feet.
17. Devî enraged ground Vaskala to pieces, who was inflated with pride, by means of her club. She destroyed Tamra and Andhaka with her darts.

18. And the three-eyed, powerful Queen, killed Mahâhanu, and Ugrâdya, and Ugravîrya, with her trident;
19. With her sword she struck the head of Vidala from his body, and she conducted Durdhara and Durmukha to the abode of death with her arrows.
20. After his army had been destroyed in this manner, Mahishâsura struck terror into the forces of the deities, changing his form into a buffalo.
21. Some he smote down with strokes from his snout, others with his sharp hoofs; some by strokes from his tail: he tore others with his horns.
22. Some he struck to the earth by the swiftness of his course, as he rushed roaring along; some by the wind of his breath.
23. And the Asura rushed upon the army of Sivâ's attendants, to attack them, and to kill the lion of the great goddess; but she was filled with rage.
24. And he in his wrath, having mighty strength, scattered the earth torn up with his hoofs; overthrew lofty mountains with his horns: and sent forth a roaring.
25. And the earth, torn up by the speed of his running, was dispersed; he smote the sea with his tail and poured the water over the whole world.
26. Then the clouds were rent into small pieces by the points of his horns, and the mountains fell from aloft, broken into a thousand pieces by the air of his breath.
27. When Chaṇḍikâ saw the Asura rushing forward, uplifted with rage, filled with anger, she went forth to kill him.
28. And she threw a net over him, and bound the mighty Asura; but he, seized in this manner on the battle-field, cast off his form of a buffalo,
29. And immediately became a lion: then the goddess cut off his head and he appeared as a man, bearing a sword in his hand.
30. But Devî quickly killed the man armed with sword and shield, and he then put on the form of a mighty elephant.

31. Roaring, he drew along the lion with his trunk; and as he drew the lion along, the goddess cut off his trunk with her sword.
32. Then the Asura again took the form of a buffalo; and by his roaring he troubled the world, both animate and inanimate,
33. And Chaṇḍikâ, the mother of the Universe, being enraged, drank the most excellent cup, and with eyes reddening with passion laughed repeatedly.
34. And the Asura roared, haughty in his insolence, and his spirit and his strength, and with his two horns he hurled the mountains at Chaṇḍikâ.
35. Then she ground to pieces with her darts the mountains that were cast at her by him, and she spoke to him, mad with excitement, his eyes troubled through the fury of his countenance.

The Devî said:

36. "Roar! O foolish one! roar for a time! After I have drunk wine, and you have been killed by me, the gods shall roar."
37. Thus she spoke: and she leapt up and fell upon the Asura: and, placing her feet on his neck, smote him with her spear.
38. Then, trodden under foot by her, he manifested half his own proper form, and he was surrounded by the glory of the goddess.
39. And the Asura, thus showing half his real form, fell, with his head cut in two, by the mighty sword of the goddess.
40. Then she destroyed all the army of the Demons, who shouted Alas! Alas! and the army of the Devas was filled with rejoicing.
41. And the Suras, together with the divine Sages, praised Devî, and the lords of the Gandharvas sang, and the bands of Apsaras dancers.

Thus ends the 83rd Book, recounting the destruction of the army of Mahishâsura.

Book 84.

1. Then Śakra, and the rest of the deities praised Devî with songs of rejoicing, after she had killed the powerful and wicked enemy of the immortals. And they bowed low before her, while their bodies thrilled with delight.[1] (They said:)
2. "We are bowed in adoration before the goddess who has made all things by her own power: who is the outward form of the collected might of all the divinities: (we bow before) her the goddess who is the object of worship to all the deities and the sages. May she be propitious to us!
3. Thy power and thy might have no equal: the eternal lord, Vishṇu, cannot celebrate it, nor Brahma, nor Hari: may Chaṇḍikâ be pleased to guard the world from danger, and to ward off the fear of evil.
4. Thou art good fortune to the pious: thou art bad fortune in the house of the evil-minded: thou art wisdom in the hearts of the wise: thou art purity to the good: thou art modesty (tempering) the splendour of great families: we are bowed before thee: be propitious to us!
5. Why do we continually celebrate thy beauty, which is past imagination: why thy great bravery, which brought destruction on the Asuras; why these exploits of thine, in all the battles fought between the deities and the Asuras?
6. Thou art the cause of all the worlds, thou art the cause of the three guṇas, yet thou art not recognized as having any inherent faults even by Hara, Hari and the other deities; thou art the boundless one: thou art the abode of all things: all this world is but a part of thyself, for thou art the supreme nature, the undeveloped.[2]

[1] *lit.* "having beautiful bodies on which the hair stood on end with delight."

[2] This may be explained by referring to the Sâṅkhya philosophy: Primeval nature (prâkriti) when undeveloped — in its original state before creation — consists of the three guṇas in a state of equilibrium. Directly one of the three becomes pre-eminent, something is created—gods if sattva, men if rajas, beasts or

7. By pronouncing thy name, O Devî, the Suras gain joy in all the sacrifices; thou art Svâha, the cause of joy to the crowds of Manes; thou art addressed as Svadhâ by men.
8. Thou freest men from attachment to the objects of sense; thou, who hast undergone inconceivable austerities, art worshipped by the sages who subdue their senses with the arrows of truth; who are anxious for liberation (from earthly attachment): who have abandoned all sins. Thou art Wisdom itself, thou art Bhagavatî, thou art the supreme goddess.
9. Thou art the revealed word: thou art the source of the beautiful Rig Veda, the Yajur Veda, and the Sâma Veda, with eloquent, charming, lovely verses. Thou art Devî threefold, Bhagavatî: be a safeguard to us: be the abiding-place of all creatures; be the supreme remover of pain.
10. Thou art understanding: thou art known as the essence of all the sciences: thou art Durgâ, the ark of safety from the ocean of calamity; thou art not hindered (by worldly ties): thou art Śri, whose dwelling is alone in the heart of the enemy of Kaiṭabha. Thou art Gaurî, the glory of the Moon-crested being.
11. Although thy face was pure, and covered with gentle smiles, like the glory of the full moon, extremely beautiful, with hues like gold: yet it was attacked by Mahishâsura filled with rage when he beheld it.
12. Mahisha, O goddess! looked upon thy face, glorious in its rage, with a colour like that of the rising moon; what wonder is it that he instantly gave up his life? for who could live at the sight of thee, full of rage, the cause of death and destruction.
13. Goddess! be propitious to us! (for) thou art the supreme protector! In thy rage in a moment thou

inanimate things if tamas. All faults come from the second and third guṇas, those of rajas and tamas, but there are no faults which can be detected in Durgâ, even though she is Prâkṛiti, and therefore in her the equilibrium of the three guṇas is perfectly maintained.

destroyest the peoples. For now have we seen this; thou hast subdued the great, the famous strength of Mahishâsura.

14. The men in the nations of the world who are regarded by thee lose not their possessions, nor their glory; neither is their righteousness of no avail: they, to whom thou, the giver of prosperity, art propititious, are fortunate, they have modest wives, servants, children.

15. The pious man, who always reverences thee, ever works righteously: at length by thy favour he attains svarga. Wilt not thou, O Devî, from thy temple, bestow blessings on the three worlds.

16. When thou art invoked, O Devî, thou takest away fear from all men: thou givest good counsel to those who pray to thee in prosperity: who, but thee, removest fear, pain and want? Thy thoughts are ever fresh for the conferring of benefits.

17. 'Though the Asuras may have committed sins worthy of long expiation in Naraka, yet killed in battle, let them enter heaven.' With such thoughts as these, O Devî, mayest thou destroy thy enemies!

18. How could not thy enemies the Asuras be consumed at thy presence? Let the enemy against whom thou hurlest thy weapons enter into the world purified through thy weapons. Thus thy most abundant kindness is manifested even towards them.

19. When the Asuras had beheld thy face, brilliant as the rays of the moon, their eyes became insensible to the flashes which were sent forth from the points of thy trident, and to the multitude of thy terrible flaming swords.

20. Goddess! thy nature is the destruction of evil conduct: thy beauty is not to be imagined, nor equalled by another; the heroism of thy exertions, by which the enemies of the gods were destroyed, and thy mercy even towards thy foes has been shown forth.

21. What could resemble this thy prowess? What beauty

could equal thy surpassing beauty, striking terror into thine enemies? O thou of exceeding loveliness! In (whose) mind (has ever been seen) the compassion mingled with sternness in war, which is seen in thee? O giver of blessings to the three worlds.

22. Thou didst protect the three worlds from the enemy, the destroyer: the enemy slain in hosts in the front of the battle were led into heaven by thy means; thou didst remove fear from us, and the infuriated enemies of the deities paid thee reverence.
23. Protect us, O Devî, with thy trident! protect us, O Ambikâ, with thy sword! protect us by the sound of thy bell, and the twang of thy bow-string!
24. O Chaṇḍikâ, protect us on the East, on the West, and on the South. Protect us on the North, O Queen, by the brandishing of thy spear.
25. Thy graces, thy beauties, full of wonder—fill the three worlds: with these protect us, and the whole earth.
26. Thou bearest the sword, the trident, and the spear! With these, thy weapons, O Lady, protect the whole universe."

The Sage continued:

27. Thus was Devî praised by the divine Suras, and worshipped, as the upholder of the world, with Nandana flowers, ointment, and sweet odours.
28. Incense was offered to her by all the deities with adoration, and each of the Suras said, bowing before her, "O beautiful one, be propitious to us."

The Goddess answered:

29. "Prosperity be to the deities! whatever you may desire, that for my love I will grant you, since you have honoured me with your praises."

The Gods said:

30. "Adorable one! thou hast done all things, inasmuch as thou hast destroyed our enemy Mahishâsura.
31. But if, O Queen, thou wilt grant us a boon, then keep us from all calamities whenever we call upon thee.
32. So shall mortal men praise thee, O lovely-faced one, for

thou art the supreme giver to them of blessings—wisdom, riches, power. Ever, O Lady, be propitious to us, and grant us prosperity!"

The Sage continued:

33. In these words was Bhadrakalî besought by the deities, for the sake of the world, and for their own sake also. And saying to them, "Your prayer is granted," she vanished out of their sight.
34. Thus, O king! you have heard how in old time Devî sprung from the bodies of the deities, through desire of the well-being of the world.
35. Then she again took the form of Gaurî, which she had before, for the slaughter of the hostile Daityas, and of Śumbha and Niśumbha,
36. And also to guard the world, and to help the deities. Hear therefore, and I will relate to you what has been revealed to me.

Thus ends book 84, recounting the destruction of the army of Mahishâsura.

Book 85.

1. In times gone by the Asuras Śumbha and Niśumbha, maddened by pride, seized on the three worlds, ruled by the Lord of Sachi, and took to themselves the sacrifices.
2. They usurped the place of the Sun and of the Moon, and took possession also of regions belonging to Kuvera, to Yama, and to Varuṇa.
3. They also overcame that region which belonged to the wind, and that which belonged to fire. So the deities were removed from their places and their kingdom was destroyed.
4. And when the divinities had been brought to nought, and their kingdom had been taken from them by those two Asuras, they invoked the invincible Devî. (And they said:)
5. "Thou didst grant us a boon: that if we called upon thee in trouble, thou wouldest immediately overthrow the great evil by which we were harassed."

6. With such words as these, the deities went to Himavant, the lord of mountains, and offered praise to the goddess who is the great illusion of Vishṇu.

The Gods said:

7. "Homage to Devî! Homage to Mahâdevî! to Sivâ! Homage to Prakṛiti! to Bhadra! we with senses restrained bow down before thee.
8. Homage to Raudrâ! homage to the everlasting, to Gaurî, to the Creator! Homage be ever to her who is beautiful, in the form of the moon, ever endued with light!
9. Bowed before her who grants prosperity, we pay twofold adoration to the goddess who grants increase and perfection. Twofold adoration to Nairṛiti among the supporters of the earth: to Lakshmî and to Śarvâṇi.
10. Twofold adoration to Durgâ, the overcomer of difficulties, the essence of all things; the doer of all things. Adoration to the renowned one, to Krishṇâ, to Dhumrâ.
11. Fivefold adoration to Atisomyâ, to Atiraudrâ, to the goddess the supporter of the earth, and to Kṛiti.
12. Fivefold adoration to her who is Vishṇumâyâ among all living creatures.
13. Fivefold adoration to her who is called Mind.
14. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Wisdom.
15. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of the Sleep of meditation.
16. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Appetite.
17. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Shadow.
18. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Might.
19. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Desire.
20. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Patience.

21. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Caste.
22. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Modesty.
23. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Peace.
24. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Faith.
25. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Beauty.
26. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Good Fortune.
27. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Steadiness.
28. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Memory.
29. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Respect.
30. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Joy.
31. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of the Universal Mother.
32. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in the form of Delusion.
33. Fivefold adoration to her who is the ruler of the senses in all beings, to her who pervades all things.
34. Fivefold adoration to her who exists in this world, to her who pervades all things.
35. She, the refuge desired from old time, was adored by the king of the Suras on certain fixed days: "May the queen, the cause of good fortune, be propitious to us and keep us from all evil."
36. She is the supreme queen, worshipped by the divinities; we also, tormented by the proud and haughty Asuras, pay adoration to her. She will destroy all the evils that threaten us when we adore her with bodies bent before her in worship."

The Sage continued:

37. While the Devas were thus engaged upon praise, Pârvatî went, O prince, to bathe in the Ganges:
38. And she, whose face is adorned with beautiful brows, spoke to the Suras and said: "To whom are you offering praise?" Śivâ sprang from her body and answered her:
39. "This adoration is paid to me by the assembled Deities who were worsted in the fight by the demon Śumbha and by Niśumbha."
40. Inasmuch as Ambikâ has sprung forth from the body of Pârvatî, she is celebrated over all the worlds as Kauśikî.
41. And after Ambikâ had emanated from her, Pârvatî became Kṛishṇa, and dwelt on Mount Himavant, celebrated as Kâlikâ.
42. Then Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the two servants of Śumbha and Niśumbha, saw her as Ambikâ, bearing a very beautiful form.
43. And she was commended by them to Śumbha, as a very beautiful woman, who illuminated Mount Himavant with her beauty.
44. "Never" (they said) "has such exceeding beauty been seen by any one, O king of the Asuras! therefore send for this goddess and take possession of her.
45. She is indeed a very jewel among women, and she illuminates the heavens with glory. Therefore, O King of the Asuras, be pleased to behold her.
46. Whatever jewels, or precious stones, or elephants there may be in the three worlds, these adorn thy house with their splendour.
47. Thine is Airavata, the chief among elephants owned by Purandara: thine is the horse Uchchaissvavâ,
48. And the chariot drawn by swans, a marvellous work fashioned with jewels, the gift of the Creator.
49. And thine is Mahâpadma, the gift of the god of treasure; thine is the pure unfading lotus crown, the gift of the Ocean.

50. And in thy house is the umbrella that pours forth gold, given thee by Varuna, and the magnificent war chariot once belonging to Prajâpati.
51. Thou, O lord, hast gained the spear which overcomes death: and the net of the lord of waters is in the keeping of thy brother.
52. Thou hast all the jewels which sprang from the Ocean: and thou hast the two fire-purified garments, the gift of Vahni.
53. All these jewels, O king of the Daityas, are in thy power: why shouldest thou not also possess this woman, beautiful as a jewel?"

The Sage continued:

54. When Śumbha had heard the words of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, he sent a messenger named Sugriva to the goddess.
55. (Saying) "In such and such a way must she be addressed: and you must induce her to assent to your words, and come with you in a friendly manner."
56. Then went the messenger to the place where the goddess stood, in a very beautiful region of the mountain, and addressed her kindly, with fair words.

The messenger said:

57. "O Goddess! the lord of the Daityas, even Śumbha, is supreme king also of the three worlds: I am his messenger and I come before thee.
58. Hear, I pray you, what he says: he (who is) the conqueror of the foes of the Daityas, and whose wisdom among the gods is perfect.
59. All the three worlds and the Devas are obedient to my will: I consume the sacrificial portions one by one:
60. In the three worlds the rarest jewels are mine; and the splendid elephant, on which Indra rode, is in my possession.
61. That horse, Uchchaissvavâ, produced from the churning of the sea of milk, has been given to me by the immortals, who bow before me.

62. Whatever things there may be magnificent among the Devas, or the Gandharvas, or the Uragas, these things are all mine.
63. O Goddess! thou art in our eyes the most beautiful being in the world: do thou therefore come and dwell with us since we set great value on jewels.
64. Choose therefore either me or my brother, Niśumbha, the mighty one, O beautiful-eyed one, for thou art indeed a jewel among women.
65. So shalt thou, as my wife, gain unequalled power; therefore reflect, and accept the favour I offer thee."

The Rishi continued:

66. The goddess thus addressed, Durgâ, Bhagavatî, Bhadrâ, the sustainer of the world, laughed inwardly in the depths of her heart.

Devî answered:

67. "Thou hast indeed spoken the truth, nor hast thou spoken falsely, Śumbha is lord of the three worlds, and Niśumbha is equal to him in might.
68. But how can a vow which has been made not be performed? Hear the vow which I once made without consideration.
69. He who overcomes me in fight, he who conquers my pride, he whose strength in the world is greater than mine, he shall be my husband:
70. Therefore let Śumbha and Niśumbha approach; he who conquers me, shall certainly gain my hand."

The messenger answered:

71. "Thou art proud, O goddess! speak not thus before me; what mortal in the three worlds can stand before Śumbha and Niśumbha?
72. All the combined gods cannot resist the Daityas who oppose them: how much less then one who is but a woman, and alone?
73. All the deities with Indra at their head cannot stand before Śumbha in battle. How then canst thou, a woman, go forth to meet him?

74. Go thou, I pray, before Śumbha willingly; so shalt thou not go dragged along by the hair of thy head, with thy pride humbled."

The Goddess answered:

75. "Śumbha may be very powerful, and Niśumbha an exceeding great hero, yet I cannot make my vow of none effect.

76. Do thou therefore regard all that I have said, and declare my message to the king of the Asuras. So let him do according to his mind."

Thus ends the 85th book, containing the delivery of the message.

Book 86.

1. When the messenger had heard these words from the goddess, filled with wrath he immediately returned to the king of the Daityas and told him (these things).
2. Then the king of the Asuras, being exceedingly angry, said to Dhumralochana, the general of the Daityas:
3. "Dhumralochana! go thou quickly with an army and bring the goddess who resists my will by force; dragging her along by the hair of her head.
4. Whoever rises up to defend her; whether it be immortal, or Yaksha, or Gandharva, let him be killed."

The Sage continued:

5. Dhumralochana, obedient to the king's commands, went immediately, accompanied by 60,000 Asuras.
6. And when he saw the goddess standing on the mountain of snow, he said to her in a loud voice: "Come to the feet of Śumbha and Niśumbha.
7. If you will not obey willingly and come to my lord, then I will humble you and draw you along by the hair of your head."

The Goddess answered:

8. "You are powerful, followed by an army: you have been sent by the king of the Asuras: you are going to lead me away by force: what can I do?"

The Sage said:

9. Then Dhumralochana ran up to her, and she reduced him to ashes by her magic power.
10. And the great army of the Asuras, filled with rage, showered upon Ambikâ sharp arrows, axes, and spears.
11. Then the lion of Devî, upon which she rode, shook his mane, and with a terrific roar fell upon the army of the Asuras.
12. Some of the Daityas he killed by a blow of his paws, some of the mighty Asuras he seized with his lower lip and slew them.
13. And the lion tore out the hearts of some with his claws, and split the heads of others by a blow of his foot.
14. He smote off the heads and arms of some, and lifting up his mane, he drank out the blood from the hearts of others.
15. That great army was destroyed in a moment by the lion upon which the goddess rode, being filled with rage.
16. Then Śumbha, the king of the Daityas, hearing that Dhumralochana had been slain by the goddess, and that his whole army had been destroyed by the lion,
17. Was filled with exceeding wrath; and his lower lip quivered through rage. Then he commanded the two Asuras, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa.
18. "Ho! Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa! take a mighty army and bring hither the goddess without delay.
19. Bind her and drag her along by her hair: or if you fear the issue of the fight, let the Asuras armed with their weapons kill her.
20. And when the evil disposed one has been killed, and the lion has been overthrown, then bind Ambikâ and bring her to me."

Thus ends the 86th book, recounting the overthrow of Dhumralochana and his army.

Book 87.

1. The Daityas Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa went as they were commanded, followed by a complete army marching with uplifted weapons.

2. And they saw the goddess, standing on a great peak of the king of mountains, with the lion near her, smiling contemptuously.
3. And they made an attempt to seize her; some approaching her with bows in their hands, others with drawn swords.
4. Then Ambikâ became filled with wrath towards the enemy, and her face grew dark through rage.
5. And Kâlî immediately sprang forth from her forehead, when she contracted her brows in anger, terrible to look at, armed with sword and net,
6. Bearing Śiva's weapon, adorned with a necklace of skulls, clothed with an elephant's skin, her flesh dried up, horrible to behold,
7. Having a wide gaping mouth, and her tongue hanging out, her eyes red and sunken; and she filled all the regions with her shouts.
8. And she immediately attacked the army of the Asuras; and the whole army of the enemies of the gods was destroyed.
9. She took up with one hand, and tossed into her mouth, multitudes of elephants, together with their bells; the soldiers mounted on them, their drivers armed with hooks, and those who followed behind.
10. And she utterly destroyed the warriors and their horses, the chariot with the charioteer, casting them into her mouth, tearing them terribly with her teeth.
11. One she seized by the neck, another by the hair, on some she trampled with her feet, some she bruised upon the breast.
12. And in her wrath she seized with her mouth the weapons and the missiles which had been aimed at her by the Asuras, and destroyed them with her teeth.
13. And she crushed all that army of the mighty Asuras, some she devoured, others she wounded.
14. She killed some of the Asuras by the sword, others she slew with Siva's weapon; some she tore to pieces with her sharp teeth.

15. And when Chaṇḍa saw that the whole of his army was destroyed, then he attacked Kâlî, the very terrible one.
16. The Asura overshadowed the goddess whose eyes were terrible to behold, with showers of fearful weapons, and Muṇḍa hurled thousands of chakras at her.
17. The chakras entering her mouth in multitudes, shone like the orb of the sun, when it penetrates the inner part of the clouds.
18. Then Kâlî, laughing fearfully, with exceeding rage, uttered terrible shouts, her eyes flaming, and with mouth gaping wide, a terrible sight to behold.
19. Devî mounting the lion rushed at Chaṇḍa and seizing him by the hair, cut off his head with her sword.
20. Then Muṇḍa, seeing Chaṇḍa struck down, attacked the goddess, and she smote him to the ground with her sword and killed him.
21. And when the army saw that the mighty Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa were overthrown, overcome with fear, they fled in all directions.
22. And Kâlî, taking the heads of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa in her hand, and going near to Durgâ, she said with mingled rage and laughter:
23. "I have delivered you from Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the two great monsters, and I have slain them; thou thyself shalt slay Śumbha and Niśumbha, in the sacrifice of war."

The Ṛishi continued:

24. Then Chaṇḍikâ, of great beauty, seeing the two Asuras, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, dragged along, filled with delight, said to Kâlî,
25. "Inasmuch as thou hast seized Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa and hast brought them hither, thou shalt be celebrated throughout the world, as Châmuṇḍa."

Thus ends the 87th book, recounting the deaths of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa.

Book 88.

The Ṛishi continued:

1. When the Daitya Chaṇḍa was killed and Muṇḍa had fallen, and when all the army was destroyed; the king of the Asuras,
2. Śumbha, the mighty hero, having his mind filled with fury, commanded all the forces of the Daityas to assemble (in these words),
3. "Now let the Daityas of eighty-six orders go forth in full force, with their arms uplifted in their hand, and let the eighty-four kinds of elephants go forth, with their own forces.
4. And let fifty tribes of Asuras march out, having exceeding[1] great strength, and let 100 tribes of the Dhumas go forth. These are my commands.
5. Let the Kalakas, the Daurhṛitas, the Mauryas, the Kâlakeyas, and the Asuras, go forth armed for the fight. So have I ordered it."
6. Śumbha, full of anger, having given these commands, went out, accompanied by many thousands of mighty warriors.
7. And Chaṇḍikâ, seeing this very terrible army coming, filled the space between heaven and earth with the sound of her bow-string.
8. Then, O king, the lion sent forth a tremendous roar, and Ambikâ added to that roar the sound of her bell.
9. The whole earth and sky was filled with the sound of the lion, of the bell, and of the bow-string, and Kâlî, with wide gaping mouth, sang terror-producing strains.
10. When the Daityas heard the sound of roaring, which filled the corners of the earth, enraged, they surrounded Kâlî, and the lion which bore the goddess.
11. And then, at that time, O prince! that the enemies of the Suras might perish, and for the safety of the lion-like immortals, the Powers[2] of mighty strength and courage

[1] Koṭi-vîryâni possessed of crores (10,000,000) of various powers.
[2] S'akti, the personified power of a deity. Cf. Acts viii. 10.

12. Came forth in their own bodily forms from Brahma, Iśa, Guha, and Vishṇu, and approached Chaṇḍikâ.
13. The Power of each divinity was endowed with the form which that deity possessed, and approached, to fight against the Asuras, having the same ornaments and equipments.
14. The Power of Brahma came forth, bearing the pot and the rosary of an ascetic, borne along in the chariot drawn by swans, called by the name Brahmâṇî.
15. And Mâheśvarî came, riding on a bull, bearing the magnificent trident, adorned with a necklace of great serpents, and the ornament shaped like the crescent moon.
16. And Kaumarî, armed with a spear, riding upon a splendid peacock, having the outward form of Guha, went to fight against the Daityas.
17. And the Power of Vishṇu came, mounted on Garuda (the king of birds), bearing in her hand the bow, the sword, the club, the quoit, and the conch-shell.
18. The Power of Hari, who has the form of a boar fit for sacrifice, came in her own proper form resembling a boar.
19. Nârasinhî, bearing a form like Nrisinha, came: the stars in the heaven were shaken by the tossing of her mane.
20. The Power of Indra arrived also, bearing the thunderbolt, riding on the king of elephants, in the form of Śakra, having a thousand eyes.
21. Then Íśâna, surrounded by those Powers of the deities, said to Chaṇḍikâ, "Kill those Asuras immediately for my gratification."
22. Then from the body of Devî issued forth Chaṇḍikâ, a very terrible and awful Power, yelling like 100 jackals.
23. And she, invincible, said to Íśâna, whose hair was matted and red: "Go in the form of a messenger to Śumbha and Niśumbha.
24. And say to Śumbha and Niśumbha, the two exceedingly proud Dânavas: and the other Dânavas also follow them armed for the fight:

25. 'Let Indra rule the three worlds: let the deities enjoy the sacrifice': and do you go to Pâtâla, if you are desirous of life.
26. If you in your pride and your power are desirous of fighting, come forward: and the jackals shall be satiated with your flesh."
27. Since Śiva himself was entrusted with the office of a messenger by that goddess, she gained the name in the world of Śiva-dûti, one who has Śiva as a messenger.
28. When the Asuras heard the words of the goddess which were proclaimed by Sarva, filled with rage they went to the place where Durgâ was:
29. Then at the very beginning of the battle the furious enemies of the gods rained on the goddess showers of swords, spears, and arrows.
30. And she easily destroyed the weapons sent against her, by the mighty arrows shot from her sounding bow.
31. And then Kâlî attacked them in their front, bruising the soldiers with the weapon of Śiva, tearing them in pieces with the blows of her trident.
32. Brâhmaṇî overthrew the enemy and destroyed their splendour, pouring water upon them from her jar, whichever way they attempted to escape.
33. Mâheshvarî with the trident, Vaishnavî with the quoit, Kaumarî also exceedingly wrathful with her spear slew the Daityas.
34. The Dânavas and the Daityas fell torn into a thousand pieces by the strokes of Indra's thunderbolt, pouring forth oceans of blood upon the earth.
35. The Power of the deity wearing the form of a boar destroyed them by strokes from her snout, she tore their sides with her teeth: they fell by means of her quoit.
36. Nârasinhî devoured others of the Asuras, tearing them with her claws: she went into the battle, filling the sky and the earth with her roarings.
37. The Asuras fell to the ground, struck down by Śivadûti

with loud and savage laughter: she devoured them when they had fallen.

38. When the mighty Asura Raktavîya saw the Asuras destroyed by the Powers of the deities, and the army of the enemies of the gods perishing in various ways:
39. And when he saw the Daityas put to flight, crushed by the Powers; then he came forward to fight.
40. As each drop of blood fell from his body, so an Asura corresponding in size and form to him sprung up from the ground.
41. And the Asura holding his club fought against the Power of Indra, and Indrî with her club smote Raktavîya.
42. As soon as the blood flowed from him wounded by the axe,
43. A warrior sprung up from each drop of blood, equal in strength and appearance to him.
44. And the hosts sprung from the drops of his blood fought, and great fear fell on the Powers, through the strokes of their weapons.
45. And thousands of warriors sprang up from the blood which flowed from the wounds inflicted on him by the thunderbolt.
46. Vaishnavî wounded the king of the Asuras in the fight with her chakra, and Aindrî with her mace.
47. And the earth was covered with thousands of Asuras equal to Raktavîya, which sprung from the blood flowing from him wounded by the quoit of Vaishnavî.
48. Kaumarî wounded him with her spear: Vârâhî with her sword: Mâheshvarî wounded the mighty Asura Raktavîya with her trident.
49. The Daitya Asura Raktavîya, filled with rage, struck at all the Mâtris, one after another.
50. And the drops of blood fell from him over the whole earth in showers: and thousands of Asura warriors sprung up from that blood armed with spears, maces and other weapons.
51. The whole earth was filled with the host: and the deities were overcome by fear.

52. Then Chaṇḍikâ seeing the Suras cast down spoke quickly to Kâlî, and said: "Chamuṇḍa, open thy mouth wide:
53. And swallow the mighty Asuras which spring up from the drops of blood flowing from the strokes of my weapons.
54. Devour the Asuras as thou goest along, that rise up for the fight from that blood. So will the Daitya losing his blood perish;
55. And other Daityas will not arise, when these terrible ones have been devoured by thee." The goddess spoke thus and struck the Asura with her spear.
56. And Kâlî drank in with her mouth the blood that flowed from Raktavîya: and then he struck at Chaṇḍikâ with his club.
57. But the blow of the club gave not the least pain to the goddess: and she wounded him and caused much blood to flow from his body.
58. And Chamuṇḍa swallowed all the drops of blood with her mouth. She devoured also the Asuras which sprung up
59. From the drops of blood, and she drank the blood. Then Devî wounded Raktavîya with trident, thunderbolt, arrows, and darts;
60. And Chamuṇḍa drank up his blood. And Raktavîya, overcome by the multitude of weapons, fell to the ground.
61. Thus Raktavîya, the great king of the Asuras, lost his blood, and was overcome. And the deities, O king, were filled with unequalled joy, and the Powers drunk with blood danced.

Thus ends the 88th book, recounting the death of Raktavîya.

Book 89.

The King said:

1. Venerable sage! I have listened with great interest to this wonderful tale of the power and acts of Devî, and of the death of Raktavîya:

2. Now I wish to hear something further. What did Śumbha and the very wrathful Niśumbha, after Raktavîya had been killed?

The Ṛishi answered:

3. When Raktavîya had been killed, and when the rest of the army had fallen in the fight, Śumbha and Niśumbha became exceeding wroth:
4. And they were filled with indignation when they saw their mighty forces destroyed, and Niśumbha marched against Devî with the chief army of the Asuras.
5. Then the great Asuras, biting their lips in anger, set forth to kill Devî, surrounding her on the front, on the rear, and on both sides.
6. Śumbha also, attended by his own forces, marched forth intending to kill Chaṇḍikâ, and in his rage to make a mighty war on the Powers.
7. Then there was a very fierce battle between Devî and Śumbha and Niśumbha, who, like two clouds, rained a very fearful hail of darts upon the goddess.
8. And Chaṇḍikâ immediately destroyed the darts which those two shot forth against her with her innumerable weapons, and she transfixed the two kings of the Asuras in all their limbs with a multitude of weapons.
9. Then Niśumbha took his sharp sword, and his shield of great beauty, and he smote the lion which bore the goddess on the head.
10. And Devî broke the sword and the beautiful shield of Niśumbha, called Ashṭa Chandra, when he struck the lion on the head, and smote him with her sword as sharp as a razor.
11. And the Asura, after his sword and shield were destroyed, cast his spear at her: and she cut it in two parts with her chakra, as it came towards her.
12. Then the Dânava Niśumbha, inflated with wrath, seized his mace: but the goddess broke it in pieces with a blow of her fist.
13. And he then hurled his mace at the goddess to destroy

her: but she turned it aside with her trident, and reduced it to ashes.

14. Then, the mighty Daitya came on to attack her, armed with his axe; and the goddess struck him down to the earth with a shower of darts.

15. And when Niśumbha, of great strength, was beaten down to the earth, Śumbha, filled with exceeding great wrath for his brother's overthrow, came on to slay Ambikâ.

16. He stood up in his chariot, and shone forth, filling the whole heaven with his eight incomparable arms, grasping his mighty weapons.

17. Then the goddess saw him coming on, and sounded her conch-shell: and she sounded the string of her bow, a dreadful sound to hear.

18. And she filled all the heaven with the sound of her bell, by means of which the glory of all the army of the Daityas was destroyed.

19. Then the lion, with fearful roarings, like a great elephant driven frantic with mada, filled with his roarings the heaven and the earth, and the ten quarters of the world.

20. Then Kâlî sprung up to the heaven, and smote the earth with her hands: and at that sound all the other sounds were drowned.

21. And Śivadûtî sent forth a loud laugh of triumph: and at that sound the Asuras trembled, and Śumbha was filled with wrath.

22. Then Ambikâ cried out, "Stop! thou evil-minded one!" And the deities standing in the heavens all exclaimed with one voice, "Be thou victorious!"

23. The spear which was shot forth like lightning by Śumbha, aimed at Devî like a flash of fire, was turned aside by her with a mighty thunderbolt.

24. The war-cry of Śumbha, like an irresistible whirlwind, filled the three worlds with its awful sound.

25. Devî destroyed the weapons aimed at her by Śumbha, breaking them into thousands and hundreds of pieces

with her own arrows, and Śumbha broke the weapons aimed by the goddess into pieces.

26. Then Chaṇḍikâ, enraged, smote Śumbha with her trident, and he, at that stroke, fell to the earth lifeless.
27. But Niśumbha, coming again to himself, raised his bow, and hit both the goddess and the lion with his arrows.
28. And the king of the Dânavas again lifting up his arms, which were without number, overshadowed Chaṇḍikâ with his quoits and other weapons.
29. Then Durgâ, the adorable one, the destroyer of pain, hard to be overcome, broke in pieces his weapons with her darts.
30. Then Niśumbha hastily seized his mace, and rushed at Chaṇḍikâ to kill her, followed by the Daitya army.
31. And when Chaṇḍikâ split the mace, borne by him rushing at her, with her sharp sword, he seized his trident.
32. And Chaṇḍikâ, hastily throwing her spear, smote Niśumbha, the enemy of the immortals, as he came against her bearing his trident in his hand,
33. And from his heart torn asunder by her spear, there issued forth a mighty man of great strength, and he cried out, "Stop!"
34. But the goddess laughing loudly, cut off his head with her sword, as he issued forth, and he fell to the ground.
35. Then the lion ground to pieces with his terrible teeth the heads of some of the Asuras and devoured them; Kâlî and Śivadûtî devoured others:
36. Some of the Asuras were killed by the spear of Kaumarî: some were destroyed by the enchanted water from the waterpot of Brâhmaṇî.
37. Others fell smitten by the club of Maheshvarî; others fell to the earth ground to powder by strokes from the tusks of Vârahî.
38. The Dânavas were dashed to pieces by the quoit of Vaishnavî, they were destroyed by the thunderbolt of Aindrî.

39. Some fled: some died on the battle-field: some were eaten by the lion, and by Kâlî, and by Śivadûtî.

Thus ends the 89th book, recounting the death of Niśumbha.

Book 90.

The Ṛishi continued:

1. When Śumbha saw that his brother, whom he loved as his own life, was killed, and that the army was destroyed, filled with fury, he said:
2. "Durgâ! O hateful one! lifted up with pride, do not be exalted in thy arrogance! Thou filled with boldness fightest by the help of others."

Devî answered:

3. "I stand alone in the universe: there is none second—none equal to me: behold, O fool! these Powers entering into me."
4. Then all the divine Powers, with Brâhmaṇî at their head, entered into the bosom of Devî as their abode. Then Ambikâ stood alone.

Devî said:

5. "By my supernatural power I manifest myself in many different forms: I have absorbed them all into myself, and I stand here alone. Therefore, be valiant for the fight."

The Ṛishi said:

6. Then began the battle between Devi and Śumbha, while the Devas and the Asuras all of them beheld the fierceness of both sides.
7. The fight moreover threw fear over the whole universe, because of the showers of arrows, sharp swords, and terrible wespons.
8. The divine weapons which Ambikâ sent against him by thousands, the king of the Daityas destroyed by means of his own weapons.
9. And the enchanted darts which he aimed at the supreme lady, she broke in pieces with loud warlike shouts.

10. Then the Asura overshadowed the goddess with thousands of darts, and she, enraged, destroyed his bow with her arrows.
11. Then, when his bow was broken, the king of the Daityas seized his spear, and the goddess broke it as he held it in his hand with her quoit.
12. Then he seized his sword, glittering, adorned with a hundred moons, and attacked her.
13. But the goddess, with sharp arrows from her bow, quickly destroyed his sword, and also his shield, which was bright as the sun.
14. And the Daitya—his horses killed, deprived of his charioteer, his bow broken—seized his terrible mace, to slay Ambikâ.
15. And as he came against her with his mace, she broke it in pieces with her sharp weapons. Then
16. The mighty Daitya attacked her with his fist and struck her on the heart: but Devi smote him on the breast with her foot.
17. The King of the Daityas was struck down to the earth by the blow from her foot : but rising again immediately,
18. And seizing the goddess, he flew up into the sky : and he stood in the air and fought with Chaṇḍikâ unsupported.
19. Then Ambikâ and the Daitya had, at first, a mighty conflict one with another in the air, causing great wonder to the Siddhas and Munis.
20. Then, after Ambikâ had fought a long time with him, she turned him round and cast him down to earth again.
21. Dashed down by Devî, he quickly reached earth, and the evil one brandishing his fist rushed at Chaṇḍikâ to destroy her.
22. And as the king of all the Daityas was coming on, Devî struck him to the earth, his breast smitten through with her trident.
23. Then he fell to the ground dead, killed by the terrible

trident of the goddess: and the whole earth with its seas, and islands and mountains was shaken.

24. And after this evil demon had been slain, the earth became altogether at peace, and obtained great happiness: moreover the sky became clear.

25. And the ill-omened clouds, which before this flamed with thunderbolts, became peaceful: and the rivers flowed back again in the beds, after he had fallen.

26. The crowds of all the deities were filled with rejoicings at his death, and the Gandharvas sang.

27. And some sounded musical instruments, and multitudes of Apsaras danced; favourable winds blew and the sun shone forth. The sacred fires, which had been extinguished, blazed again, and sounds of peace filled the whole universe.

Thus ends the 90th book, recounting the death of Śumbha.

Book 91.

The Ṛishi continued:

1. When the mighty king of the Asuras had been killed, the Suras, accompanied by Indra, and headed by Vahṇi, offered praises to Kâtyâyanî, for having accomplished their desires. Their faces were bright with joy and radiant with delight.

The Deities said:

2. "Goddess! thou who removest pain! be propitious! be propitious to us! O thou ruler of all things, mother of the whole world, be the protector of the universe; for thou, O Queen, rulest all things animate and inanimate.

3. Thou alone supportest the world, for thou art in the form of the earth; by thee, who art the waters in bodily form, the earth is made luxuriant; thou art of unconquerable might.

4. Thou art the Power of Vishṇu; thy might is infinite; thou art the seed from which all springs, the supreme illusion. Devi! all this confusion is thy work; thou art moreover the cause of liberation in the world.

5. All the sciences in the world are portions of thee; all women in the world are portions of thee. By thee alone, Ambâ! is this world perfected! What praise can be (given to) thee, who art worthy of all surpassing praise?
6. Thou, Devî, art all things, thou art praised as the giver of Svarga, and liberation. What can be sufficient for thy praise?
7. Thou dwellest in the hearts of all men, in the form of wisdom; thou art the giver of Svarga, and beatitude. Nârâyanî, adoration be to thee.
8. Thou in the form of time givest growth and maturity to all things; O power (manifested) at the end of the world! Adoration be to thee.
9. O Sivâ! who grantest all happiness! surpassing all desires! the refuge, Tryambaka, Gaurî, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
10. Thou who art the power which creates, upholds, destroys, O Eternal one! the abode of the Guṇas, consisting of the Guṇas, adoration to thee, Nârâyaṇî.
11. O thou who bearest the form of Brâhmaṇî, riding in the chariot drawn by swans, pouring forth pure water, adoration to thee, Nârâyaṇî.
12. O bearer of the serpent, the half-moon ornament, and the trident, riding on a mighty bull, in the form of Maheshvarî, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
13. O sinless one! holding a great spear, attended by peacocks and cocks in the form of Kaumarî, Nârâyanî, adoration to thee.
14. O thou who bearest the supreme weapons, the bow, the club, the quoit, the conch-shell, in the form of Vaishṇavî, be propitious to us, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
15. O thou who bearest a mighty quoit, and in the form of Varâha supportest the earth with thy tusks, Sivâ Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
16. O thou terrible in the form of Nṛisinha, intent on the

slaughter of the Daityas, desirous of saving the earth, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.

17. O thou, who as Aindra the destroyer of Vṛitva, art crowned with the diadem, and wieldest the thunderbolt, flaming with thy thousand eyes, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
18. O thou, who in thy own form of Śivadûtî didst destroy the mighty army of the Daityas; O thou of awful appearance, uttering fearful sounds, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
19. O thou who hast a mouth gaping wide with teeth, who art adorned with a necklace of skulls, Châmuṇḍâ, the slayer of Muṇḍa, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
20. O thou who art good fortune, modesty, great wisdom, faith, prosperity, strength, constancy, the great night in which all things cease, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
21. O thou who art understanding, eloquence, beauty, dignity; O thou who art Bâbhravî, who bewilderest the world, Devî, Nârâyaṇî, adoration to thee.
22. O thou who art in the form of all things, mistress of all things, who art the essence of all things, O Durgâ, save us from fear, Nârâyaṇî, adoration be to thee.
23. May thy beautiful countenance, adorned with three eyes, keep all fear from us. O Kâtyâyanî, adoration to thee.
24. May thy trident which overcame the Asuras, terrible, fearful, flaming, protect us, O Bhadrakâli, adoration be to thee.
25. May thy bell which fills the universe with its sound, and overthrew the glory of the Daityas, protect us, thy children, from evil.
26. O Chaṇḍikâ! we bow before thee! May thy flaming sword, smeared with dirt, and with the blood and fat of the Asuras, be our safeguard.
27. When thou art pleased with us, thou takest away all diseases; when thou art angry, thou destroyest all our desires. Evils do not harass the men who trust in thee; they find a place of refuge.

28. Thou, O Ambikâ, and none other, didst assume many various forms, and didst take vengeance on the Asuras, the enemies of righteousness.
29. Who other than thou, O pitfall of self-consciousness, O mighty cause of darkness! makest all this universe to wander, exceedingly in the sciences, in religion, in the light of true knowledge, in speech.
30. When we dwell among the Rakshasas, or the serpents having terrible poison: in the midst of enemies, or in the power of thieves; when we are surrounded by the ocean: then do thou protect us.
31. O Mistress of the world, protect the world: thou art the essence of all things: be their protector: thou art praised as Queen of the Universe: be the saviour of those who bow before thee in faith.
32. O Queen, be propitious to us: ever save us from fear: thou hast delivered us from evil, by the slaughter of the Asuras, give peace to the world: remove the evil omens which portend evil.
33. O Devî! who deliverest the universe from evil, celebrated by the indwellers of the three worlds: be the giver of boons to the worlds."

Devî answered:

34. "I am the giver of blessings: whatever blessing you collected deities may desire, ask it, and I will grant it to you for the good of the worlds."

The Deities answered:

35. "Ruler of the worlds! may there be cessation from evil; and destruction to our enemies."

Devî answered:

36. "When the time of Vaivasvant has come, in the twenty-eighth age, Śumbha and Niśumbha, the two great Asuras, shall come to life again.
37. And I also, the giver of glory, will be born into the world again of Yaśodâ, in the family of Nandagopa; my dwelling shall be in the Vindhya mountain, and I will kill them both.

38. And I will descend to earth in a very terrible form, and I will slay the Dânavas, the sons of Viprachitta.
39. My teeth shall be red like the flower of the pomegranate with their blood, when I devour the very terrible Asuras;
40. And the deities in the heaven and mortals on earth shall praise me under the name Raktadantikâ.
41. For a hundred years there shall be a drought, without any water: and I will appear on the earth, not born of a mortal, praised by the Saints.
42. I will look upon the Saints with my hundred eyes, and they shall praise me under the name of Śatâkshî.
43. Then, O Suras, I will support the world with herbs sprung from my own body, saving life until the rain shall fall again.
44. And I will enter upon a state of glory on the earth, by the name of Śakhabharî, and I will slay the mighty Asura called Durga.
45. And again assuming a terrific form, I will slay the Rakshasas for the protection of the Saints, dwelling on Mount Hima.
46. Then all the Saints shall bow down to the ground, and shall praise me, and they shall give me the glorious name of Bhîma Devî.
47. And when Aruṇâksha does great evil in the three worlds, I will take to myself a wandering form, like that of a great swarm of bees;
48. And I will slay the great Asura for the benefit of the three worlds, and the worlds shall praise me as Bhrâmaṇî.
49. So whenever evil shall spring up, or the Dânavas, I will come down to the world and work their destruction.

Thus ends the 91st book, recounting the praise of Devî.

Book 92.

Devî continued:

1. Whoever praises me in words of praise such as these, with thoughts intently fixed on me, him I will always surely save in all troubles.

2. Those who celebrate rightly the destruction of Madha and Kaitabha, the death of Mahishâsura, and the slaughter of Śumbha and Niśumbha,
3. And those who with minds intent upon these things only, record my greatness on the 8th, the 14th or the 19th days of the month,
4. No evil shall happen to them, neither shall any evil misfortunes overtake them, nor poverty, nor shall they fail in their desires.
5. No enemy shall cause them alarm, nor thieves, nor any king, nor shall they be afraid through weapons, or fire, or the ocean.
6. Let all men celebrate my greatness, and listen to the recital of it with their minds firmly fixed upon it, and with faith; so shall it be a path of safety to them.
7. This, my greatness manifesting itself as a threefold wonder, shall remove all the portents springing from Mahâmârî.[1]
8. I will never forsake the temple where my greatness is duly celebrated, for there shall my presence always dwell.
9. In the sacrifices, in worship, in the sacred fire, in the great festival, there my acts must be recited and listened to.
10. I will receive the offering of the victim, or the offering of fire, from the man who makes it with love for me, whether he offers with full knowledge or ignorantly.
11. He who hears the recital of my greatness on the great yearly Autumn feast, being filled with faith,
12. Shall, by my favour, be delivered from all evils, and shall be certainly rewarded by me with possessions, money, and children.
13. He who hears the recital of my greatness, and my pure births, and also my power in battle, shall be freed from all fear;

[1] Utpâta is threefold, as being divya, ântarîksha, or bhauma (Prof. Cowell). Ramâssvami, in the notes to his trans., says that utpâta is threefold, as removing the triple plague of âdhi, vyâdhi, and atibhangika.

14. His enemies shall be destroyed: he shall obtain good fortune: the race of men who hear my greatness shall rejoice.
15. Let men hear of my greatness when they are at peace, or when they see evil visions, or when terrible eclipses fill them with fear.[1]
16. Then evil omens shall become good, and the fear produced by the eclipses shall vanish, and the evil visions shall become good.
17. The recital of my greatness shall rescue children who are tormented by the children of demons, and in the divisions of people they shall be the greatest cause of union.
18. The recital of my greatness shall bring about mighty destruction, causing the overthrow of the forces of the wicked, of the Rakshasa, of the Bhûtas, of the Piśachas.
19. All this recitation of my greatness causes nearness with me, (when it is recited) with offerings of cattle, flowers, sacrifices, and incense: with excellent odours, and incense,
20. With offerings made to Brahmâns, with the Homa sacrifice, with other sacrifices offered by day and by night, and with the yearly offerings.
21. Joy is produced in me by the recital of my glorious deeds, and by means of that, sickness is driven away, and health is restored.
22. My births, my exploits in war, my slaughter of the terrible Daityas, shall act as a charm to men when they are recited.
23. When they hear of this (my greatness), when you and when the Brâhmans utter my praises, they shall not fear their enemies.
24. The praises uttered by Brahma shall bring tranquillity

[1] The S'astras direct: "For the overcoming of hindrances men should read the Chandi three times, for propitiating the evil influences of planets five times, for obtaining safety from danger seven times, for attaining the merits of a Vajayeya sacrifice nine times."

of mind: though the man who hears them may be in a forest, or in a desert, or surrounded by flames.

25. Or if he be surrounded by robbers, or seized by enemies in a desert, or attacked by lions and tigers in a wood, or by wild elephants;

26. Or if he be in the power of a cruel king, or at the point of a violent death: or if he be bound with chains, or tossed by the wind, or sailing in the midst of the ocean in a ship;

27. Or whether weapons fly around him in a very fearful battle, or he be beset by all kinds of awful dangers, or afflicted with great pain;

28. Then if he call my great deeds to mind, he shall be freed from trouble: and by my power, lions or thieves, or enemies shall be driven far from him."

The Ṛishi continued:

29. Thus spoke Chaṇḍikâ Bhagavatî, of fierce courage: and when she had said this, she disappeared from before the eyes of the Devas who beheld her.

30. And the deities were all of them delivered from fear, after their enemies the Daityas were slain, and once more enjoyed the sacrifices and filled their own places.

31. Moreover, after Śumbha, the enemy of the immortals, the harasser of the world, the possessor of terrible and incomparable bravery, had been killed in the battle;

32. And after the mighty hero Niśumbha had been slain: the rest of the Daityas entered Pâtâla. But Devî, the Adorable one, was born again and again, though immortal,

33. And she guarded the universe. By her all things are brought into being: and by her all things are thrown under illusion.

34. She, when propitiated, gives wisdom and riches to those that ask her: all this world, O Prince, is pervaded by her.

35. She as Mahâkalî, abiding in Mahâkâla, wearing her own form of Mahâmârî, at one time though uncreated creates;
36. She at another time being eternal preserves the stability of all creatures: at the time of birth she is Lakshmî, the giver of prosperity in human dwellings.
37. At the time of death she is ill fortune for men's destruction. Praised and honoured with flowers, incense, and sweet spices, she gives wealth, offspring, and a clear knowledge of righteousness to men.

Thus ends Book 92, concluding the account of the deaths of Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Book 93.

The Ṛishi continued:

1. Now I have told you, O King! the exceeding greatness of Devî: such is the power of the goddess by whom the world is upheld.
2. Wisdom is created by her, who is the illusive power of Vishṇu in bodily form: and it is by her that you, and the Vaisya, and other intelligent men,
3. Are brought into a state of confusion: others too, confused in mind become infatuated. Therefore, O king! approach this mighty Queen as your refuge; for she when propitiated gives to mankind beatification, and the happiness of Svarga.

Mârkaṇḍeya said:

4. Then the King Suratha, having heard the words of the Sage, bowed down before the virtuous ṛishi, the performer of great penances.
5. And now being disgusted with his excessive selfishness, (produced in him) through the loss of his kingdom, he went to perform penance, with the Vaisya.
6. Then the Vaisya, for the sake of beholding Ambâ, stood on the river-bank, and engaged in devotional

exercises, reciting the great hymn in honour of Devî.

7. And they made an image of Devî in clay on the river-bank, and they offered to it flowers, incense, and sweetmeats.

8. The two fasted, and ate little food; they fixed their minds upon her, and their senses were restrained: moreover, they offered hallowed offerings, sprinkled with the blood from their own bodies.

9. Thus they propitiated the goddess for three years with subdued senses: and at the end of that time Chaṇḍikâ, the upholder of the world, came to them in bodily form, and said, pleased with their devotion:

Devî said:

10. "Whatever thou mayest desire, O king, or thou, sprung from a noble family, all that you shall obtain from me: for I will give it to you, because I am pleased with your devotion."

Mârkaṇḍeya said:

11. Then the king in another birth chose his own undisturbed sovereignty: even the sovereignty which had been forcibly taken from him by his enemies.

12. And the Vaisya, his mind freed (from attachment to objects of sense), desired wisdom, saying: "Grant me wisdom, freeing my mind from selfishness and egoism."

Devî answered:

13. "In a very few days, O king! you shall obtain your own kingdom, and you shall slay your enemies, and rule over it, no man hindering you.

14. And after your death you shall be born again by the Deity Vaivasvant: and you shall live in the world by the name of Sâvarnika Manu.

15. Moreover, I will grant you too, O Vaisya, the blessing which you have desired: wisdom shall be granted you."

Mârkaṇḍeya concluded:

16. Thus Devî gave them both that which they had desired of her: and as they praised her with faith in their hearts, she vanished from their sight.
17. And the Kshatriya-Ṛishi, Suratha, gained the blessing from Devî, and being born in the family of Sûrya, became Sâvarṇi Manu.

End of Mahâtmya Devî.

ART. XI.—*Notes on Prof. Tylor's "Arabian Matriarchate." propounded by him, as President of the Anthropological Section, British Association, Montreal,* 1884. By J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Memb. R.S.L., etc.

IN p. 7, col. 5, of the *Times* newspaper for Saturday, 30th August, 1884, may be read the following paragraph of the opening Address of Prof. E. B. Tylor, President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, delivered in Montreal, Canada, on the day before that date: "The comparison of peoples according to their social framework of family and tribe has been assuming more and more importance since it was brought forward by Bachofen, M'Lellan, and Morgan. One of its broadest distinctions comes into view within the Dominion of Canada. The Esquimaux are patriarchal, the father being head of the family, and descent and inheritance following the male line. But the Indian tribes further south are largely matriarchal, reckoning descent not on the father's but on the mother's side. In fact, it was through becoming an adopted Iroquois that Morgan became aware of this system, so foreign to European ideas, and which he supposed, at first, to be an isolated peculiarity. No less a person than Herodotus had fallen into the same mistake over two thousand years ago, when he thought the Lykians, in taking their names from their mothers, were unlike all other men. It is now, however, an accepted matter of anthropology, that in Herodotus's time, nations of the civilized world had passed through this matriarchal stage, as appears from the survivals of it retained in the midst of their newer patriarchal institutions. For instance, among the Arabs, to this day, strongly patriarchal as their society is in most respects, there survives that most matriarchal idea that one's nearest

relative is not one's father but one's maternal uncle: he is bound to his sister's children by a 'closer and holier tie' than paternity, as Tacitus says of the same conception among the ancient Germans."

The foregoing assertion as to the Arabs, "to this day," by Dr. Tylor, a prince of anthropologists, and a teacher whose words carry great weight, is startling. It appears to be founded on arguments that may be gathered from a treatise originally written in Dutch, by Professor G. A. Wilken, of the University of Leyden, and bearing as its title in a German translation, published by Schultze, of Leipzig, in 1884: "Das Matriarchat (das Mutterrecht) bei den Alten Arabern." This translation, "autorisirte," is a pamphlet in large octavo, of 72 pages, abounding with notes and references. It shows that the original Dutch work, which many times refers to a former treatise on a cognate subject by the same author, is a monument of patient and far-extending research; but it also leaves the impression that its title is somewhat of a misnomer. Far from establishing the thesis that the system of a matriarchate existed in olden time among the Arabians, it almost categorically proves the direct contrary.

It is a very interesting book, discussing as it does with great learning many traditional customs of the old pagan Arabians, in the "Time of Ignorance," before the advent of Muhammed and the promulgation of Islām. But it does not even attempt to prove (though it asserts as an *à priori* conception) that a matriarchate system was ever in existence among the Arabians in days of old; much less in modern times, as the words of Dr. Tylor, "to this day," would lead some readers to infer at a first glance. The President's discourse does not indeed mention this work, but refers by name to the earlier treatise by Professor Wilken.

From what this latter author says in his more recent work, it would appear that Professor Robertson Smith has stated in an article on the subject, that, according to his views, the "totem" system of the North American Indians can be traced among the old Hebrews and the cognate

Semitic peoples. Professor Wilken sets himself the task to work out this thesis in fuller detail, as applied more especially to the Arabians; but his discursive treatise, roving as it does over the whole world, almost, in search of parallels and illustrations, concludes with the irrelevant, though generally true proposition that women in Arabia were, as the more prevalent rule, free to marry any suitors that might chance to be agreeable to them, rejecting such as were otherwise.

He truly states (p. 4) that Arabian men and tribes not unfrequently bore the names of beasts and of gods: some of these latter being beasts also. Hence the American "totem" system is inferred by the Professor to have existed anciently among the Arabians. In a similar manner might it be contended that our modern English names of Bull, Steer, Stag, Lamb, Kidd, Fox, Bird, Chick, Jay, Salmon, etc., etc., are proof that the "totem" system is in full force among us now. Those Arabian beast-names, as applied to men, were at first merely nicknames, given or assumed, and serving to mark off sharply an individual each, who had his real name also. The nicknames, as did and do real names, sometimes passed on, as surnames, to the children and descendants of the individuals designated by them; and these descendants, under favouring or compulsory circumstances, thereby became sometimes a distinct tribe, clan, sept, family, branch, or offshoot, known by that name or nickname. In Arabian nomenclature, such a tribe, etc., is known as the "Children of Hasan" (Benū-Hasan), "Children of the Dog" (Benū-'l-Kelb), "Children of a Dog" (Benū-Kelb), etc., etc., something like our "Jacksons," "Johnsons," or the Scotch "Macphersons," etc. But it is self-evident that this question of a father's or ancestor's name or nickname has no connexion whatever with that of a matriarchate. The circumstance of a like use of the name or nickname of a mother is discussed further on (pp. 36–46) in the present paper.

That polyandry of various kinds may have existed here and there at one period or another among the old Arabians, as is asserted of them by ancient and classical authors

(pp. 7–9), as also by comparatively modern writers (pp. 29–30), may, perhaps, be true; but the assertions of foreigners, travellers, and non-contemporary compilers, require great caution and scrutiny ere they be finally accepted. And even then, polyandry does not constitute or necessarily establish a matriarchate. Professor Wilken's own examples (pp. 25–39) prove the contrary;—the children of polyandry are, somehow or other, according to his authorities quoted, all dealt out to their fathers when old enough to be independent of a mother's fostering care.

It appears fairly well established (pp. 9–21) that before Muhammed and Islām, at least among certain Arabian tribes, women, probably widows (by death or divorce), used to contract a kind of temporary marriages for a fixed period variously defined, such as a day, two days, a week, month, or year, the duration of a market or fair, of a commercial or other visit to a place, etc., etc., and in consideration of some kind of present mutually agreed on, in money or chattel property. Muhammed is reported by tradition to have allowed such temporary marriages to his followers at one time, and to have forbidden them subsequently for ever. But tradition is somewhat contradictory on that point; and the Qur'ān is not so clear and unequivocal on both points of permission and prohibition, but that the Shī'a schismatics of Islām continue to practise such marriages on similar occasions of temporary convenience, down to the present time.

Such temporary marriages, held in detestation by orthodox Sunnī Muslims, are well known in the law-books of Islām by the names of *mut'a* (usufruct), or *nikāhu-'l-mut'a* (usufruct marriage). This is perfectly true; but can it be upheld that such temporary marriages of fugitive convenience, a kind of schismatically legalized form of adultery, has any connexion with the system of a matriarchate?

In p. 43 Professor Wilken returns, after a digression, to the subject of those *mut'a* marriages, and mentions the legal dictum of their conferring no right of inheritance; namely, *là mīrātha fī-hà* لَا مِيرَاثَ فِيهَا; rendered in the German, "dabei kein Erbrecht bestand." But he inadequately explains this,

by a gloss, as meaning no inheritance on the father's side, "kein Erbrecht nach der väterlichen Seite hin."

To understand correctly what is meant in reality by this laconic Arabic absolute law-phrase: "(there is) no inheritance therein" (the expression "right" being understood; or a preferable rendering being: "no inheritance ensues thereby"), one should know that in respect to a father, mother, and child, under the ordinary laws of Islām as to marriage and inheritance, there are three pairs of reciprocal inheritances possible: 1, inheritance between the husband and wife; for a wife in Islām retains the whole of her own property, accrued or accruing: 2, inheritance between the father and child; for a child may be or become possessed of property independently of his father: and, 3, inheritance between the mother and child in the same manner; according to which factor of each pair survives the other. In *mut'a* marriage, on the contrary, no right of inheritance whatever ensues, whether to or from the husband or father (should a child be born), to or from the wife or mother, to or from the child as regards either father or mother. Should no other heir be forthcoming on the demise of either of the three, the estate of the deceased would lapse to the public fisc, and neither of the survivors would inherit. Such is a true conception of the full scope of the absolute negation of all and any inheritance ensuing, as covered by the foregoing laconic legal definition of the *mut'a* marriage, said to have been for a short time allowed in Islām, and still commonly practised on occasions by Shī'a schismatic Muslims. It is evident that such marriages have no more relation to a matriarchate than has an ordinary marriage, of which it is but a modified variety.

Professor Wilken next proceeds, pp. 22, 23, to show that ordinary marriage could be dissolved among the old Arabians by the mere will of the wife, and cites from Arabian authors some well-known tales on the subject. They appear to be about as authentic as the veracious story of Jack and the Beanstalk, and similar nursery tales. But even if admitted, what bearing have they on the subject of a matriarchate?

All those Arabian dames of story had to be wooed ere they could accept a suitor and dismiss a husband who was not to their liking, as the apocryphal narratives relate.

The wonderful stories from Lane, Burckhardt, Burton, and Palgrave, have no manner of bearing on the question of a matriarchate. Marriage and divorce in Islām is very expensive. A man may legally pronounce a divorce of all his wives at once; but it would not appear possible for him to wed two by the same contract; much less four. But have we not the example of King Solomon, with his "nine hundred wives and three hundred concubines" given us in holy writ?

In pp. 25–30 Professor Wilken discusses the four systems of sexual relations mentioned by certain post-Muhammedan Arabian authors as having existed among the old pagan Arabians, probably at different times and places; namely: 1, the ordinary modern permanent marriage: 2, an eclectic species of occasional human stock-breeding intercourse of a married woman, at her husband's suggestion, with some selected man, for the purpose of obtaining a superior strain of progeny; and known to have formerly been in vigour in Germany also: 3, regular polyandry: and 4, unlimited hetairism.

Since the children begotten under the third and fourth of the foregoing systems (if such ever really existed as national or tribal institutions among the old Arabians) were always given up to the putative fathers as soon as possible, these systems cannot be taken as indications of a former matriarchate; while the first and second are in direct antagonism to any such idea.

The story, p. 31, from Dozy is singular; but those from Ibnu-Baṭūṭa and Palgrave, pp. 31–33, prove nothing unusual in the very centres of modern civilization in any quarter of the globe. The account from Palgrave, p. 33, in respect of a certain Ḥasaniyya tribe of Arabs on the White Nile is simply incredible, if the people meant (for the White Nile is not a river of Arabia) are really of Arabian descent and Muslims; though it is conceivable on the supposition of

their being of African race and pagans. Not one of those stories, however, nor those, pp. 35–36, from Mela, Cæsar, or MacLellan, has any relation to a matriarchate. They all show the predominance of a patriarchate, though the family ties described are not those customary with us now. Even Professor Wilken, p. 37, is forced to admit this, and takes refuge in a presumed original matriarchate more ancient than these several patriarchal systems. Of this he seeks to advocate the probability by adducing the alleged rule of the Nairs, as related by Bachofen, that their children, though always assigned to a putative father as his offspring, do not thereby become his heirs. With that people, according to this narrative, a father's property goes at his death, not to his own children, but to those of his sister, and failing these, to the nearest blood-relations of his grandmother. Whether Bachofen has thus correctly stated the case of the Nairs, or not, as appears very possible, matters but little; the Nairs are not the Arabians, and Professor Wilken's matriarchate is but a gratuitous, arbitrary hypothesis.

The same remark equally applies to the Malay usages of Sumatra, etc., given in pp. 38–39. But the argument of Professor Wilken in these pages, built upon the use of the word *baṭn* (belly) by the Arabians to designate "a tribe or family," calls for a closer examination. He claims this expression as a proof of a primitive matriarchate's having existed among the Arabians, exactly as the corresponding Malay word serves to indicate a matriarchal community in Sumatra, etc.

Whatever may be the truth as to the indication of the Malay expression, the Professor's reasoning is very faulty as regards the Arabian term. Both Lane and the Turkish translation of the great Arabic lexicon, the Qāmūs, under the word فَخِذٌ (*fakhdh* 'a thigh'), give the following as the more generally received order of the names of an Arabian tribe and its successive subdivisions, mostly derived from a comparison with the human body and its parts. A great tribe is termed حَيٌّ (*ḥayy* 'a living individual, whole'); the

largest subdivision of this is called شَعْبٌ (*sha'b*, one half of the body, right or left, from crown to sole); a section of this is named قَبِيلَةٌ (*qabīla*, any one of the cranial bones; its plural being قَبَآئِلُ *qabā'il*, whence the corrupt French-Algerian jargon *les cabyles*, the tribesmen); a branch of which is denominated فَصِيلَةٌ (*faṣīla*, a subdivision); a twig of which is designated عَمَارَةٌ or عِمَارَةٌ (*'amāra*, *'imāra*, a chest, thorax); an offset of this it is that is really styled بَطْنٌ (*baṭn*, a belly, abdomen); and a twig from this is qualified فَخْذٌ or فَخِذٌ (*fakhdh*, *fakhidh*, a thigh). The words أَهْلٌ *ehl* and عِيَالٌ *'iyāl* usually designate the family or household (sometimes including slaves, servants, dependents, guests, etc.). Every one of these Arabic words has several or many significations, but the term *baṭn* is never used to signify a *family* or *household*. Its application to a *small tribe*, *clan*, or *sept*, does not hang on its meaning of the *belly* as the *womb*, but on that of its sense of the abdomen, as underlying the thorax, and from which the thighs bifurcate. This argument then, of the Professor, and his Malay parallels, do not serve to indicate a matriarchate among the Arabians.

His idea (p. 40) of Arabian children's having been formerly named after their mothers alone is, to all appearance, incorrect. When a man had children by more than one mother (wife or slave concubine), each section of his family was distinguished as the child or children of its own mother, in addition to the appellation, common to all of them, of children of the common father. So it was that in Gen. xxi. 9, Ishmael is called "the son of Hagar the Egyptian," and in Gen. xxxiii. 2, Jacob, having divided his eleven sons and one daughter among their respective mothers, free and slave, "put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost."

The foregoing remark is strikingly illustrated by the case of that very distinguished son of the fourth Khalīfa, 'Aliyy,

son of Ebū-Ṭālib, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammed. After the death of his wife Fāṭima (Muhammed's daughter, and the ancestress of all his descendants, through her two sons Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn), 'Aliyy took as his second wife one of the captives named Khawla, who was made prisoner after the defeat of Museylema, prince of Yemāma, chief of the tribe of Ḥanīfa, and a would-be rival of Muhammed as a prophet of God. Khawla is better known in history as the Ḥanefitess, "el-Ḥanefiyya"; hence, her son Muhammed, by 'Aliyy, though named Ibnu-'Aliyy, like his two elder half-brothers Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn, sons of Fātima, and like several other younger half-brothers by other wives of 'Aliyy, was also named after his mother by his second surname Ibnu-'l-Ḥanefiyya (son of the Ḥanefitess), so as to point out that he was not of the sacred race of the prophet, neither a Sherīf nor a Seyyid. His full name in history is therefore given as "Muhammed, son of 'Aliyy, son of Ebū-Tālib, and son of the Ḥanefitess," even as Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn are styled "the two sons of 'Aliyy, son of Ebū-Tālib, and of Fāṭima, daughter of Muhammed the Apostle of God." The biographer, En-Newewī, gives a number of instances of such double names, of which there are other varieties.

So, in like manner, according to all probability, Ilyās, mentioned, in p. 40 of Professor Wilken's translated work, and ancestor in the sixteenth degree of the prophet Muhammed, may be inferred to have had children by other wives than the mother of his son Mudrika, the prophet's ancestor in the fifteenth degree. Her name is said to have been Leylà, and she was nicknamed Khindif by her husband one day, from her skipping away from their tent in pursuit of her sons, who were chasing a hare that happened to go by. At least, so says the tribal folk-lore. Hence, when Muhammed, as a prophet and victorious prince, had made the tribe of Qureysh famous and noble above all other Arabians, the men of that glorified tribe marked themselves off in tracing back their lineage through Ilyās, son of Mudzar, son of Nizār, son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, through their ancestress Khindif, so as to exclude from their nobility the sons of any other

wife or concubine of Ilyās than Khindif, the mother of Mudrika. They therefore called themselves Benū-Khindif, as well as Benū-Ilyāsa-'bni-Mudzara-'bni-Nizārī-'bni-Ma'addi-'bni-'Adnān.

Should a man's father be unknown, that man may be at times designated by his mother's name only; but this is uncommon. In general, when a mother's name alone is used in designating a man or woman, it is done for brevity's sake in distinguishing various branches of one father's family. But the pedigree cannot be carried beyond a mother so-named. It stops with her, and has to be traced further back, if desired and possible, through the father, as in the cases of Mudrika and Ibnu-'l-Ḥanefiyya. All the Bible pedigrees are traced through the fathers, though a mother is occasionally mentioned. It is remarkable that although Hagar and Ishmael were cast out through the jealousy of Sarah in her old age, the children of Jacob by the slaves Zilpah and Bilhah were not so treated; and every one of Jacob's twelve sons married a woman of the country. No Hebrew pedigree could, therefore, be carried back to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, unless traced through the male line. Imagine Solomon to be called "son of Bathsheba, daughter of So-and-So," and this son of David, the adulterer and treacherous assassin, descended from the incestuous commerce of Judah with his daughter-in-law Tamar, would be made into a Hittite, if Bathsheba, as well as her murdered husband Uriah, was of that nationality (2 Sam. xi. 3).

In p. 40, Professor Wilken adduces the argument that sundry nations have allowed, or do allow, the marriage of a man with his paternal half-sister, but prohibit his marriage with his maternal half-sister. Such nations are the Hovas of Madagascar, such were the Greeks under the laws of Solon, and such were the Hebrews. Abraham married his half-sister Sarah, according to the excuse he made to Abimelech (Gen. xx. 12) in his *suppressio veri* for the second time, having used this subterfuge twenty-four years earlier with Pharaoh (Gen. xii. 13, 19), and Isaac being shown to have done the same later in respect to

Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 7). But in Genesis xi. 29, 31, Sarai is not said to be a daughter of Abraham's father Terah; she is simply called Abram's wife, and Terah, in Genesis xi. 26, 27, is said to have begotten Abram, Nahor, and Haran, no daughter being mentioned. The Professor's argument from this tergiversation is not particularly strong, though his inference from the words of David's daughter Tamar to her half-brother Amnon before he abused her (2 Sam. xiii. 13), is more to the point. That from Ezekiel xxii. 11 is of no value. The Arabian kings of Hīra most likely followed the example of their Persian suzerains; and the example of the people of Mirbāṭ, p. 42, if true, may perhaps be similarly explained. The Professor gives no real Arabian custom founded on this principle. Even had he been able to adduce any number of such, they would not have constituted the slightest indication of a former matriarchate. His argument from a few exceptional cases of the succession of a son of a sister to a kingly office in the olden time among the Arabians has also no cogency as pointing to a former matriarchate. In the first place, an exception is a proof of a rule; and as the rule among Arabians, as probably with all other Semitic peoples, the son, especially the eldest son, succeeded to his father; though considerations of many kinds have had weight, in different times and places, in determining the choice of a successor to a throne or to an office of dignity.

In p. 43–44, an argument is introduced of still less weight; namely, that in some parts of Arabia the natives prefer to keep their married daughters at home in their natal town or tribe, especially if they are wedded to a stranger. This feeling is not altogether peculiar to certain Arabians, but is to be met with in all countries at all times. How then can it point to a primitive matriarchate?

Coming now to the Professor's most telling argument, apparently, from Wetzstein's account (p. 45) of what he so often heard ejaculated in our own days in Damascus, as a blessing or a curse on the maternal uncle (خَالٌ *khāl*) of the actor of any laudable or reprehensible deed, coupled with the explanation given to Wetzstein by the natives, of the grounds

of their benediction or malediction on the maternal uncle, and not on the actor himself, namely, "the ultimate incentive to do any act is an inheritance from one's maternal uncle;" upon which Dr. Tylor has felt justified in using his quotation of the poetical phrase of Tacitus: "he is bound to his sister's children by a closer and holier tie than paternity," it may be remarked of the badly-expressed or ill-understood explanation given to or reported by Wetzstein, that it is the enunciation of the simple physiological fact that mental and moral, as well as physical qualities, are greatly inherited by children from parents and ancestors to the third and fourth generation may be, or to the hundredth, for that matter.

But what has this physiological fact to do with one's "maternal uncle," who is neither one's parent nor one's ancestor? That has been explained as follows: The moral qualities most prized in a man by the Arabians are great courage and surpassing munificence; those most contemned by them in a man are cowardice and grinding avarice. But the very reverse of these are held by them to constitute the glory or the reproach of a woman. For a woman to be entitled to eulogy she must be timid and economical. If bold, she is a virago; if prodigal, she ruins her household. But, in Arabia, before and since the advent of Islām, a woman is usually secluded from the observation of the public at large; the points of her character are screened from all but her nearest relatives; she is never, generally speaking, the subject of common public criticism. The moral qualities inherited by a man from his father are commonly well known to the public. Should any of the points of a man's character differ from those known to belong to his father, good or bad, they will most probably be seen foreshadowed in the character of the mother's brother — of the man's maternal uncle— though not open to public observation in the mother herself. The illogical mob at once attributes to some occult influence of the uncle what is naturally inherited from the unobservable mother; and hence their blessings or curses on him. But thoughtful observers and serious writers among Arabians of all times, and Muslims of all countries, know how to

attribute these moral inheritances to their true, natural source; and how to explain away the vulgar conceptions of the mob. They are well aware of the tendency of the *mésaillance* of a nobly-endowed man with the sordid daughter of an ignoble stock, to engraft on their progeny the failings and meannesses of her race, or the contrary, as publicly observable in her brother. He is the patent index of the qualities, good or bad, derived from his own parents and transmitted from them, not from him, by his sister to her children. These ideas are well represented in the Turkish translation of the Arabic lexicon, the Qāmūs, under the word خَالٌ (*khāl*, maternal uncle), in explanation of the proverb, not given by Meydānī, Freytag, Lane, or Wilken: "عِرْقُ ٱلْخَالِ لَا يَنَامُ (*'irqu 'l-Khāli 'l-khāli là yenām*), the root, fibre, or vein of one's maternal uncle becomes not dormant;" as much as to say, "the son of an ignoble mother is often a plague, foil, or enemy to his noble father." The anecdotes collected by Professor Wilken on this subject are interesting, and may all be explained as above.

The law of slavery in Islām, treated of by the Professor in pp. 48–51, as in the old Roman adage: "*partus sequitur ventrem*," is a natural, often a necessary, unavoidable consequence of female slavery, as of the ownership of female beasts. A woman is captured, given, sold, or exchanged by barter; after a time she is found to be pregnant, and later she gives birth. Her child, male or female, belongs by law to her owner, male or female, whoever may have been the known or unknown father of her child. The humane law of Islām forbids the separation of such or any slave-mother from her child, by sale, gift, or barter of either, until the child attains an age to dispense with its mother's fostering care. Even when her free male owner acknowledges and claims her child, male or female, as his own offspring, thereby making the child instantly free by law, and conferring on the mother also eventual freedom irrevocably, together with instant immunity from all further sale, gift, or barter, he may not separate the mother and child by any

act of his. Should he not emancipate her earlier, she becomes enfranchized by law at his death, as the mother of his acknowledged, free, and legitimate child; for no person, in Islām, can be the owner of either of his or her parents. Should any one, young or old, male or female, in any way become the owner of either of his or her parents, the parent, by law, instantly acquires full and unconditional freedom. No man or woman, in Islām, can marry his female or her male slave, without first making the slave free; and, on acquiring such freedom, the quondam slave is free also to refuse the proffered marriage. Many men and women, in Islām, do marry their quondam slaves by mutual consent. A male owner of a female slave disposes of her person absolutely; he may give her in marriage, even without her consent, to any husband he may accept or choose for her, free or slave, and whether such slave-husband belong to himself or another. A female owner has the same power. But, beyond this, a male owner may take possession of *his own* female slave as his legitimate concubine, with or without her consent; she remains an absolute slave still, and may be sold, given, or bartered, like any other slave, even though she should bear him one or many children, so long as he does not acknowledge one of them as his legitimate offspring. If he acknowledge one, all become equally free, legitimate, and heirs to equal shares of his estate with his children born in wedlock, if any. Not so their hitherto slave-mother; she acquires her freedom by his death, but has no share in his inheritance.

A female owner of a male slave has no corresponding rights over his person for herself. She may give him in marriage to another woman, free or slave, even without his consent. She cannot marry him herself, unless she first make him free, and then obtain his formal assent. But, while she retains him in bondage, he remains on the same footing towards her, sexually, as any other stranger. His service to her is of the same kinds only as those of her free, hired, stranger servants. Her person, even the sight of her face, is as much forbidden to him as to them. Had it

not been so even in the days of the Pharaohs, Joseph would have been as much at the disposal of the wife of Potiphar, as Hagar had been at that of Abraham, Zilpah and Bilhah at that of Jacob.

The law of slavery in Islām, then, can never have had any relation to a matriarchate. The child born of a female slave is either the free and acknowledged, legitimate child and heir of her free male owner, or is the slave of her owner, male or female, whoever may be its father.

In p. 52, Professor Wilken touches on the question of "purity of race." A descent from parents who are both noble is and always has been as much gloried in among the Arabians as with any other people. But legitimate birth gives to a free child full rights of inheritance, even though one or both its parents bear the stain of plebeian or even slave extraction. Even a bastard, there as elsewhere, may achieve distinction or win a kingdom by his own merit. This, too, has no relation to a matriarchate; neither has exogamy or endogamy, as known to the Arabians and Semites within any assignable period.

The old Arabian, barbarous, but exceptional and optional, practice of infanticide on daughters by their own parents, discussed in pp. 54–56 by Professor Wilken, cannot in any way be adduced as an argument in proof of a primitive matriarchate, unless it can be demonstrated that such child-murder was the act of the mother alone, when desirous of rearing none but male children, and on the principle of the internecine struggle of two queen-bees in one hive. Had all new-born girls been murdered, the race must have been kept alive by imported females. Where then could there be a matriarchate?

Muhammed, it is true, imposed an oath on every female convert to Islām, that she would never murder her infant daughter. But this oath was first taken by the twelve *men* of Medina, who swore fealty to the prophet in the mountain-pass near Mekka, before he promulgated his commission to fight for the faith, and the words used included boys as well as girls. A year later, a different oath of fealty was

taken in the same place by seventy-three men and two women of Medina, in which the obligation to fight in defence of Muhammed and Islām was added. Those two women are traditionally said to have fought bravely in the cause they had thus sworn to support. But no woman was subsequently sworn by this second oath, afterwards tendered to men only; and the first oath, thence named "the oath of women," was the only one by which fresh female converts plighted their troth to Islām. But even Professor Wilken, p. 56, seems to admit that infanticide on daughters, if pushed to an extreme degree, would have ended by preventing even exogamy, and so would have destroyed the whole race and the matriarchate with it.

The argument (pp. 57–62) from the Arabian common practice of men's wedding their cousins, daughters of the brothers of their fathers, is, as Professor Wilken remarks, and has long been, known as unadvisable in view of begetting hale, intelligent children. Formerly, until its ill effects forced themselves into notice, it may have been upheld, as reported, for the security of a pure, noble race, as with some European royal families, and with the in-and-in system of cattle-breeders. But there is no need to have recourse to an *à priori* conceived matriarchate to account for this practice, still much in use under dispensation, among Roman Catholics, and while the marriage of "first cousins" is held to be valid by most, if not all, Protestants, though the union of "second cousins" is said to be unlawful.

All the material arguments put forward by Professor Wilken in this special treatise of his "On the Matriarchate among the Old Arabians" have now, one by one, been passed in review in the present paper. No valid ground has been discovered for maintaining that such a system ever existed among them or any cognate Semitic nation. One may agree with advanced anthropologists on *à priori* hypotheses, in surmising that, wherever their primitive abode may have been, among Semitic peoples, perhaps, as among others, at some immensely remote period, far removed from an

approach to historic times, say 50, 100, or more thousands of years ago, in the stone ages, before and during the great glacial period and the advent of the Aryan race in Asia, when man was slowly or rapidly differentiating from the brutes, a matriarchate system may have prevailed, as among some other nations in more modern times, even to the present generation. But Professor Wilken's laboured arguments fall very far short, in the treatise under consideration, of the startling and utterly groundless assertion of the very learned and indefatigable President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Montreal, to the effect that "among the Arabs to this day survives the most matriarchal idea that one's nearest relative is not one's father, but one's maternal uncle."

So little has any such matriarchal idea been current amongst Arabians for the last thirteen hundred years and more (to say nothing of the Hebrews for another twenty-five hundred years earlier), that the laws of Islām give the inheritance of every deceased person, male or female, married or single, to be divided in fixed shares among the deceased's spouse, children (to any degree), parents or ancestors (to any degree), collaterals, etc., even to liberated slaves (male or female), according as these may exist and nearer links may fail. A maternal uncle or aunt would never inherit from a deceased nephew or niece, nor would these inherit from the maternal uncle or aunt, except as representatives of their mother, in case the deceased should leave neither descendants, ascendants, nor near collaterals, so that the estate might pass to more distant relations.

As far as Arabian emotional sentiment is concerned on this point of a man's nearest kin in their estimation, it may be interesting to cite a pithy and well-known Arabian *dictum*, as follows: "The children of our sons are *our* children; the children of our daughters are the children of strangers."

In conclusion it may be further mentioned that, according to "D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale" (vol. ii. pp. 167, l. 13–14), there were in Bagdād, in the time of the Abbāsī Khalifa Mehdī (A.D. 767–785), a set of people called Zenādiqa

or Manichæans, who, "permettaient le mariage entre les plus proches parents et même dans le premiers degrès de consanguinité."

The Khalīfa's son Hādi, by his father's command, set up 1000 gibbets and hung the whole crew, after having had them registered with great care and exactness.

Those Manichæan doctrines dated in Persia from the times of the Sassanian kings (before the advent of Islām), whose capital was in the neighbourhood of Bagdād, and had furnished a large portion of its inhabitants. The Arabians before Islām were subject to Persia; and doctrines prevalent in Persia would be to some extent disseminated among them here and there. Persian and Kurdish tribes are to this day found scattered as colonies among the towns and villages of Southern Arabia; and old Persian tenets would long leave traces among such.

The Manichæan doctrines were, in reality, a gross travesty of the early apostolic tenet that the brethren should enjoy and share all things in common. Mānī, their author, a Persian Christian in name, included wives and daughters among the chattels of the community. It may be that survivals of these, and of many an old pagan doctrine, are still traceable here and there in Arabia among mixed populations or isolated tribes; but all the truly national conceptions and traditions are strictly patriarchal, and have been so from the earliest traceable cuneiform and hieroglyphic times, long before Abraham, Moses, and the Hebrew people existed. To say that the Arabians hold a man's maternal uncle to be his nearest of kin is as rank a heresy, in its way, as to hold the oft-exploded error that Islām denies woman's possession of a soul, whereas every Muslimess's tombstone bears carved on it the pious request: "O thou who passest by, recite the Opening Chapter of the Qur'ān (the Lord's Prayer of Islām), for the benefit of the soul of the deceased woman N.N., taken to God's mercy."

Art. XII.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part VII. *The Shato Turks.* By H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

De Mailla tells us that the Shato were descended from the horde Chu yué of the Western Tu kiu (Chu yué was the family name of its chiefs, *vide infra*), who had settled to the south of the mountain Kin po shan, and to the east of the lake Pu lei hai (*i.e.* the Kukunor), and near the stream called Shato, whence they derived their name (*op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 378). Hyacinthe tells us they lived south of Kara Mannai Ola, in Khur-Kara-Ussu (Borgs, Hyacinthe, p. 277). He derives their name from the Mongol word Shato, meaning a leader (*id.*). De Guignes tells us the Chu yué Turks lived in the neighbourhood of lake Lop, near which was a great desert which the Turks called Shato, whence these Turks derived their name (*cf.* Hist. des Huns, vol. ii. p. 37). Like Klaproth, De Guignes identifies them with the Ta ghaz ghaz, a view to which I shall revert in a future paper on the Uighurs. De Guignes tell us the Shato horde was subject to the Great Khans of the Western Turks, and assisted them in their various expeditions.

After the death of the Great Khan of the Tu kiu, Holu, who died in A.D. 657, the Shato were governed by a chief named Kin shan, who, for the services he rendered to the Chinese Empire, was created Kung of Chang ye. This was in the year 712. He sent tribute to China, and, after his death, was succeeded by his son Fu kue, who was succeeded by his son Ko tu, and he by his son Tsin chong. The increasing power and aggressiveness of the Tibetans caused him to retire with his people to the neighbourhood of Pe ting, north of Uighur. This was in 786. When the Tibetans captured Pe ting, he submitted to them,

and was planted with his people at Kan chau, on the frontiers of Shen si, and in their attacks upon China the Shato Turks formed the advance guard of the Tibetan army (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 38).

They were a very brave race, and were accounted as the best soldiers among the Tartar peoples, and the Tibetans, in whose service they were, were afraid of them. Suspecting that they were intriguing with their near relatives, the Hoei ho or Uighurs, who had, about the year 791, conquered the Chinese province of Lan chau fu from the Tibetans (Hyacinthe, *op. cit* p. 277), the latter transported them to the south of the Hoang ho or Yellow river (De Mailla, *loc. cit.*). The Shato became suspicious in turn, and we are told that under their chief, Chu yé Tsin chong, and his son, Chi-y, they set out towards China, about 30,000 in number. The Tibetans pursued and overtook them, a struggle took place which lasted for a month. The Tibetans outnumbered the fugitives two to one, yet they could not overcome them, although they killed or captured two-thirds of them, and when they arrived at Ling chau, they were only 10,000 strong (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 378–9; Borgs, Hyacinthe, pp. 277–8). De Guignes says the emigrants approached the site of Karakorum (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 38). Tsin chong having died, his son, Chi-y, who had lost most of his subjects, approached the town of Ling chau. We are told that Fan hi chao, the governor of this town, received them well, and allowed them to settle at Yen chau, where he gave them cattle and sheep, so that they might continue to live after their own fashion. Fan hi chao's policy was approved by the Emperor, who gave the fugitives arms and appointed Chi-y a general of cavalry (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 379). This migration took place in the year 808, and it was a much more important matter than students of Eastern history are aware of. It was in fact one of the most important race changes that has ever taken place in Asia. For these migrating Turks, in my opinion, furnished the most vigorous element to the tribes of the Eastern desert, whom we know as Mongols and Tartars, and I believe that they were the

same people who, at the end of the twelfth century, occupied the western flanks of the mountains bounding Mongolia on the east, and who are known specifically as Kunkurats. The proof is not an absolute one; but this conclusion results, I am convinced, from a number of converging facts. There is no dispute as to their having furnished leaders to at least one of these Eastern tribes, namely, the Ongut—Petata, or White Tartars. The Petata, or White Tartars, were a section of the Tartars proper of Manchuria, to whom we shall revert in a future paper. When these Tartars were dispersed by the Khitans, one section of them escaped westwards and settled in the In shan mountains, and in Hosi or Tangut (Visdelou, p. 326). The In shan mountains are the western portion of the great chain which forms the Northern buttress of China, and extend from the country of Alashan to the province of Liautung. The term In shan is apparently limited, as I said, to the western portion of this chain, bounding the country of the Ordus on the north, and extending from the camping ground of the Uirats to the town of Khoto Khotun, and having the Alashan range as its western continuation (Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques, p. 97, note; Asia Polyglotta, p. 205, note).

This dispersal of the Tartars took place in the year 824 (Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 205), and therefore a few years after the migration of the Shato Turks, and the section which settled in the In shan range was speedily subjected to them.

De Mailla in reporting these events tells us that the Shato, being naturally brave, intrepid, and intelligent, so impressed the nine hordes of the Tartars, that the latter submitted themselves to them, and Lieou kong cho, the Chinese governor of Ho tong, obtained the command of In shan for Chu yé Chi-y, their chief, with the right of residing on the borders of Yun chau (*i.e.* Liau tung) and Shu chau (*i.e.* Tai fong fu, Ma y hien of Shan si). When this chief presented himself before Lieou kong cho, to get some provisions, his demeanour was so stately that those who were present, who did not know who he was, ventured to

laugh. On his retiring, Lieou kong cho told them who he was, and he gave him a magnificent feast, to which his mother and wife were invited, and eventually escorted him for some distance. Chu yé Chi-y was so sensible of these attentions, that he served the empire well, and prevented the neighbouring tribes from attacking the frontiers. This is dated by De Mailla in the year 830 (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 456–7, that is, six months after the migration of the Petata.

There is therefore no doubt that one of the desert tribes at least was indebted to the Shato Turks for its princes. The people of the Petata were, however, Tunguses, and it was only the royal stock among them who were Turks. We shall have more to say about them presently.

Let us revert once more to the Shato Turks. As I said, they settled on the fontiers of Shensi, under Chin y, and in close neighbourhood to their near relatives the Uighur Turks. Chin y was some time afterwards followed by his brother, Kole o po, who also settled on the frontier with his people. We next read of them in 839, when we are told that Kin lin, a minister of the Uighur king, revolted against him. Putting himself at the head of the Shato Turks, he pressed the Uighurs so hard that their Khan committed suicide (Visdelou, p. 152). The next year the Hakas, or Kazaks, rebelled against the Uighurs, and drove them out of their old country. When driven from Karakorum, they dispersed, some went to the country about Urumutsi, the Uighuria of later writers, others approached the Chinese frontier.

In the year 843 we find it recorded that the U kiai, a khan of the Uighurs, continued to harass the frontiers of the empire about Ta-tung, whereupon Lieou mien, the Chinese commander in those parts, sent on some troops against them, among whom we are told were the three hordes, Shato, Chu yé, and Chi-sin: a larger army followed after. The Uighurs were very badly beaten and forced to fly (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 483). Visdelou (p. 155) also describes this campaign.

Chi y was succeeded as chief of the Shato Turks by his son, She sin (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 38).

In the year 869 we find a large contingent of Shato Turks serving under him in the army which the Chinese sent against the rebel Pong hiun (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 521). These Turkish mercenaries became a very potent element some time afterwards. We are told that the commander of the contingent which fought against Pong hiun was specially rewarded by the Emperor. He allowed him to assume the name Li, which was the name of the Tang Imperial family, to which was added the Chinese surname Kue Chang, *i.e.* splendour of the empire (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 39). This meant in effect a kind of adoption into the Imperial family itself, and had some important consequences. The Tang dynasty had now reigned in China for a long term, and, as is usual there, its administration had become loose and faulty, and had led to troubles and disturbances in the provinces. In the year 870 Li kue chang was nominated governor of Kuei hoa ching, or Koko Khotun. Two years later he seems to have exhibited a turbulent spirit, and to have put to death some Chinese officials (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 39).

In 878, a famine having occurred in the country of Tai tong, the soldiery in that district did not receive its full pay, and, following the example of rebels in other parts of the empire, they broke out into revolt. Two leaders of Shato mercenaries sent to invite Li khe yung, an ambitious young prince, and the son of Li kue chang, to put himself at their head. They found him at Yu chau in Tai tong in Shansi, where he lived. He acceded to their request, told them he would be with them directly, and ordered them to arrest Tuan wen chu, the Chinese commander, who had failed to duly pay them their wages. He set out at the head of his Shato for Yun chau, *i.e.* Tai tong fu, in Shan si, where he arrived with more than 10,000 men. Having put Tuan wen chu, the inspector of Tai tong, to death, he seized his tribunal, and demanded to be installed in his place. This the Chinese court refused to accede to. Li kue chang thereupon took up his son's cause, and asked that he might have

the proper patents of office transmitted to him, promising, in case the young man should afterwards disobey the Emperor, to sacrifice him in return for the favours he had received from the empire. The court was probably too weak to resist, and was constrained to confirm Li khe yung in a post which he had seized by violence (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 538, 539). Matters were by no means settled by this arrangement. In order to detach Li kue chang from his son, the Chinese authorities offered the former the command of Tai tsong (Tai tong fu), but, irritated that the government should have questioned his sincerity when he promised to restrain his son, he refused the offer, and killed the official who took him the insignia for this government (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 544). He then joined his troops to those of Li khe yung, and seized upon Ning u (100 *li* to the south of Suchau in Tai tong), and drove away the Imperial troops which were at Ko lan chau. Li kiun, the governor of Hotong, marched against them, but was defeated and killed (*id.*). Li kue chang now advanced by the pass of Yen muen koan, near Tai chau in Shansi, and ravaged Hin chau (now Sieou yong hien in Shansi) and Tai chau, and laid siege to Tsin yang (now Ta yuen hien in Shansi, De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 40). Some time after the Imperial general Li chau, at the head of 10,000 troops, with Li ko kiu, the governor of Yeou chau, and He lien to, a general of the Tu ku hoen in the Chinese service, were encamped near Tai chau. Li khe yung detached one of his chiefs, named Kao wen tsi, to guard Su chau; but, being under some obligations to He lien to, he seized Fu wen ta, a Chinese officer in Li khe yung's service, and Li yeou kin, one of the principal men among the Shato, and then surrendered Su chau to the Imperial general. Li khe yung marched against him, but was met en route near the mountain Chur ling, by the Chinese general Li ko kiu. After a fierce fight, the latter was victorious, and Li khe yung lost 17,000 men and two of his principal officers (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. vi. pp. 545, 546). Meanwhile, Li kue chang, who was at Yu chau with only a small force, was then attacked by Li chou and He lien to. Having risked a battle

and been defeated, he took refuge among the Tartars (*i.e.* the Tartars of In shan), where his son had already gone. He lien to tried to seduce the Tartar chiefs with money, and to persuade them to hand over the father and son. The latter professed to be ignorant of these intrigues, and one day, when hunting with these chiefs, whose hearts he had won by his address and skill, he confessed to them that he had behaved badly to the Emperor, and went on to inquire whether, if he attempted to recover his lost favour by marching against the rebel Hoang tsao, he might rely on their assistance; but they did not support his views (*id.* 546). These events happened in the year 880. Meanwhile the rebellion of Hoang tsao spread considerably, and, doubtless at the instance of the two fugitive chiefs, Li yeou kin, a Shato officer, communicated with the inspector Chin king si, and suggested that the bravery of Li kue chang, of his brother and son, were so well known, and the troops had such confidence in them, that it would be prudent to pardon them and to employ them against the rebels. On matters being represented to the Emperor, he consented to this course, and Li yeou kin with 500 horsemen was sent to the country of the Tartars with the news. Li khe yung was delighted, and persuaded the Tartars to find him a contingent of 10,000 men. This was in the year 881 (*id.* p. 552).

The next year we find him at the head of 17,000 Shato Turks, marching by way of Tsin yang, where he was reconciled to Tsing tsong tang, the commander of the Ho tong, with whom he had had a quarrel. His troops increased to the number of 40,000, and were dressed in black, whence the rebels called them crows, and were wont to say, "The crows have come, pity those who fall into their claws" (*id.* p. 558). In 883 he defeated Hoang kué, the brother of Hoang tsao, and killed him. As a reward for this he was made lieutenant-general of the troops of the north-east of the empire, and commander of the left wing of the army (*id.* p. 558).

He now planted himself before Hoa chau, which the rebels had again possessed themselves of, and defeated an

army which Hoang tsao sent to its relief. He afterwards marched against the latter's capital, Wei nan (? Si gan fu, *vide* De Guignes). He made three ineffectual attempts to carry it by assault, but, having received fresh reinforcements, he killed a great number of the rebels. The rest took to flight. We are told that Hoang tsao set fire to his own palace, and, in order to detain the Imperial troops, he scattered precious things on the route, a ruse which proved successful, but was very expensive. Li khe yung put to death Tsu kieou, the minister of Hoang tsao, and then sent to inform his master of his victory. The Emperor thereupon nominated him Kung of Long si. He was then twenty-eight years old. He was the youngest of the generals, and as he squinted somewhat with one eye, he was called To yen long, *i.e.* dragon with one eye (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 560; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 41). The next year Li khe yung defeated Chang yang, a general of Hoang tsao, near Tai kang, who being pursued was defeated a second time at the defile of Wang man tu, north of Chong meou (in Kai fong fu), where he lost 10,000 men. Hoang tsao himself, after these defeats, retired beyond Pien chau (*i.e.* Kai fong fu in Ho nan). He was pursued by Li khe yung, who defeated him at Fong kieou, and forced him to escape to Yen chau (in Shan tung), followed by only 1200 men, most of whom deserted him on the way (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 563).

After this victory, Li khe yung returned to Pien chau, where he was received by the Chinese general Chu wen (called Tsiuen chong by De Guignes), who gave him a splendid feast. Having drunk too much wine, the two generals got excited and quarrelled, and Chu wen left the table; he was urged on by one of his officers named Yang yen hong. In the middle of the night he set fire to the house where Li khe yung was staying. The latter escaped by jumping over the walls with his people, and was attacked by some armed men in the darkness. Chu wen, having mistaken Yang yen hong for Li khe yung, killed him with an arrow (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 563). On returning to his camp, he wished to march at once to take vengeance, but was

dissuaded by his wife, Lieou shi, who told him he would be blamed if he took up arms against his superior officer. He contented himself therefore with writing him a strong letter. Chu wen threw all the blame on Yang yen hong. Li khe yung pretended to be pacified and retired to Tsin yang. There he learnt that Shang yang, whom he had sent in pursuit of Hoang tsao, had defeated him so badly at Hia kieou, that his relative Liu yen seized him, his brother, wife and children, and handed them over to Shi pu, who decapitated both Hoang tsao and Lin yen. The rest were taken to the court, where they suffered the same fate (*id.* p. 564). Li khe yung appealed to the Emperor to allow him to take vengeance on Chu wen, whom he accused of being an ambitious adventurer; but the Emperor endeavoured to pacify him, telling him that when the empire was so distracted by rebellions, it was not well for his officers to be quarrelling (*id.*). Lie kué chang died in 886 (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 41).

The days of the Tang dynasty were numbered; hardly was one rebellion quelled, when another broke out, and the governors of the several provinces were determined to profit by the confusion, and to set up independent authorities in various parts of the empire. The rebels seemed possessed with the very spirit of destruction. We are told that they now broke out under the leadership of Tsin tsong kiuen, and that they completely devastated a wide district, extending from Wei chau (Wei hoei fu in Honan) and Hoa chau in the north to the districts south of the Kiang and the Hoai, and from Koan chong in the west to Tsing chau and Tsi chau (Tsi nan fu in Shansi) in the east. Tsin tsong kiuen then took the title of emperor in Honan and continued his ruthless career like the chief of the modern Tai ping rebels, and the Chinese chronicler graphically describes the result when he tells us the barking of a dog and the crowing of a cock were not to be heard in the country side. These disasters were attributed to the evil counsels of Tien ling si, who was the Emperor's master. Wang chong yong, governor of Ho chong, having spoken out too plainly about these matters, Tien ling si sent some troops against him under Chu mei and Li chang fu, and treated

him as a rebel (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 565–568). Wang chong yong repaired to Li khe yung, who was burning to revenge himself upon Chu wen, and piqued at the Emperor for having interfered with him. The latter collected a considerable force of men and horses from Tartary, with which he meditated an attack on Pien chau (Kai fung fu), of which Chu wen was governor. He replied to Wang chong yong, "Wait till I have destroyed Chu wen, and we will humble the pride of these rats as easily as we make the leaves fall in autumn" (*id.* p. 568). His friend, however, pressed upon him the necessity of taking immediate measures. He accordingly determined to push matters forward, and wrote to acquaint the Emperor with his design, which, he said, was to march at the head of 150,000 men in the spring, and to tear out of the bosom of the empire the nest of vipers which it nourished there, and promised to respect the Imperial capital.

Chu wen was supported by Chu mei and Li chang fu, the creatures of the Emperor's *alter ego* the eunuch Tien ling si, who were at the head of 30,000 men, the elite of the Imperial troops. Li khe yung attacked the camp of Chu mei and pushed him back to the walls of Chang ngan, the Imperial capital, whence the Emperor hastily retired with his favourite. Li khe yung now entered the city. The Imperial palace there, which had been burnt in the recent rebellion of Hoang tsao, was again reduced to ashes. The Emperor was a mere toy in the hands of Tien ling si, whose conduct, however, in treating his master very cavalierly, irritated the people against him. He carried off the Emperor, first to Fong siang, then to Pao ki (in Fong siang fu), and being attacked there by his former dependent Chu mei, he crossed the mountain Ta san ling (50 *li* south of Pao ki hien), and Chu mei, at Hingyuen, who pursued, was unable to force the defiles there. The latter, on his return, proclaimed Li yun, a descendant of the Emperor Su tsong, protector of the empire with all the authority of Emperor, had him acknowledged as such by the grandees about the court, and conducted him to Chang ngan, the capital, and he declared himself first minister.

The fugitive Emperor now appealed to Wang chong yong, who, notwithstanding what had recently happened, sent him a present of 100,000 pieces of silk and asked permission to march against Chu mei. The prince Li yun had also sent him a letter, stating that the late Emperor was dead. Li khe yung caused this letter to be publicly burnt, and its bearer to be imprisoned (*id.* p. 574). A price was put upon the head of Chu mei, and the government of Tsing nan was offered to whoever would kill him. This seems to have had the desired effect, for he was seized by one of his officers named Wang hing yu, and put to death (*id.* 575). Li yun was soon after surprised by Wang chong yong. He was decapitated and his head was sent to the Emperor. Tien ling si, the eunuch, who had been the foundation of the whole mischief, was sentenced to be exiled to Tuan chau, but found means of evading the penalty.

The rebel Tsin tsong kiuen continued his depredations in the provinces of Honan and Shan tung, but had not hitherto dared to attack Pien chau, where Chu wen commanded. In an attack on that place he was badly defeated. Chu wen now took up arms on his own account.

While these troubles distracted the north of the empire, other rebels broke out into revolt in Kiang nan and other southern provinces; in fact, the empire was crumbling to pieces in a very rapid manner. It was in the midst of these disasters that the Emperor Hi tsong died in the year 888 (*id.* p. 586), and was succeeded by his younger brother, Chao Tsung, who was an able and conscientious person; but matters had gone too far to be remedied. China, says the Arab traveller Abu Zeid, was then very like the Empire of Alexander, after the defeat and death of Darius, and when the conqueror distributed the provinces of Persia among various princes who founded as many kingdoms; for each one of the Chinese princes began to make war on his neighbour, without the Emperor's permission, and, when the stronger had defeated the feebler, he proceeded to ravage his adversary's government, carrying off what he could lay hands upon and devouring the subjects of his enemy. This

form of cruelty, he tells us, was permitted by the religion of the land, which allowed even human flesh to be sold in the markets (Klaproth, Tableaux, etc., pp. 230, 231).

One of the rebels, named Li han chi, took refuge with Li khe yung, who furnished him with a body of 7000 horsemen, with whom he tried to recover Ho yang, from which he had been driven away, but he was defeated, chiefly by the troops furnished by Chu wen, Li khe yung's rival and enemy, and who after this success utterly crushed the rebel Tsin tsong kiuen, who was handed over to the authorities by some of his officers and executed (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 1, 2).

The people about the Emperor seem to have become very demoralized and devoid of patriotism. Among them was one named Chang siun, who owed his elevation to the eunuch Yang fu kong, and who enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor. Li khe yung, who criticized the appointment of this person as minister unfavourably, and thus gained his ill-will, and readily agreed to urge on the scheme of Chu wen, of Héliento, and Li kuang wei, who all had a grudge against the Shato chief, to concentrate a large force upon him and crush him (*id.* p. 5). The matter was remitted by the Emperor, who could not forget the services of Li khe yung, to a grand council, composed of all the mandarins down to those of the fourth degree. The greater part of them disapproved of such a war, urging that, however one governor fought another, none took up arms against the Emperor himself; but their advice was overruled by Chang siun and others, who also persuaded the Emperor. Chang siun was appointed generalissimo, and Sun kuei was second in command, and Li khe yung was deposed from his honours. The Imperial forces captured the difficult defile of In-ti-kuan. Li khe yung's troops were at this time besieging Lu chau (Lu ngan fu), which had revolted and gone over to Chu wen, who had sent Ko tsong chau to its rescue. Chang siun, who was jealous of Chu wen also, detached Sun koei with a force of 2000 men to attack the besiegers: the latter fell into an ambuscade

and was captured. Li khe yung offered him the second place in his government if he would submit to him. He replied that having been a grandee of the first class at the Emperor's court, and having been foolish enough to be captured, he ought to die. How could he take office under a mere provincial governor? Li khe yung, who was piqued at this answer, had him put to death on the spot (*id.* p. 8).

When Chu wen sent Ko tsong chau to the rescue of Lu chau, he also despatched another body of troops to attack Tsi chau, where Li han chi commanded for Li khe yung. The besiegers, who deemed the latter's cause lost, jeered him for remaining faithful to his cause, and said the Shato Turks were hiding for fear of receiving a few wounds. Shortly after, Li tsun hiao, another of Li khe yung's officers, appeared there with 500 horsemen, all veterans, and, having heard of their saying about the Shato Turks, cried out, "We are all Shato, who are come to get some wounds. We would eat your flesh, but only the best; send us, then, the fattest and best-fed" (*id.* pp. 8, 9). The camp was attacked on both sides and forced, and most of the besiegers perished. Ko tsong chau was no less unfortunate at Lu chau, where he was defeated by Kang kiun li and had to retire.

Le tsun hiao was now despatched with a body of 5000 men to cut off Chang siun, who had forced the defile of In ti kuan but was known as an unskilful soldier. The Turkish general having planted an ambuscade, the Imperialists fell into it and were severely defeated: the greater part of them were driven beyond the Yellow River. While Chang siun and his lieutenant, Han kien, took shelter at Tsin chau (the modern Ping yang fu in Shansi), Li khe yung, it would seem, now took possession of Tsin chau, and also of Kiang chau (*i.e.* Ching ping hien, dependent on Ping yang fu, *id.* p. 10; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 42).

Li khe yung now wrote a letter to the Emperor, in which he acknowledged the favours he and his father had received from his august family, but added that they had not been ungrateful. Had they not destroyed Pong hiun, suppressed the revolt of Hoang tsao, and the rebellions of Chu mei and Li yun? Had they not also contributed to put

the Emperor himself on the throne? He had certainly attacked Yun chau, but had not other governors committed similar offences? Had not Chu wen himself, who was sent to destroy him, ravaged Siu chau and Yun chau? He then went on to say that as Chang siun had invaded the borders of his government, he could not remain quiet, but had assembled an army of 500,000 Tartars and Chinese, with whom he meant to march by the nearest route towards the fortress of Pu tong kuan (*i.e.* Tong kuan wei, on the borders of Honan, Shansi, and Shensi), in order to join issue with him. If he was beaten, he consented to be entirely ruined; but if he should win, he would hasten on his swiftest horse to throw himself on his knees before the Emperor, and, having resigned his government, would await, with a cord about his neck the fate which the Emperor should prescribe for him (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 10, 11). The news of the defeats of his generals and this letter of the Turkish chief greatly alarmed the Emperor, who practically exiled Kong wei and Chang siun by sending them to govern the remotest towns of the empire.

Li khe yung now sent off another letter in which he said that Chang siun, knowing of his quarrel with Chu wen, had, in furtherance of his ambitious views, allied himself with the latter, and that he had not the Emperor's interests at heart. He said he awaited the Emperor's orders in the district of Ho chong (*id.* p. 12). The Emperor, who had been always apparently favourable to him, restored to him all the honours he held before the war, and ordered him not to go to the court, but to return to Tsin yang. This was in the year 891 (*id.* 12). Matters grew no better at the court, the eunuchs became the real masters of the empire, and having no children of their own, sought the advancement of their relatives and adopted sons with the assiduity of some mediæval popes. The Emperor's authority was limited to the government containing the capital. Elsewhere, as in Capetian France, the governors of provinces became almost independent, the strongest hand seized the reins, and then compelled the Emperor to give his imprimatur to their usurpation. Among these one of the most famous was Li meou chin, who, having

been an officer at Fong siang, had, on the death of the governor, installed himself in his place (*id.* p. 17). He collected a large army and defeated the Imperial forces and compelled the Emperor to dismiss his minister Tu yang nen, a faithful officer, who soon after, to rid his master of one cause of trouble, committed suicide (*id.* pp. 20–21). Meanwhile Li khe yung, who was the most promising prop of the empire, was embarrassed by domestic troubles. He had two adopted sons, Li tsun hiao, and Li tsun tsin. They did not agree well together. The former deemed that his services deserved that he should be preferred to his brother, who was his father's favourite, and determined to kill him. This having oozed out, he, afraid of his father's resentment, took refuge with Wang yong and Chu wen, his father's enemies, and then wrote to the Emperor, offering to put himself and the three Chau which were subject to him at his service, and asked permission to join Chu wen and Wang yong in attacking Li khe yung, whom he no longer looked upon as his father. The Emperor imprudently listened to him, and sent some provisions for his three Chau. Li khe yung at once proceeded to besiege Hing chau (*i.e.* Shun te fu of Pehchehli), one of the three chau in question. He broke off his attack for a short time to march against Wang yong, whom he defeated and from whom he took the town of Tsing king. Returning once more to Hing chau, he besieged it for two months and then blockaded it. Having built a rampart round it, surmounted by a parapet of stone and earth, and a deep ditch in front, after another month's siege the place ran short of provisions, and Li tsun hiao determined to submit to his father, hoping for clemency in consequence of his past actions. He was imprisoned for some days, in the hope that some of the officers would beg for a respite, as he had been a brave soldier, but this not appearing, he was executed as a rebel (*id.* p. 23). Sie ho tan, a Turkish chief, who had sided with Li tsun hiao, afraid that his intrigues with the enemy would be discovered, committed suicide (De Guignes, vol. ii p. 42). These events took place in the year 894.

While Li khe yung was besieging Hing chau, Li kuang heou, governor of Yu chau (*i.e.* the modern Peh cheh li), made an invasion of Ho tong, the former's province. Having defeated his son, he now marched to punish the invader, from whom he captured U chau (Suen hoa fu of Peh cheh li), and then Sin chau (*i.e.* Pao ngan chau in the district of Suen hoa fu), and then detached the greater part of his Tartar cavalry in pursuit of Li kuang heou, who was shortly after killed by one of his dependents, and thus Li khe yung became master of the province of Yu chau (*i.e.* of Peking, De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 24). It would seem that shortly before this he had defeated and killed He lien to, the chief of the Tu ko hoen (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 43).

We now read that early in 895 Li meou tsin with two other governors, named Wang hing yu and Han kien, suddenly occupied the Imperial capital Chang ngan, and having planted troops about the Emperor, extorted from him a promise to reform his court. Li khe yung having heard of this outrage, on his return from Yu chau, sent word to the Emperor that he would put himself at the head of his Tartars and speedily march to his rescue. He accordingly crossed the Yellow River, and issued a manifesto summoning the faithful subjects of the Tang dynasty to come to the rescue (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 25). He took Kiang chau in Shansi on the way, and put its governor Wang hiao to death. Wang ko, governor of Ho chong, joined him, while Wang hing ho abandoned Tong chau and fled. The grandees about his person now wished to insist upon the Emperor abandoning his capital and retiring with them, and he was prevailed upon to leave it and to go to Li meou chin. Meanwhile Li khe yung was approaching. He invested Hoa chau, the town of which Han kien, one of the three rebels, was governor, and when the latter complained from the ramparts, he rebuked him for having, although a grandee of the empire, taken part against his master. His troops also defeated a division belonging to Wang hing yu, another of the rebels, and captured one of his principal officers (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 26, 27 ; De Guignes, p. 43).

The third rebel, Li meou chin, now became afraid, and determined to disavow his own participation in the recent outrages, and having cut off the head of Li ki pong, his adopted son, as one of its authors, sent it to the Emperor with a submissive letter, and also wrote to Li khe yung offering to join him in restoring peace to China. The Emperor pardoned him and ordered Li khe yung to do the same. The latter sent his young son, Li tsun hiu, then but thirteen years old, who afterwards became Emperor himself, with his assent. The boy was well received by the Emperor, who we are told was pleased with his happy face.

The Emperor now returned to Chang ngan, but as his palace had been burnt in the recent troubles by Li ki pong, he had to lodge in the tribunal of the ministers (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 28). Wang hing yu now shut himself up in Ping chau, where he was beleaguered by Li khe yung. Having evaded the besiegers and escaped, his people, who saw that his day was over, cut off his head and sent it to the Emperor. In reward for his services in this war, the Emperor created Li khe yung prince of Tsin, and rewarded the other officers according to their rank. Li khe yung wrote a letter thanking the Emperor for his promotion, and urging that the work of punishment should be completed by the suppression of Li meou chin and the capture of Fong siang fu; but the courtiers advised that this would be making Li khe yung and his Shato Turks too powerful, and that as Li meou chin had recognized his fault, it was better to secure the peace of the State by overlooking it. The jealousy of these courtiers led to the Emperor informing Li khe yung that he would dispense with his attending the court in person. Li khe yung, piqued at this want of gratitude and jealousy, retired with his troops to Tsin yang. The Emperor soon had reason to repent of his coolness.

In 895 we find Tong chang, governor of Yuei chau (*i.e.* Che kiang, south of the river Tsien tang), demanding the title of prince Yuei, and on this being refused, set himself up as emperor; but he was quickly despoiled of his honours by Ku tsiuen u, an Imperial general, who seized and

beheaded him. He was an avaricious person, and we are told that when Yuei chau, his capital, was captured, there was found there 500 rooms 20 ft. by 10 ft., filled with silk and silver, and 3,000,000 measures of grain, each 100 lbs. in weight. This booty was distributed among the soldiers and the citizens, who had been miserably tyrannized over.

On the withdrawal of Li khe yung, Li meou chin and Han kien again began to cause trouble in the empire. They retained some of the tribute due to the Emperor, and wrote to him rather as masters than subjects (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 36). The Emperor having sent an army against the former, it was beaten, and Li meou chin thereupon marched upon the imperial capital Chan ngan, and set it on fire. The Emperor had retired, and had at the earnest solicitation of Han kien taken refuge in the latter's city of Hoa chau, whence orders were issued by Han kien that the tribute of grain and silver should be taken there. Li khe yung saw clearly that Han kien meant to keep the Emperor in his power, and wrote to the latter to offer his services. The Emperor, however, contented himself with nominating one of his own officers, named Sun u, to the government of Fong siang, which belonged to Li meou chin. This brought that turbulent person to his senses, and he submitted and offered to rebuild the palace at Chang ngan at his own expense. Han kien offered to contribute to this work (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 37). Han kien now prosecuted his ambitious purpose. He falsely accused eight princes, the commanders of the Imperial troops, of treachery, and taking advantage of the vacillating answers of the Emperor, had them seized and put to death with great cruelty. He also persuaded the Emperor to dismiss the greater part of the body-guards about his person (*id.* pp. 38, 39).

When Li khe yung conquered the province of Peking in 894, he obtained the post of governor there for one of his protégés named Lieou gin kong, who became in effect his vassal, sent him the tribute of his province, and undertook nothing without consulting him. When the Emperor abandoned Chang ngan, and retired to Hoa chau, Li khe yung, who

wished to march to the rescue, ordered Lieou gin kong to join him with his contingent. The latter refused, on the ground that he was threatened by the neighbouring Khitan Tartars, who were now becoming very powerful; and when Li khe yung wrote him a sharp letter, he tore it in pieces and imprisoned the officer who took it.

Li khe yung determined to punish him, abandoned his plan of assisting the Emperor, and marched against him in person. Lieou gin kong sent only one of his subordinates, named Shen ko ki, against him, which so piqued Li khe yung that he made himself drunk to drown his chagrin. He then ordered a detachment to attack the enemy. This body, however, fell into an ambuscade, near to Mu kua kien, and was badly defeated. Li khe yung blamed his officers for having obeyed his orders, given when he was drunk (*id.* p. 40). Lieou gin kong was elated by his success, and wrote to the court for permission to drive the Turkish chief from China. This proposal was not well received, and he therefore thought it prudent to send a humble letter to Li khe yung, who wrote him a magnanimous reply, in which he promised to forget the past, and urged him to discipline his soldiers, to govern justly, to encourage the sages, and, above all things, to religiously keep his word (*id.* p. 41).

Chu wen had latterly become very powerful, and, beside his government of Honan, was also master of Shantung. He had repaired the Imperial palace at Lo yang, in the hopes that he could persuade the Emperor Chao tsong to go and live there, and thus have him within his control. His schemes were momentarily checked by a victory gained over his troops by those of Yang hing mi, the powerful governor of the districts bounding his government on the south. This was in the end of 897 (*id.* p. 42, 43). He now offered an asylum to Lu yen wei, the former governor of the district of Y chang, who, having quarrelled with Lieou gin kong, had been beaten and forced to fly, while his government had been appropriated by Lieou gin kong. This naturally brought the latter into conflict with him, and in a battle which was fought near Wei chau in 899, Chen ko ki,

Chu wen's best general, was killed, and 30,000 men were put *hors de combat*. This was in 899 (*id.* p. 45), but the victors were almost directly after attacked unawares by another division of Chu wen's force, under Ko tsong chau, and were in turn dispersed.

Li khe yung now sent an army to aid his protégé. Ko tsong chau was defeated, and the town of Lu chau, after its environs had been reduced to a desert, was captured (*id.* p. 47). The war continued between the rivals with much bloodshed and with alternate fortune.

Meanwhile the Emperor remained in the hands of Li meou chin and Han kien, who had restored the palace at Chang ngan, and we are told that Chu wen on the one hand, and Li khe yung on the other, wrote for permission to march and rescue him from their hands. Meanwhile an extraordinary plot was carried out by the eunuchs, headed by Lieou ki chu, who was attached to the Emperor's person. With the Empress and ten other people, the Emperor was shut up in a closed room, the door of which was sealed with lead, and a hole broken through the wall so as to send in food, etc. Chao tsong's name was changed to Shang hoang, and he was deposed; his young son was declared his successor, and a liberal largesse was distributed among the soldiers, and a large promotion among the mandarins.

Tsui in, the first minister of the crown, now despatched a letter to Chu wen, to acquaint him with what had occurred, and summoning him to the rescue. The eunuchs also wrote that powerful personage a letter, to induce him to take part with them, and offering him the empire. He was at first disposed to listen to them, but was diverted from it by his lieutenant, Li chin, and he had the eunuch's messenger arrested (*id.* pp. 54, 55). The minister Tsui in also urged a commander of troops, named Sun te chao, to rescue the Emperor, and, wishing to gain the chief honour for himself, before Chu wen could arrive, he seized Wang chong sien, one of the chief eunuchs, and, having beheaded him, went to inform the Emperor, who was not convinced, however, until the decapitated head had been passed in to him through the hole

in the wall (*id.* p. 56). He was now withdrawn from his prison and once more seated on the throne, and proceeded to issue instructions for the deposition of the eunuchs, the minister Tsui in especially urging on this course; but the Emperor was a mere child, and dared not beard the resentment of his entourage, and, on hearing that Chu wen was advancing to the rescue, he mistrusted him, and, by the advice of the eunuchs, determined himself to retire towards Fong siang. To force his hands, they set fire to the palace, and pillaged its contents. He then withdrew from Chang ngan, and the former rebel, Li meou chin, who was governor of Fong siang, went to meet him with all respect (pp 62, 63).

Chu wen entered Chang ngan, where he was well received by Tsui in, and then went on towards Fong siang, before which town he planted his army. He withdrew for a while on the peremptory orders of the Emperor, whereupon Li meou chin sent to ask Li khe yung to go to the rescue: he sent a body of 5000 cavalry, which defeated a division of Chu wen's troops north of Ping yang (*id.* p. 65). Civil strife seemed to reign in every part of the empire, and a victory won by one party in one place was balanced by a defeat in another, and early in 902 we find Li khe yung himself beleaguered in the city of Tsin yang by the troops of Chu wen, and, although he defeated the enemy, he was much depressed by his rival's audacity.

We now read that Yang hing mi, who was an ambitious person, and one of the principal governors, was created prince of U by the advice of Li meou chin, and ordered to oppose Chu wen. Tsien lieou, another governor, was made prince of Yuei. Meanwhile, Yang hing mi proceeded to invade Chu wen's territory, and laid siege to Su chau, but his plans were badly laid and he had to withdraw. Chu wen now advanced again, and Li meou chin went to meet him; he was, however, defeated north of Kué kien and Fong siang, where the Emperor was again besieged. We are told that he made the tour of the walls in his state robes, going down on his knees at intervals as if he were actually in the presence of the Emperor, and said in a loud voice his only object was to

rescue him and to conduct him back to Chang ngan (*id.* p. 71).

The siege was pressed with terrible pertinacity, and the horrors suffered by the inhabitants are hardly paralleled elsewhere in history. At length matters came to such a pass that Li meou chin was constrained to treat with Chu wen, who insisted that the eunuchs who had caused so much mischief, and were about the Emperor, should be put to death. This was done, and their heads were sent to Chu wen. Soon after, the Emperor sallied out and went to the camp of Chu wen, by whom he was treated respectfully, and to whom he gave his jewelled girdle. He was now conducted to Chang ngan, where he was received by his former minister Tsui in (*id.* 78). Several thousand eunuchs in the Imperial service in various parts of the empire were now put to death, and we are told their place in the palaces was occupied by women.

Tsui in and Chu wen now secured the control of affairs pretty much as they wished. In 903 the latter, who was already governor of that district, was created prince of Leang. He then returned to his government, leaving a force of 10,000 men under his son Chu yeou lun behind him to watch the court (*id.* p. 84). He then turned his arms against Li khe yung, from whom he captured Po chang in Shantung after a hard siege, his troops being commanded by one of his sons. He also took Teng chau, but the young prince was killed and his army was dispersed in a subsequent fight. Notwithstanding occasional reverses, the power of Chu wen kept increasing. He obtained possession of Tsing chau and afterwards of Yen chau. Nearly all the province of Shan tung was subject to him, and his authority was paramount at the court. Tsui in, the first minister there, who had long been devoted to him, now began to grow jealous of his increasing power, and as he knew this, he procured his death, and that of his chief adherents (*id.* p. 95), and then, on the plea that Chang ngan was dangerously near Li meou chin, he wrote to the Emperor, urging, or rather commanding, him to leave his capital, and to go to Lo yang. The palace at Chang ngan, together with all the other buildings there,

were now destroyed by order of Chu wen; not a building remained, and the timbers of the houses were made into rafts, which were sent down the rivers Wei chui and Hoang ho to Honan. When the Emperor arrived at the palace where he was to lodge, he received but a cold greeting from his Empress, who had preceded him. "You and I," she said tersely, "are at the disposal of Chu wen." The Emperor wrote off secretly to Wang kien, who was master of Sechuan, to go to his rescue, and created him Prince of Chou; he also wrote to Li khe yung and Yang hing mi to tell them of his captivity, and that his orders now were merely those of Chu wen. The latter, who was growing nervous lest his prey should escape him, deprived him of his trusted guards and substituted creatures of his own, so that he was surrounded by spies and traitors. Having thus caged him, as he thought, he returned to Ta leang, his own principality (*id.* p. 99). Meanwhile Li meou chin had written letters in various directions summoning the empire to rescue its chief, while Yang hing mi in the south, Li khe yung in the north, and Wang kien in the west, were all of them disposed against the treacherous Prince of Leang. He determined, therefore, to put the Emperor to death, and to put his second son, who was only a child, on the throne. His satellites obeyed the order, and thus, in 904, Chao tsong was succeeded by his ninth son, the Prince of Hoei, who was only thirteen years old, and who reigned under the title of Chao siuen ti (*id.* p. 101). The remaining children of the deceased Emperor were put to death by order of the Prince of Leang; he afterwards simulated being much grieved by what had occurred, and even put to death one of his own sons, whom he accused of having taken part in the murders; but as he was being dragged off to execution, he cried out that the sacrifice of one of his sons would not save him from the indignation of the empire or the curses of posterity (De Mailla, p. 102).

Chu wen then had thirty of the most distinguished grandees executed, and their bodies thrown into the Yellow River, and proceeded to conquer the town of Siang

yang, and later in the same year had the Empress-mother put to death, and also some of his own creatures whom he began to distrust. Li khe yung alone seemed capable of opposing him; for Yang hing mi was dead, and had been succeeded by a feeble son, and Li meou chin was not sufficiently strong; and he determined to attack him through Pehchehli, which was governed by Lieou gin tsong, and in whose aid Li khe yung made a diversion by attacking Lu chau, which compelled Chu wen to retire hastily to Ta leang. Lieou gin tsong now gave himself up to pleasure, and we are told his son Lieou cheou kwang usurped his government of Lu long and imprisoned him. The captive had surrounded himself with a number of young girls and of Taoists, and was employed in composing the famous philosopher's draught, which was to secure immortality. Chu wen now determined upon a bolder policy, namely, to usurp the Imperial title; and the young Emperor, knowing what was coming, abdicated the throne and sent the deed, together with the Imperial seal and other insignia, to Chu wen. This was presented to the latter at a stately audience described in some detail in the Kangmu (*id.* p. 114).

Thus passed away the famous dynasty of the Tang, perhaps the most famous, except the Mongol dynasty, of all those which have ruled in China. The deposed Emperor was given the title of prince of Tsi in, and sent to live at Tsao chau, in a very humble dwelling, and twelve months after was put to death (*id.* p. 116). The new dynasty was known as that of Leang, but its dominions were limited to the provinces of Honan and Shantung.

Li khe yung, prince of Tsin, reigned in Shansi; Li meou chin, prince of Ki, in a portion of Shensi, with Fong siang fu for his capital; Yangu, prince of Hoai nau, in Kiang nan; and Wang kien, prince of Shu, in a part of Shensi and Sechuan; besides these princes, Ma in, governor of Hunan; Tsien leou, of Che kiang or U yuei; and Leou in, in Kwang tung, were also very powerful, and hardly recognized the Leang Emperor; while Wang chin chi was more or less independent in Fu kien, and Kao ki chang in King nan, a district formed out of parts of

Hu kuang and of Sechuan (*id.* pp. 120 and 121). Thus the Empire was broken into a great number of fragments. To strengthen his position, the Leang Emperor created Ma in prince of Chu; Tsien lieou prince of U yuei, Lieou in prince of Nan hai; Wang chin chi prince of Ming; and Kao ki chang, who was a simple literate without a charge, was made governor of King nan or Nan ping (*id.* p. 121). He then sent an army against Li khe yung, with orders to attack Lu chau, which was one of his principal cities; but meanwhile Li khe yung died. This was in the spring of 908. We are told he assembled his generals and relatives about him, and in their presence nominated his son, Li tsun hiu, his successor as prince of Tsin, and he died at his capital, Tai yuen fu, in Shansi (De Guignes, vol. ii. pp. 48 and 49). During his life he had adopted many brave officers of his army, whom he treated as his own sons, and who became very independent. They now met together and determined to dethrone Li tsun hiu, on the plea, which was doubtless a genuine one, that among the Turks it had always been usual for brother to succeed brother, and not for a son to succeed his father. They appealed to Ke ning to take up arms against him. He at first refused, but afterwards seems to have consented to their plans, and they arranged to seize him and to send him as a prisoner to the Emperor; but, having been warned in time, Li tsun hiu made a great feast, in the midst of which Ke ning and the other conspirators were seized and afterwards beheaded (*id.* p. 50). A pao khi, the chief of the Khitans, sent to congratulate Li tsun hiu on his succeeding his father (Visdelou, p. 182). Meanwhile the troops of the Leang Emperor pressed the siege of Lu chau, which was so well defended that 10,000 of the besiegers perished, and yet hardly any impression was produced upon it. Its brave commander burnt the Emperor's summons to surrender before his envoys, whom he then beheaded and threw their heads into the Imperial camp.

Li tsun hiu now determined to march to the rescue of the beleaguered city, which he looked upon as "the boulevard of Hotong" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 125).

He told his grandees it was necessary to signalize his accession by some splendid deed of valour. He advanced with his army as far as the mountain Tan Shui Shan, where he planted an ambush. The Imperialists did not suspect any danger at hand, nor had they any sentinels. Li tsun hiu attacked them in the early morning, fired the wooden towers round their camp, and created such a panic that they fled, leaving their arms, provisions, and baggage behind, while more than 10,000 prisoners were captured. When the Emperor heard the news, he said, "Li khe yung is not dead then; he lives again in the person of his son, while my people are but dogs and pigs." The raising of the siege of Lu chau was a famous event in the Chinese history of these times, and so incredulous was the governor that he would not open the gates until he saw Li tsun hiu himself in his white robes, *i.e.* in mourning for his father (*id.*; De Guignes, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51). Li tsun hiu proceeded to govern his principality with great skill and prudence; he rearranged the taxes and softened the asperity of the laws; he had robbers and plunderers arrested, and forbade his soldiers to go about on horseback, except when on a campaign; he divided them into sections with a hierarchy of officers. His troops were not successful, however, in an attack on Tse chau, nor again when, in alliance with those of the princes of Shu and Ki, they attacked Yun chau in Shensi, which belonged to the Leang empire (De Guignes, *id.* pp. 51, 52).

Early in 909 Li tsun hiu assisted Lieou chi tsun, a rebel Imperial general, and defeated the Imperial troops. On another side Li shi chang, the Governor of Hia chau, had also refused to obey the Leang Emperor, and it is strange to read that the princes of Tsin and Ki marched against him; but the Leang Emperor, who was jealous of them, sent an army which compelled them to raise the siege (De Guignes, p. 52).

Wang yong, whom the Emperor had made prince of Chao, a district bordering on that of Tsin, now began to intrigue with Li tsun hiu, and to arrange a league, with the latter at its head, to oppose the Emperor. Li tsun hiu having as-

sembled his ministers to consult them, they warned him that Wang yong belonged to a treacherous stock, that he had long been on intimate terms with the Leang Emperor, and that it would be well to beware of treachery. The prince of Tsin, notwithstanding, determined to accept his advances, and ordered his general, Cheou te wei, to march towards Chao chau in Peh cheh li (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 138; De Guignes, 52). The Emperor also advanced. They had fortified their camp well, and it was deemed unassailable by Cheou te wei, with the troops he had with him, which, it would seem, were mainly cavalry, and more fitted, therefore, to fight in the open plain than to attack fortifications, and he sent his cavalry to jeer at and challenge them to come out and fight. Han king, the Leang general, we are told, indignant at their insolence, marched out in battle array with his infantry, and the glitter of their cuirasses, helmets and arms, we are told, made a great impression on the Tartars (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 140); but the Imperial troops began to want provisions. Forage for the horses, especially, ran short, and the houses were stripped of thatch to supply it (De Guignes, ii. p. 53). Cheou te wei, the Tsin commander, declared that the pageant they had witnessed was mere bravado, and that the Leang troops were not really wishful to fight, and to animate his people he told them the enemy were a mere crowd of butchers, wine-dealers, thieves and felons from Pien chau (Kai fong fu in Honan), who had been hired for money, and decked out in brilliant armour. That ten of them were not equal to one of his own men, while he who captured but one prisoner would secure a rich prize in his armour. He made an attack upon them, and killed more than 100, but was constrained to retire. He told his master that it would be better to wait until the enemy had left his fortifications, when they could successfully assail him in the open country. Li tsun hiu was much piqued at this advice, and retired to his tent, where he listlessly lay on a bed; his generals were much troubled at this, and Cheou te wei remarked to one of them that, having won a small advantage over the enemy, he despised them too much; that they were much stronger than

themselves; and that, if they threw some bridges over the river which separated them, they would embarrass the troops of Tsin. He recommended that they should retire to Kao i hien, in the district of Ching ting fu, in Peh cheh li, and then to adopt the tactics of Fabius, to harass the enemy's communications and cut off their detachments, and that in less than a month they would have them at their mercy (De Mailla, *id.* p. 141, 142). These remarks were communicated to the prince, who, rising from his bed, said, "I have been thinking over matters, and been talking to a Leang deserter, who says they in fact mean to throw a bridge over the river," and having summoned Cheou te wei, he told him his counsel had been wise, and ordered the camp to retire to Kao i (*id.* p. 142).

Some time after, Cheou te wei, with 3000 troops, made an attack; but the main army of the Leang, issuing from its camp, pressed him back to Kao i, and seized the bridge over the river. This was, however, presently recaptured, a general combat followed, which lasted all day, and at evening the Leang troops, who had been without food all day, were beginning to withdraw towards their camp, when Cheou te wei told his men they were retreating; a vigorous attack was now made, many of the enemy surrendered, while 20,000 of them were put *hors de combat*, and their camp became the prize of the victors.

The victorious prince of Tsin then went to encamp at Chao chau, whence he despatched Cheou te wei towards Chen chau (Kaichau, in Pehchehli) and Wei chau (Tai ming fu, in the same province), while two other generals were sent to attack Hing chau (Shun te fu, in Pehchehli). He followed with the main army, and issued a proclamation offering clemency to those who submitted, and punishment to those who did not. Cheou te wei speedily conquered the towns of Hia tsin, Kao tang, Tong u (now U ching hien, Kao tang chau, and Chao ching, in Shan tung). The governor of Chen chau fled on his approach. He then advanced to Li yang (now Siun hien), Linho (now destroyed, but situated 60 *li* west of Kai chau, near Tai ming fu), and Ki men (now

Ki hien); he also subjected Wei chau, Sin hiang (now Sin hiang hien in Honan) and Kong ching (De Mailla, *id.* pp. 144–145).

Lieou cheou kwang, prince of Yen, and to some extent a dependent of the prince of Tsin, had refused to join the league of the princes of Tsin and Chao against the Leang Emperor. He now, however, wished to share the fruits of their victory, and offered to march with 30,000 men to their aid. He was exceedingly inflated by his position. "Who can resist me?" he said. "My country is more than 12,000 *li* in circuit, and I can muster 250,000 cuirassiers. If I wish to be Emperor, who is to prevent me?" (*id.* p. 147). He accordingly prepared himself an Imperial equipage, arrested the envoys of the Leang Emperor and the other princes, and put their necks in the cangue, or wooden yoke, and cruelly had the tongue of Sun ho, one of his own officers, who ventured to oppose him, torn out, and he was then publicly cut in pieces. He then had himself duly inaugurated as Emperor, and the very same day he received the news that the Khitan Tartars had captured the important town of Ping chau (De Mailla, p. 148). It would seem the title the upstart took was that of Chang fu, which has nothing equivalent to it in Europe, but may be translated as "Father of all the great officials of the empire" (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 55). The prince of Tsin was much amused at the turn affairs had taken, and assented to the suggestion of his officer, Chang ching yé, who said that, to complete the comedy, he ought to send an ambassador with his congratulations.

He accordingly sent an envoy, who, however, refused to do the pretender the honours due to an Emperor, and saluted him merely as a petty prince. As he was obdurate, he was put in prison, but released again soon after (De Mailla, pp. 148, 149). Lieou cheou kwang determined to signalize his accession by an attack on the towns of I chau (in Pao ting fu) and Ting chau (in Ching ting fu, a district of Peh cheh li), which were subject to the prince of Chao. Fong tao, one of his officers, having argued against this, was imprisoned, but, escaping, went over to the prince of Tsin. He made great

preparations for the attack, but, on the approach of some troops sent by the latter, withdrew (*id.* p. 149).

In 912 the Prince of Tsin sent two considerable armies against the usurper. His general, Cheou te wei, speedily captured Cho chau (now Fan yang hieu), and then marched upon Yeou chau (the modern Peking), the capital of the Prince of Yen. The latter appealed to the Emperor of Leang, who marched in person to the rescue, and first laid siege to Tsao kiang, which was defended so fiercely that 10,000 of the besiegers were speedily killed. Another division of the Imperial army attacked Tiao hien. This division was joined by that which had tried in vain to take Tsao kiang, the siege of which had been raised. The same day when this junction took place a well-planned sortie of the garrison, who disguised themselves as Imperialists, was successful. The Imperial camp was forced and fired, and a general panic seized the soldiers, who were persuaded the Prince of Tsin was there in person. The Leang Emperor retired towards Lo yang, and was taken ill on the way. His eldest son, Chu yeou in, was dead. The next one, Chu yeou wen, who was the favourite, and was Governor of Pieu chau, was now summoned. This exasperated another brother, named Chu yeou kué, who was at enmity with Chu yeou wen, who was supported by many discontented officials, and he determined to assassinate his father and sieze the throne. The old man knew it, and when he rushed into the palace, addressed him thus: "Unfortunately I have long known the blackness of your soul. I ought to have put you to death. My only regret is not having done so. Do you think heaven and earth will tolerate you long?" The intruder then said to the attendants: "Take this old thief and cut him in a thousand pieces." A slave immediately thrust a halberd through him. This was in the year 912. Thus passed away a treacherous intriguing bad man, the founder of a short-lived dynasty. His son, the parricide, was put to death by another brother, Chu yeou chin, who mounted the throne under the name of Mo ti (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 149–156). This was in the year 913. Li tsun hiu now pressed his advantages against

the Prince of Yen; on one side one of his generals captured the famous town of Koko Khotan, then called Wu chau; and on another a second general captured Ping chau and Ing chau, and advanced to the gates of Peking (where the Prince of Yen was presently beleaguered) and stormed it. Lieou cheou kwang escaped, but was waylaid by some peasants, who handed him over to the Prince of Tsin. The latter put the cangue, or Chinese yoke, upon him, his father, and children, and they graced his triumph at Tsin yang. There the Prince of Yen was decapitated in the temple of the ancestors, while his father, Lieou gin kung, who was captured with him, was taken to Tai chau, where was the tomb of Li khe yung, and where his heart was torn out and presented as an offering, and he was then beheaded (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 159, 160). The Prince of Tsin now incorporated the province of Yen with his own. This was in 914.

The next year a disturbance arose in the district of Wei chau or Tai ming fui, the province of Pehchehli, and the chief rebel, Hotelun, sent to ask assistance from the Prince of Tsin, who readily assented, and his troops soon captured Te chau and Chen chau (Kai chau in the district of Tai ming fu). Meanwhile the Imperial general, Lieou siun, who knew his forces were too weak to oppose Li tsun hiu in the field, determined upon a piece of very skilful strategy. Having made up some manikins of straw, he put them on donkeys' backs, together with a number of small pennons, such as his soldiers bore, and ordered some sick soldiers, whom he left behind, to make these shams march to and fro on the rampart of the camp, to make believe the army was still there; he sallied out during the night, and hastened towards Tsin yang, the capital of Tsin, which was denuded of troops.

After some days the Prince of Tsin, who noticed the Imperialists did not come out of the camp, began to suspect some treachery; discovering how he had been taken in, he hastened to the rescue of his capital. The latter was saved by the continuous rains which had broken up the roads and otherwise hindered the Imperialists. The latter, seeing it was fruitless to try and capture the capital, retired, and

en route took Lin tsing and Chen chau. Lieou siun was a prudent and able officer; his hand was now forced by the Emperor, his master, who was unskilled in war, and who insisted on his attacking the Tsin army; he did so, and was beaten. He then shut himself up in his camp. But on a false rumour that the Prince of Tsin had returned to his capital, made an attempt to capture Wei chau, but was foiled, and on retiring, was followed up by the Prince of Tsin, who was determined to bring on a general engagement, and planted his camp close to that of the Imperialists, near the ancient town of Yuen ching (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 168). A fierce fight ensued, and Lieou siun, fearing for the result, retired hastily with his cavalry, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy. A terrible slaughter ensued, and 70,000 Imperialists are said to have perished. The fruits of this victory were the capture of the towns of Siang chau, Wei chau, Hing chau, and all the country north of the Yellow River (*id.* p. 169). Meanwhile, to show the feebleness of fortune, his capital of Tsin yang was surprised by a dashing Imperial officer named Vangtan, but it was almost as speedily recaptured by a few hundred troops belonging to the Tsin (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 59). The Prince of Tsin on another side captured Pei chau and Tsing chau, which made him master of all the country of Hope, *i.e.* the country north of the Yellow River. These events took place during the year 916 (De Mailla, *op. cit.* 170).

We now find the Tsin Tartars coming into conflict with the Khitans, who were ruled by their famous chief A pao khi. I have mentioned in my former paper how the Chinese Han yen hoei, who had gone to the Khitans as an envoy from the prince of Yen, had been detained by them, had conciliated A pao khi, and done much to civilize the Khitans. Li tsun kuei, brother of the prince of Tsin, was governor of Sin chau (*i.e.* Pao gan chau in Peh cheh li), and by his tyrannical conduct had made many enemies; one of these, called Liu ven tsin, killed him, and escaped to the Khitans, and incited them to attack the Tsin (De Guignes, p. 61). I described in my former paper how they forced the defile

of Yu kuan, and proceeded to attack Yeou chau or Peking. De Guignes tells us that they took with them some of the famous Greek fire, which the Chinese called Meng ho yeou, *i.e.* oil of the cruel fire, of which they had got the secret from the prince of U (*op. cit.* p. 61). I have described (*ante sub voce* Khitans) how the siege was eventually raised, and the Khitans were badly beaten by the Tsin troops. After this victory, and in the spring of 917, the prince of Tsin crossed the Yellow River on the ice with his infantry and cavalry, and captured the Imperial garrison of Yang lieou, which was scattered in various outposts on the river; he then took that city itself (De Mailla, *id.* p. 176).

While Li tsun hiu was prosecuting his victorious career, his states at home were controlled by Chang ching pie, a wise minister, who was a good financier. Like all such, however, he was economical, and we are told that the prince, who loved musicians and comedians, and, in fact, had expensive tastes, began to quarrel with him. Like Henry the Fifth, however, he was brought to see the wisdom of his officer, and, instead of punishing, rewarded him further. He was determined to make a great effort to overthrow the Leang empire, and collected a large army for the purpose. Cheou te woei brought him 30,000 men from Peking; four other generals each sent 10,000 men; while the frontier tribes of the Hii and Khitans, the Shi wei, and the Tu ku hoen, also furnished contingents. He encamped at Ma kia tu (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 178; De Guignes, p. 63). The Imperialist forces, under Ho kuei and Sie yen chang, were not less numerous, and were encamped close by. We are told that the ardour of Li tsun hiu had to be restrained by his followers, and that he more than once put himself in danger in heading small attacks on the enemy, in order to draw them into a general engagement; but in this he did not succeed, and the two armies faced one another for three months.

A feud now arose in the Imperial camp between the two generals, Ho kuei, who commanded the infantry, and Sie yen chang, the cavalry. The former suspected the latter of

treachery, and reported him to the Emperor, and incited his troops against him. The consequence was that Sie yen chang and his two best officers were murdered in the camp. The news of this quarrel was naturally very pleasing to the prince of Tsin. The latter determined to march upon Ta leang, the Imperial capital, and thus compel Ho kuei to raise his camp and march against him. He went ahead with 10,000 men, the main army following behind (De Mailla, p. 181). The two armies joined issue at Hu lieou pi. That of Tsin was at one time seized with panic, and the brave general Cheou te wei, with his son, were killed; but Li tsun hiu re-animated his people, captured the key of the position, and afterwards broke the enemy's ranks with his cavalry. The Imperialists lost 30,000 men, and their army was, in fact, dispersed. If the prince of Tsin had marched straight upon the capital, which was the scene of panic, he would no doubt have captured it; but he preferred to secure his conquests, and he built two fortresses on the banks of the Yellow River, in the district of Te ching (in the department of Kai chau, and province of Peh cheh li, where the Hoang ho formerly flowed, De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 182). This occupied some time, and the Emperor was able to collect a fresh army, which he sent, under Ho kuei, to molest the workmen. He put a number of boats on the river, which harassed them considerably; but a Tsin officer, with a picked body of 300 men, in cuirasses and with hatchets, mounted on a large barge, and succeeded in destroying and burning the enemy's boats. Ho kuei, seeing himself always beaten, fell ill and died shortly after (*id.* p. 182, De Guignes, p. 64). The Imperialists were more successful in an attack on Yen chau, which was forced to surrender after a brave defence. We are told that a messenger, having gone to acquaint the prince of Tsin with the condition of the place, and finding him too much engaged with his operations on the Hoang ho to heed him, cut off his ear at the gate of the camp, saying, "As the prince refuses to listen, what is the use of ears? Death is preferable to life." This action moved Li tsun hiu, who promised to send succour; but it was too late. The

place was already taken before they set out (*id.* p. 183). The loss of Yen chau induced Li tsun hiu to hazard a battle with the Imperialists. In the commencement of the fight the latter were successful, and killed several Tsin officers; but the tide of fortune presently turned, and the previous victors were put to flight with the loss of 10,000 men. The Tsin troops then captured Po yang, or Po chau, and Li tsun hiu nominated his general, Li kien kie, governor of Tai chau. Early in 920 Chu yeou kien, the Leang Emperor's brother, who had seized upon Tung chau in Shen si, and Chang ngan, the ancient Tang capital, quarrelled with his brother, and went over to the prince of Tsin. The Emperor sent an army to recover the place, but it was defeated, and the Tsin troops made themselves masters of Hoa chau, also in Shen si.

Early in 921 a Ho chang, or Buddhist priest, offered for sale a seal, which an old officer recognized as the Imperial seal which the Emperor Hi tsong had lost when he hurriedly left Chang ngan. Some Hochang priests had, in fact, hidden it so that it might not fall into the hands of the rebel Hoang tsao. They had taken it with them to Wei chau (*i.e.* Tai ming fu), and, having died there, had left it to their disciples, without telling them its history. The old officer having bought it, presented it to the prince of Tsin, whose officers congratulated him on the happy omen, and urged him to take the title of Emperor, which heaven had so pointedly bestowed on him (De Mailla, *id.* p. 187). He recalled his father's dying words, in which he had urged him not to listen to those who would give him this title, but always be faithful to the Tang Emperor. They continued, however, to press him, whereupon he answered, "You know I only took up arms to revenge the Tang dynasty; if there does not remain any branch of that house anywhere, we may at least collect together those officers who have been faithful to it, and once more reinstate the government of the Tang" (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 188).

Many of these rallied at his appeal; and we are told one of them, named Su siu, a person of some repute, approached the prince of Tsin, fell on his knees, and hit the ground with

his head, as if before the palace of the Emperor; and when he came into his presence, addressed him as Wuan sui, as if he had already taken possession of the throne, and styled himself his subject, a touching loyalty, which we are told greatly affected the prince (*id.* p. 188).

Meanwhile Chang wen li, one of the principal officers of Wang yong, the prince of Chao, rebelled against and killed him, and occupied the towns of Ching chau and Ting chau, and one of his creatures endeavoured to secure the aid of the Khitans for his master. The prince of Tsin determined to march against these invaders. He surprised their advanced guard, and captured the son of their great chief, A pao khi, and afterwards so defeated them that the roads were crowded with dead men and horses. It was the most terrible disaster A pao khi had hitherto sustained. This was in the year 922.

Meanwhile, the Leang Emperor deemed it a good opportunity, while the prince of Tsin was busy in his war with the Khitans, to recover some of his lost ground. He ordered his general, Toan ing, to attack Wei chau, in Honan, where the prince of Tsin had placed a musician, named Li tsun in, who was not a soldier, in command. The Imperialists surprised the town, and followed up their victory by conquering Kong ching, Sin hiang, and many other towns west of Shen chau and south of Siang chau, and also captured several granaries the prince of Tsin had prepared there. On another side the town of Chin chau was compelled to surrender to the troops of the prince of Tsin, and we are told its governor was handed over to the people of Cha chau, who were brutal enough actually to eat him (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 190, 191 ; De Guignes, *op. cit.* pp. 67, 68). This success was counterbalanced somewhat by the loss of Lu chau (*i.e.* Lu ngan fu in Shan si), whose governor treacherously went over to the Leang Emperor, and was by him appointed governor of the district of Lu chau (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 191). This did not prevent the prince of Tsin from completing the work to which matters had been tending for some time. We are told that in the fourth month of 923 he mounted a bullock which he had had raised in the middle of the town, and offered sacrifices to his ancestors,

attended by his various officers and mandarins, dressed in their ceremonial robes. Seating himself on a throne, he declared he only mounted it as the successor of the dynasty of Tang, which had adopted his ancestors, although belonging to another race. He accordingly gave his dynasty the name of Tang (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 192). This inauguration took place at Wei chau, whose name was then changed to Hing tang (*i.e.* the modern Tai ming fu), and the new Emperor made it his eastern court. He restored to Tsin yang its ancient name of Tai yuen fu, and made it his western capital (*id.* 193, 194). He was master of thirteen provinces, containing fifty chau (De Guignes, p. 68). On mounting the throne, Li tsun hiu took the name of Chuang tsong, by which he is afterwards known in Chinese history. (*id.*) His accession to the Imperial title was a notable event. He was the first of the nomade leaders who succeeded in mounting the Imperial throne and founding a dynasty. This dynasty was known as the Heou tang, *i.e.* Later Tang, to distinguish it from the earlier dynasty of the same name.

The new Emperor now determined to destroy the rival dynasty. Having given Li si yuen command of 5000 men, he sent him against Yun chau (*i.e.* Yun ching hien, in the district of Yen chau in Shantung). That officer succeeded in surprising it in the night without the loss of a man, and was nominated governor of Tsin ping as a reward for his services (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 195). This success greatly disconcerted the Leang Emperor, who, having appointed a crafty general, named Wang yen chang, to the command of an army, sent him to attack the fortress of Te shing on the Hoang ho. The commandant of the fort, who deemed that the recent rains had made the river impassable, took few precautions. His rival made a kind of loose bridge out of barges chained together, which he floated down the river to where he meant to cross; there he fastened it, and having passed his men over, captured the town. This was within three days of leaving Ta Leang, the capital. He afterwards laid siege to Yang lieou, which he was, however, twice obliged to raise, after losing 10,000

men (*id.* pp. 197–198). The Leang Emperor now recalled Wang yen chang, and appointed Toang ing in his place. This displeased some of the other officers, and one of the principal ones, named Kang yen hiao, deserted. The Tang Emperor presented him with his own state robes and girdle of precious stones. On asking his advice about what policy should be adopted towards the Leang, he replied that the latter were determined to make a great effort to recover their position, and intended to attack the Tang frontier at several points. He advised the Emperor, when their army should be scattered, to make a bold venture and to march straight upon the capital Ta leang (*id.* p. 200). He determined to follow this advice, and, having told his wife, said further, "If we are not successful, assemble all my family in the palace at Tai ming fu, and set fire to it" (*id.* p. 201). He crossed the Yellow River in the beginning of 923. An army commanded by Wang yen chang was speedily dispersed, and he himself wounded and captured. Like most Chinese officers, he was heroic in defeat, and, when the Emperor would have given him employment, refused to change masters. "I have been beaten," he said, "and cannot repair my master's fortune. I deserve to die. If the Emperor grants me my life, what honour shall I have? In the morning to be the servant of the Leang, in the evening of the Tang. No, I cannot reconcile myself to that!" (*id.* p. 203). He was put to death. The Emperor now determined to march straight upon Ta leang, capturing Tsao chau *en route*. The Leang Emperor was terribly agitated on hearing the news of the enemy's approach; he summoned his officers and turning, to King siang, whose counsels he had hitherto disregarded, asked what could be done. He had no remedy to suggest, but, bathed in tears, replied, "I ask to die at once that I may not see your family reduced to desolation" (*id.* p. 205). The Leang Emperor, suspicious of his relatives, put his brothers to death, and took refuge in one of the towers of the fortress. Meanwhile, one of his attendants stole the Imperial seal, which he kept on the bed beside him, and hastened with

it to offer his homage to the rising sun, the Tang Emperor. Seeing himself without resources, he asked one of his attendants to kill him, and, when he hesitated, he said to him, "What! would you sell me to the Tang?" The latter thereupon killed him, and afterwards committed suicide (*id.* p. 206).

Meanwhile, the Tang army continued its advance under Li se yuen, to whom Ta leang opened its gates. The new Emperor ordered the Leang emperors to be degraded, *i.e.* deprived of their style of emperor, destroyed the temples they had erected to their ancestors, levelled their tombs to the ground, and planted the spot with trees. These tombs were south-east of the walls of Ho nan fu (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 71).

Ma in, the Prince of Chu, now sent to congratulate the new Emperor. The Prince of U soon followed his example (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 209, 210). He transferred his chief court to Lo yang in Honan, made Si ngan fu, which he renamed King tiao fu, his western court, and abolished the northern court (De Guignes, p. 71). Early in 924 he gave Li meou chin, the Prince of Ki, who had submitted to him, the title of Prince of Tsin, and to Kao ki chang the title of Prince of Nan ping (*id.* 72). The Khitans continued to make intermittent raids upon his borders; but on the other hand, the tribes of Moho, Jurchi, Ki, Coreans, Tu ko hoen, and the Turks, whose ruler was called Hoen hiai, sent him envoys and submitted (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 73).

The new Emperor apparently could not resist the usual seductions of Chinese luxury, and surrounded himself with musicians and eunuchs, necromancers and medicine men. The Prince of Tsieou lieou submitted to him, on condition of being allowed to use a gold tablet and a seal of jade, which were Imperial insignia, while those of lesser princes were made of bamboo. The Prince of Cho, or Se chuan, who had taken the title of emperor, refused to acknowledge him. The Tang Emperor sent troops, which speedily overran his borders, captured his capital, Ching tu, and compelled him to surrender; his kingdom was annexed to the Tang empire,

which was thus increased by 240 towns (De Guignes, p. 74). The internal government of the empire continued, however, very bad: distress prevailed largely, and was aggravated by famine. The eunuchs controlled matters, and were at deadly strife with the great officers of state (*id.* p. 75), and the Emperor treating the latter unjustly and cavalierly, revolts began to break out in the provinces, while the extravagance of the court prevented the troops from being properly paid, and many of the soldiers, who despised the musicians and others about the court, deserted him in large numbers, and he was at length killed by a stray arrow, in a tumult at Lo yang; his body was burnt, the musical instruments about him being used for fuel, and his palace was sacked. Thus, says De Guignes, a prince, who in his young days was constantly at the head of his armies, and wore a bell about his neck, for fear he should sleep too long, died a miserable debauchee, surrounded by a crowd of comedians. His sons were put to death, as was also his widow Lieou yeou (*id.* p. 78). He was succeeded by his brave general Li se yuen, who had been adopted by the late Emperor's father, and who took the title of Ming tsong. This was in 926 (*id.*). He continued the struggle with the Khitans. In 928 the Prince of U quarrelled with him. He died in the year 934. We are told he could not read, and that the Chinese sages were somewhat piqued that the Nine kings, or canonical books, which were first printed during his reign, should have thus been made accessible to the crowd (*id.* p. 83). We are told he used to retire to a spot in the palace, where, burning incense, he addressed the sky, saying, "I am a barbarian, who have been chosen in a time of trouble to reign. I pray that heaven will cause presently to be born a great man, fitted to govern the people" (*id.* p. 85). He was succeeded by his son Tsong heou, with the title of Min ti, but he only reigned a few months, amidst revolts and outbreaks, and was then killed by one of his officers. He was succeeded by Tsong ko, an adopted son of Ming tsong. His reign also was a short one. She king tang allied himself with the Khitans, and declared himself

their vassal. He promised to surrender to them several districts in North China; they, in return, gave him the title of Emperor of Tsin. The allies marched together against the Tang Emperor, who, finding himself hard pressed, set fire to his palace, and thus perished. With him perished the dynasty of the Later Tang.

She king tang now mounted the throne, took the title of Kao tsu, and gave his dynasty the title of Tsin. His authority was only limited, however. China was at this time partitioned out into a number of practically independent principalities. The kings of U reigned in Kiang nan and Kiang si. They were displaced by the kings of Nan tang or the Southern Tang. In Che kiang was the kingdom of U yue, in Se chuan that of Heou sho, in Hu kuang that of Tsu and of King nan. In the province of Canton the kingdom of Han; in that of Fokien that of Ming; while all the north of the provinces of Peh cheh li, Shan si and Shen si were subject to the raids of the Khitans (De Guignes, p. 89). The various petty kingdoms were ruled by Chinamen, while the title of emperor, with but a limited authority, was monopolized by the princes of the Shato Turks (*id.*).

Kao tsu was by birth a Shato Turk, and had served in their army. His bravery and military talents had secured him the patronage of the general Li se yuen, who afterwards became the Emperor Ming tsong, and who gave him his daughter, Tsin kue chang, in marriage. In the year 937 the Emperor of the Khitans, having conquered all Liau tung, gave his dynasty the title of Liau, and the prince of U usurped the style of Emperor, and gave his dynasty the title of Tang. It was known as Nan Tang or the Southern Tang (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 328, 329). Kao tsu died in the year 942, and was succeeded by his nephew, whom he had adopted as his son, under the style of Tsi wang (*id.* p. 342). In 944 the Khitans began a terrible campaign against the Tsin Emperor. This lasted with intermittent success for several years, and ended by the overthrow of the Tsin power. In 947 the Khitan Emperor entered Ta Leang. The Emperor was degraded to the rank of a Heou, or prince of the

third rank, and sent away to Tartary (*id.* p. 375; De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 95). Thus ended the dynasty of Heou Tsin.

Among the officers who fought in the service of Kao tsu was a Shato Turk, named Lieou chi yuen, who was made Wang of Pe ping. He had been afterwards nominated governor of Ho tong, a kind of exile, to get rid of a dangerously ambitious officer. There he made his plans so as to secure himself when the Khitans should overwhelm the Tsin, which he saw was inevitable. Inter alia he collected a force of 50,000 men, and enlisted the tribes Tu ku hoeu in his service (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 377).

The Chinese, who were terribly trampled upon by the Khitans, turned to him, when the Tsin dynasty was overthrown, for help, and at length, at the solicitation of his officers, he proclaimed himself Emperor, and forbade the Chinese to pay any tribute to the Khitans. Shortly after Te kuang, the Khitan Emperor, determined to return home to Tartary, and almost immediately died, and during the confusion that followed Lieou chi yuen recaptured Ta Leang, the Imperial capital, where he also fixed his capital. As he belonged, says De Mailla, to the great family of Han (he had probably been adopted by one of the name), he gave his dynasty the title of Han, and adopted the title of Kao tsu for himself. This was in 947 (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 384; De Guignes, p. 101). He only lived a year after this, and was succeeded by son, with the style of In-ti. After an inglorious and short reign, he was succeeded, in 950, by his brother, Lieou pin, who was deposed a few months later. The Empress-mother agreed that Koo wei, a Chinese general, who had also been a successful rebel, should mount the throne. He founded a dynasty which was known as that of Heou Cheou or Later Cheou.

Meanwhile Lieou tsong, the brother of the Emperor Kao tsu, raised the standard of revolt, made himself master of the towns of Ping chau, Fuen chau, Hin chau, Tai chau, Lan chau, Hien chau, Long chau, Wei chau, Tsin chau, Leao chau, Liu chau, and She chau, and had himself pro-

claimed Emperor at Tsin yang. He and his descendants were not numbered among the Emperors, however, but among the Kings, by the Chinese historians, who give his dynasty the title of Pe han, or Northern Han. He was, however, supported by the Khitans, who sent him a contingent of troops, and kept up a struggle with the Chau Emperor, in which he got the worst of it, and we are told the greater part of the subjects of the King of Han, seeing their lands devastated, retired to the mountains. Soon after the cities of Fuen chau, Leao chau, Hien chau, Fong chau, etc., submitted to the Cheou. Soon after, namely, in 954, Lieou tsong died, and was succeeded by his son, Ching kiun, who, like his father, was a protégé of the Khitans, who gave him the title of Emperor of China. Six years later, namely, in 960, the dynasty of Cheou came to an end, and was replaced by the famous and long-lived dynasty of Sung. A war was waged between the Sung against the allied Han and Khitans, to the advantage of the former. They captured the towns of Lo ping, *i.e.* Ping hing chau, in the district of Ta yuen fu, and Wei chau.

Ching kiun, the King of Han, died about the year 967, without children. He had, however, adopted Ki gneng and Ki yuen (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 118). The former succeeded, but was speedily replaced by the latter, against whom the Sung prosecuted a relentless campaign, which was concluded in the year 979 by the complete submission of Ki yuen, who was deposed and given some titles, and all his country was joined to the empire, while the Shato Turks were completely driven out of China (De Guignes, *op. cit.* p. 121).

When thus driven out, they, no doubt, found a welcome shelter among their relatives in the Gobi Steppe to whom I have previously referred. The name of Shato Turks now disappears, but the race continued to dominate over the In shan Tartars, who were known as Pe Tata, or White Tartars. They are next heard of in the year 1124, when Yelu Taishi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, took refuge with them.

Having crossed the He chui or Kara Muren, we are told he met Chuang gur, the viceroy of the Khitan Emperor, who commanded the White Tartars. He presented him with 400 horses, 20 camels, and some flocks of sheep (Visdelou, p. 29). This shows that they had been subject to the Khitans, like the rest of the tribes of the Mongolian desert and its borders, and had doubtless been conquered by A pao khi at the beginning of the tenth century.

We next read of them among the tribes who were subjected by Chinghiz Khan. The Chinese author, translated by Gaubil, tells us that to the south-south-east of the Altai mountains lived the people called White Tartars. Their chief was a prince of the same race as the princes of Tu kiu, *i.e.* of the Turks. He was called, he says, Alausse, and was very friendly with Temujin, *i.e.* with Chinghiz. The king of the Naimans having proposed an alliance with him against Temujin, Alausse arrested the envoy and sent word to the Mongol chief (*op. cit.* pp. 10, 11). This report about Alausse belonging to the old stock of the princes of the Turks exactly agrees with the statements at the beginning of this paper.

In the Yuen shi the story is told in somewhat greater detail. The Naiman chief addresses his friend in the words, "I hear there has arisen in the east a chief who aspires to be emperor. Now there is only one sun in the heavens, and only one supreme ruler upon earth; so if you will send supports to my right wing, I will undertake to rob him of his bows and arrows." Instead of doing this he sent envoys, bearing six flasks of wine, to Temujin, and the latter, in return, gave him 500 horses and 1000 sheep (Douglas, Jenghis Khan, p. 43). The story is also told in condensed form in the Kang mu (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 36).

On turning to the account which Rashid ud din gives of the same events, we find that the people called Petata by the Chinese, were called Ongut by the Mongols. He tells us that at the accession of Chinghiz Khan, and before his day, they were in the service of the Altan Khans, *i.e.* of the Emperors of the Kin dynasty. He says they resembled the

Mongols, and consisted of 4000 families, and that the Altan Khans, to protect their borders from the attacks of the Mongols, Kerait, and Naimans, etc., had built a wall from the Sea of Churchi (*i.e.* the Yellow Sea) as far as the Kara Muran, and had confided this wall, which was called Ongu by the Mongols, and Burkurka by the Turks, to the Onguts, who were in their pay (D'Ohsson, vol. i. p. 84, note; Erdmann, Temujis, p. 241). This shows us whence the White Tartars derived their name of Ongut. Rashid ud din goes on to say, that at the time when Chinghiz reigned, the chief of the Ongut was called Alakush tikin kuri (*id.*). Alakush, says D'Ohsson, is a Turkish name, meaning a piebald bird; tikin is a title applied, among the Turks, to the chiefs of their hordes; while kuri, which, perhaps, ought to be read Kutsi or Futsi, was a Chinese title and a name that was given to Temujin (D'Ohsson, *loc. cit.*).

When Chinghiz made his attack on the Kin empire, he deserted his former master, and went over to the invader. The latter was much pleased, and proposed that he should marry one of his daughters. Alakush replied: "I am an old man. My brother, who was formerly king, has a son Shengui, who has been living at the court of the Altan Khan; give your daughter to him." Chinghiz agreed to this, and Alakush sent for his nephew. When, however, he had reached the place called Kaiduk, the chieftans who had supported his father and uncle suggested to him that Alakush intended to murder him, and they urged him to stay there while they should make an end of his uncle. He did so, and they finished their work, after which Shengui entered Temujin's service, who gave him his daughter Alakai Bigi, who was younger than Ogotai, and older than Tului, in marriage. When the Mongol khan heard of the murder of Alakush, he ordered the murderer and all his family to be put to death. Shengui had a son by Alakai called Negudai, who afterwards married a daughter of Tului, and was therefore the brother-in-law of the Khakans Mangu and Khubilai. Negudai left no children (Erdmann, Temudschin, pp. 242, 243), and with

him apparently ended the line of princes of the Shato Turks, a race which had given three dynasties to China, and had broken the prestige of the title which now became so often the heritage of the barbarians on the frontier. In the next paper I shall consider the Keraits, the subjects of Prester John.

CONTENTS OF VOL. XVII. PART III.

[NEW SERIES.]

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

PAGE

ART. XIII.—The Age of the Avesta. By Prof. DE HARLEZ, of Louvain, M.R.A.S. 339

ART. XIV.—Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess. By H. F. W. HOLT, Esq., Scc. R.A.S. 352

ART. XV.—Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon. By C. R. J. LE MESURIER, Ceylon Civil Service, M.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc. 366

ART. XVI.—The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjáb. By THOMAS H. THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.L. 373

ART. XVII.—Beginnings of Writing in and around Tibet. By TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, M.R.A.S., Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College, London) 415

INDEX 483

Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Anniversary Meeting of the Society, held on the 18th of May, 1885 ..... I–CLXX

LIST OF MEMBERS.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Art. XIII.—*The Age of the Avesta.* By Prof. de Harlez, of Louvain, M.R.A.S.

The question of the age of the Avesta is one of those problems the solution of which will have the most important bearing on the history of the religions and civilizations of the East. It is not surprising, then, that it has occupied the attention of so many scholars, nor need we wonder that the results they have arrived at have been so various. From the time of Burnouf, who was the first to attack the problem with a scientific method, up to our own days, our knowledge on the point has passed through several stages. The founder of Iranian research came to the conclusion that the date of the Zoroastrian reform should be placed before B.C. 2900. On the other hand, the leading Iranian scholars of our own day, men like Spiegel, Darmesteter and Wilhelm, believe, as I do, that the Avesta, at least, is of comparatively recent date. It is therefore not a little surprising to see M. Geiger, the author of many learned works, returning to the former view on this matter in an essay which he presented, last year, to the Royal Academy of Münster. This unexpected revival of a theory, which belongs to the past, obliges us to deal once more with this question. I shall treat it at some length, but before speaking of M. Geiger's latest utterance on the subject, I must go back a few years and say something of the opinion of a scholar, whom we have all good reason to regret, whose judgment carried great weight in his lifetime, and whose Essays still retain in some quarters no small part of the authority in this matter which his earlier

labours won for the author. For my part, I am convinced that if Martin Haug were still among us, he would have no hesitation in withdrawing not a few of the assertions he once made, but he is not here to show us how his views would have been affected by more recent scientific progress, and we must take account of what is actually contained in his book. I shall, however, say only a few words about it as I have spoken of it at some length in the Introduction to the second edition of my translation of the Avesta,[1] and I do not mean to reproduce in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* work already published elsewhere.

Haug began by pointing out certain resemblances between the names of Avestic and Vedic gods and demons, and between the religious ceremonies and civil and domestic usages of the peoples of Iran and India. But he ought to have remembered that these exceptional points of resemblance were, after all, only indications of the common origin of the two peoples, and in no way implied a common date for their two sacred books. But above all he had failed to remark that, notwithstanding these resemblances in certain details, the differences between the religion and the civilization represented by the Avesta and by the Veda are so far-reaching and so numerous that they must have been the result of many centuries of development. I have very fully pointed out these differences in one of my latest writings.[2] One has only to make such an enumeration of them to see that in every respect — religion, cosmogony, genii and demons, the idea of man and his faculties, religious rites, political and private life, the division of time, the objects in common use, in a word, in every point the most complete divergence had arisen between Iran and India, and analogies and resemblances had come to be the exception. It is evident that the words *kavi* and *uśij* (Ved. उशिज्, Avest.

[1] *Avesta, livre sacré du Zoroastrisme, traduit du texte Zend*, deuxième édition. Paris, 1881. 4to. *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta et de la religion Mazdéenne*, 1881—being the introduction to the translation. I may note here that the second edition of the translation differs considerably from the first, and the introduction prefixed to it is a distinctly new work

[2] *De l'exégèse et de la correction des Textes Avestiques*, pp. 79-107. Leipzig, W. Gerhard, 1883.

[illegible] [uśikhs] Yas. xliv. 20)[1] which are found in both books, have only an external and fortuitous resemblance. The *kavas* or *kavis* of the Avesta have no more resemblance to the Vedic *kavis* than the *Aśpins* (crescent) of the Avesta have with the genii known as the *Aśvins* in India. The Avestic *kavis* are, in fact, barbarians, specially denounced as the destroyers of the herds of oxen, *i.e.* of the sacred animal of the Hindus; and *uśij*=*uśikhs* is a common term, which gives no more basis for an argument than such words as *peresâmi*=*pṛicchâmi* (I ask), or *man* (to think). One might as well identify the great Cyrus-*Kuru* with the *Kurus* of India and the Roman Remus with the *Râma* of Vâlmîki's epic.

But Haug based his theory mainly on these three considerations:

(1) The composition of the Avesta must have been the work of many centuries, since it comprised twenty-two long Nasks and hundreds of chapters.

(2) Zoroaster, according to the Avesta, was born in the Aryana-vaeja, *i.e.* in the country where the Iranian and the Indo-Aryans dwelt together before the separation of the two races.

(3) The same rhythms are found in the Gâthas and in the Atharva-veda.

There is little need of dwelling on the weakness of such proofs. It is sufficient to note that:

(1) The twenty-two Nasks, if they ever existed, included not only the Avesta, but also the Pahlavi books, for the Mazdeans believed in the common origin of the Avesta and the Zand, and attributed both alike to Zoroaster. Thus the Pahlavi glosses explain the term *tâ vakshyâ* in the Gâthas as signifying both the text and the Pahlavi explanation, *Avastak va Zand* (*cf.* Glosses Yas. xxx. 1). And even if the twenty-two Nasks were originally written in Avestic, one may judge from the Minokhired, the Ardà-i-Viràf nâmeh, and other similar books what a chapter amounts to in this

[1] *Cf.* Haug's argument on these words—Essays, p. 239.

kind of literature. Varro alone with his 620 volumes probably wrote as much or more than the whole Avesta. Two or three centuries is therefore a very liberal estimate for such work.

(2) There is no reason for identifying the Airyana vaeja with the common home of the Eastern Aryans. The authors of the Avesta themselves did not even suspect this common origin of the Iranians and Indians. For them the Aryans are the Iranians only, and the Airyana vaeja is Iran (Ariana) and nothing more.

(3) The Atharva-Veda being itself, at least in part, of recent date, the third argument has no solid foundation.

Haug, in support of his theory, further insisted that the Veda showed evident traces of the struggle between the worshippers of the Vedic gods and the adherents of the Zoroastrian reform. Moreover, he took the Sanskrit word *Jaradashti* (जरद्दष्टि—"longevity") for the Indian form of the name of Zoroaster. This interpretation of the word, and the theory of a struggle between the two peoples, arising out of the Zoroastrian reform, have now fallen into such discredit that there is no longer any need to discuss such matters. Assuredly Haug would not now maintain such a theory.

Accordingly we find that while he gathers together all that can be said in favour of the remote antiquity of the Avesta, M. Geiger does not venture to mention these now obsolete theories. His arguments are of quite another kind. He bases them chiefly on the social organization and condition of the Iranian people as we find it described in the Avesta.

The people of the Avesta, he says, did not know the use of either salt, money, iron or glass; its position belongs to the childhood of human society, the time of the first striving towards civilization, the first substitution of the pastoral life with fixed dwelling-places, for the life of nomads and plunderers. This is particularly the case in the Gâthâs.

A few considerations will suffice to show that here this learned Iranian scholar is completely in the wrong.

(1) It is true that the Avesta makes no mention of salt; but this is not of any special significance, as our author himself admits. But what is much more to the purpose is, that M. Geiger, in his *Eranische Kultur im Alterthum*, allows that there were in Iran salt lakes, and plains and hills of salt. Now it is rather hard to believe that for centuries the Iranians lived near masses of salt, trampled salt under foot, without ever finding out its nature and its uses. This argument therefore goes for nothing.

(2) It is more than probable that money is mentioned in the Avesta, *e.g.* in the *asperens* (Vend. iv. 136). It is true that the payments to be made to the physician, the purificator, etc., are still estimated in kind — camels, horses, oxen, sheep, etc. But we must not forget that money was introduced into Persia only under Darius, and that its introduction into the north of Iran must have come still later, while its general employment in the affairs of daily life would certainly be still more recent. Thus we find ourselves arrived at, perhaps, the fourth century B.C. Besides there are still countries even in Europe where payments in kind are an every-day occurrence. In Belgium we still find rents under old tenures paid in grain or some other kind of produce; and thus we need not be surprised if the Avesta kept up older methods of reckoning various payments. M. Geiger believes that the Magi of the time of Darius would not have accepted payment in any other form than money. I cannot share his opinion, and I am quite convinced that those good people would much prefer to receive an ox or a horse in return for a blessing or a prayer, rather than a payment in coin which would probably be of smaller value.

(3) M. Geiger argues that iron was unknown to the people of the Avesta, because the word *ayañh*, which might be taken to signify that metal, is in two places accompanied by the epithets *raokhnem*, "brilliant, shining," and *zairi*, "greenish," which cannot be applied to iron. But *ayañh* really means both "iron" and "metal" in general, and this last is its meaning in the two passages referred to by M.

Geiger. This is quite evident in the second passage where the metal is described as being *zaranya*=gold. Thus *zarois ayañho zaranyêhê* means "of shining metal, of gold" as befits the weapons of Mithra, who could hardly be less splendidly armed than Vâyu, the wind, and Verethraghna, both of whom have golden arms. Besides the epithet *raokhnem* can very well be applied to iron; "glittering steel" is certainly an allowable expression. Moreover the knives used for cutting up the bodies of criminals, the *karata ayañhaena*, were in all probability of iron. This third argument is, therefore, not a more fortunate one than its predecessors.

(4) As for glass, it is mentioned in Vend. xviii.; the word used is *yâma* (New Persian *jâm*). M. Geiger thinks that the Persian word *jâm* originally meant "pot" or "vessel," and only got the meaning of "glass" later on. But the contrary is the case, for *jâm* means "glass, window-pane, mirror," and certainly did not get these meanings from an original sense of pot or vessel. If we have no mention of glass and vessels of glass in those parts of the Avesta which deal with the purification of various objects and materials, this is only what might have been expected. Vessels of glass must have been very rarely used in the mountains by the Caspian Sea in the days of Cyrus and his successors. They would be still rarer at an earlier date. It is worth noting that the laws of Mânu, when treating of the same kinds of purifications, are like the Avesta in omitting all mention of glass. Yet, I do not think any one now assigns them a high antiquity (*cf.* Mânavadharmaśâstra, v. 110–121).

(5) Nor can any better argument be based upon the state of civilization among the people of the Avesta, and the conflicts between shepherd and nomad tribes. At all periods Iran and Central Asia have been the scene of such conflicts, in which the tillers of the ground have been forced to defend themselves against the inroads of plundering nomad tribes. We have only to remember the history of the Scythians, the Huns and the Mongols, and other races of the same kind. Later still we have seen the same struggle between the

Kurds, Turkomans and Persians. On all these occasions a propaganda in favour of the sedentary life devoted to agriculture would have been useful. So far as this argument goes, the Avesta might have been written in the Middle Ages.

(6) Finally an argument has been brought forward which at first is a specious one, but which disappears when it is weighed with a little attention. It is pointed out that the Avesta never speaks of the Persians or Medes. It seems to know nothing of them, and of cities lying to the westward it mentions only Babylon. It is urged that we must therefore conclude that these peoples, these divisions of the Iranian race, were unknown to the authors of the Avestic books, and that Babylon was still at the height of its prosperity. But this argument proves too much, and therefore proves nothing. The Avesta deals only with myths; there is not even an allusion to an historical event. It is all taken up with heavenly beings, as those that figure in the Zoroastrian legend, just as our liturgical books speak only of the inhabitants of heaven and of the events of the Gospel history. The Avesta is so far from being concerned with the history and the passing events of its time that it only recognizes three peoples, the Aryans, the Turanians, and the Sairimas, the direct descendants of Thraetona. If one were to draw any conclusion from this it would be that the Avesta was written before the separation of the Indo-Europeans, and that consequently the Avestic language is the primitive Indo-European. We see thus how far such arguments would carry us. Another conclusion might be that the Avesta dates from the time of the Sassanidæ, because at that period the only distinction made was between *Êran* and *Anêran*, *Iranian* and *Non-Iranian*. But clearly this second conclusion is not worth more than the first. The most simple way of explaining this mention of the Aryans only, is to suppose that the Avesta was put together at the time when all the Iranian countries were united under a single sceptre, and when each separate people still called itself Aryan : thus the authors of the Avesta would use this name in addressing the

whole Iranian race. Now the Persians, the Medes, and the people of Ariana amongst others, still called themselves *Arya* at the period of the Achæmenid kings. Darius himself boasts that he is of the Aryan race. As for Babylon, if, indeed, the *Bawri* of the Avesta is that city (which is very doubtful), its mention in the myths shows that it no longer existed, and that there was only a vague tradition about it. Would a Roman ever have thought of placing the abode of Neptune at Lutetia or Lugdunum? No, indeed, but he might well choose for this purpose some ruined or half-forgotten city of an earlier day.

So far then we arrive at this conclusion. The Avesta contains nothing which either positively or negatively indicates a high antiquity. To suppose such a remote date for the book is to make an arbitrary assumption.

But must we go no further than this negative position—have we no positive reasons for assigning to it a relatively recent date? To this question we can answer in the affirmative. The clearest evidence points to this conclusion, and we have not only strong probabilities but positive proof.

(1) In the first place the state of the language both as to its accidence and syntax points this way. The number of variant and broken-down forms, and the irregular use of the cases place, as Spiegel has remarked, the language of the Avesta on the same footing as the Old Persian of the times of the later Achæmenids. I need only note here the forms of the accusative plural of nouns in *a* [masculines—*aèśma, aèśmã, aeśmãn, aśtéś, zaśté, puthrãs, yaśkē, vareśaoś(ca)*]—besides this many words are used without inflection, and one case is often used for another.

(2) The names of cities have the changed forms used in later times, *e.g.* compare the *Mouru* and *Bakhdhi* of Vend. I., with the *Marga* and *Bakhtra* of the inscriptions, and *Râji* (*Rai*) Yasna xix., with the *Ragha* of Vend. I.

To escape from the conclusion which follows from these arguments, recourse is had to alleged errors of copyists. The theory is too convenient to be worth much. There is no

indication of these alleged errors, and the changes are much too frequent and too uniform for the mistakes of transcribers. For instance, the copyist could hardly have had the *a* of the accusative plural neuter before him when he wrote *âis*, nor would he easily substitute the accusative in *em* for the nominative in *ô*, etc., etc. As for the names of cities, it would be very surprising to find that the copyists had altered *Marga* and *Bakhtra* but not *Ragha*, in the same list, which elsewhere we find *Râji* (Y. xix.).

(3) The city of Râji (Rai, Ragha) is mentioned in Y. xix. as the chief seat of Zoroastrianism, and the high priest is said to be its sovereign. Now this could only have been the case under the Arsacid kings. The passage therefore dates from that epoch. It is true that it has been asserted that Râji means only "the kingdom," but besides the fact that this interpretation is contradicted by the Pahlavi version, which has Ragh (Ragha), it is linguistically impossible. The root RÂJ = to reign, etc., is unknown in the Iranian languages. It is absolutely never found either in the Avesta or the Old or New Persian, although words for king and kingdom are in frequent use. But these are *Khshâ*, *Khshi*, *Khshathra*, etc.

(4) The Vendidad IV. denounces the heretics who preach abstinence: the text is perfectly clear, whatever may be said to the contrary, and the meaning of the Pahlavi version is equally unmistakeable. Now in order to find a religion preaching abstinence we must go to Buddhism.

(5) The fifth Yesht, which is addressed to *Ardvî Śûra Anâhita*, contains, towards the end, a description of the goddess, of her dress and attitude; so detailed and precise that it can hardly be anything else but the description of a statue. Of course there will ordinarily be a certain ideal form of the genius or goddess before the artist forms an image, but it is not such a minutely detailed representation as this. I say "ordinarily," because here even such a concept is not admissible. The Avestic worship did not allow of the use of statues; this is clear from the Avesta and the testimony of antiquity; even the Persians did not make use

of them. Now here, on the one hand, we have a quite exceptional description of a statue, and, on the other, history informs us that Artaxerxes II. (Mnêmon) was the first to introduce the statues of Anâhita, not into Persia only, as M. Geiger says, but into the Persian empire; that he is the first to speak of temples raised to this genius, whether at Susa or at Hamadan.[1] If, moreover, we consider that some pressure must have been necessary to lead the authors of the Avesta to violate their own principles, and that this is to be found in the action of Artaxerxes II., it is not possible to deny that the conclusion of Yesht V. is later than the time of that prince, or at least dates from his reign.

(6) The Avesta praises the incestuous union of relations in the first degree. This criminal custom was certainly not of Aryan origin, and its source is unknown to us. But Herodotus tells us it was introduced into the Persian Empire by Cambyses. Herodotus is clear and explicit. His testimony can only be rejected on the unfounded pretext that he was mistaken or deceived by others. There is no need of replying to such an argument, and when we are told in support of it that authors who wrote about the Christian era, and Xanthus of Lydia, according to the testimony of Eusebius, state that this was an ancient custom among the Persians, we need only reply that for these authors Cambyses belonged to the ancient days of Persia. As for Xanthus we have only an apocryphal work bearing his name, and dating perhaps from the first century of our era. Even if the custom was older, it would be from the time of Cambyses that it would be openly boasted of in this way.

(7) There are certain Avestic words of which the meaning and the etymology can only be explained through Greek or Latin, e.g. *danare*, cf. *denarius*; *Khwazo*, cf. *Xoûς*, etc.

(8) The *Gaotema*, spoken of in Yesht xiii., is an unknown person, but the whole becomes perfectly intelligible, if one sees in the name, Gautama, the representative of Buddhism.

[1] See the *Muséon*, 1885, Inscription at Hamadan.

(9) The persecutions spoken of in Gâthâs xlv. and xlviii. are in like matter perfectly intelligible, if we suppose the allusion is to the proscription of the Magi under Darius. It is true there are other Gâthâs which cannot be referred to this time, but there is no reason why they should not belong to various periods.

The results at which we have arrived are therefore these:

The Avesta nowhere explicitly gives us its date, but there is nothing in it to authorize us in assigning it a remote antiquity. On the contrary, the character of its language marks it as belonging to a relatively recent date, and several passages mention facts which imply at least for these sections an epoch not far removed from the Christian era, say the period from the fourth to the first century B.C. Other passages again remain completely obscure if one persists in maintaining the venerable antiquity of the book, but become quite intelligible if one has the courage to abandon this theory. On the other hand it is probable that the Avesta is not the product of a single century, and of a single district. One may assign different parts of it to different centuries, and to several provinces of Iran. But if we are to fix a limit to the date, we may say that there is nothing to authorize us to put it farther back than 600 or 700 B.C. There is indeed no special reason for going as far back as 700, but not to be too narrow I fix the epoch of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta between 700 and 100 B.C.

But at the same time it must not be forgotten that the founder of Zoroastrianism not having abolished the older religion of Iran, but merely transformed it, even leaving it its genii and its worship, it may well be that the Avesta contains some very ancient fragments much older than Zoroastrianism. This is evidently the case with the substance of the myths. But the formation of the Zoroastrian Avesta cannot be placed earlier than the period I have just indicated.

Let us also remember that at the very earliest it is not till the close of the fifth century that the name of Zoroaster appears in history, and we may conclude this essay with the words:

There is no reason for supposing the Avesta to be a work of remote antiquity. All the results of scientific study unite in marking it as of recent date.

I hope on another occasion to deal with the question of its origin.

Appendix.

Since the preceding pages were written, my attention has been called to an article contributed by Prof. K. Geldner to vol. xviii. of the New Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[1] In that article Prof. Geldner deals incidentally with the question of the age of the Avesta. Naturally he defends the principles of the Tübingen school, but in such a way that a very few words in reply will be sufficient. They will complete what I have here said on the subject.

Prof. Geldner carries back the date of the Gâthâs and of the preaching of Zoroaster to the fourteenth century B.C. As he gives no proof of this assertion, I need not dwell upon it here. He might just as well have said the twenty-fifth or the eighth. He says that the Avesta was complete before the time of Alexander the Great, and this because tradition will have it so. It is surprising to see him, the great enemy of tradition, having recourse to it on this point, more especially as this very tradition relates,—amongst other things,—that the Avesta was already in existence in the days of Gayô-marathan, the first man,—that Pahlavi was spoken under the Kayanidæ,—that the Pahlavi version was the work of Zoroaster himself, etc., etc. Such an appeal to tradition is not very convincing.

In order to show that "Zend"[2] is almost the same as Vedic Sanskrit, Prof. Geldner translates four verses of the Gâthâs into Sanskrit. Now (1) this Sanskrit is such Sanskrit as might be written even now, and these verses of the Gâthâs might very well have been composed under the Achæmenidæ or even later. The language of Darius, as I have already

[1] Art. on the Languages of Persia, by Prof. K. Geldner,—*Encyc. Brit.* 9*th* edition, vol. xviii. pp. 653–655.

[2] He still uses the word, while admitting the force of the objections to it.

shown elsewhere, was even more like Sanskrit. This argument therefore proves nothing. (2) If these four verses are so very like their Sanskrit translation, it is because Prof. Geldner has chosen them for that end. There are others that would give quite the contrary impression. I have already given proof of this some seven years ago (in a paper in the *Journal Asiatique*),[1] and in my last book I have shown what an immense distance there is between the two idioms. If the language of the Gâthâs is so like Vedic Sanskrit, how is it that we can hardly understand them, and that a host of words are only translated by doubtful conjectures. Besides, even in the example chosen by Prof. Geldner, the differences are not trifling, and this though the version which he gives as good Sanskrit is hardly Sanskrit.

Finally, Prof. Geldner says that Zend ceased to be spoken under Alexander, and that the Pahlavi version of the Avesta is a bad one and of no great use. Is it not surprising that those who speak thus are precisely those who have never studied either the Pahlavi language or the Pahlavi version, whilst Iranian scholars, familiar with the language and the version, value it at its real worth? As for this point, if my readers will turn to pp. 12—56 of my essay *De l'Exégèse et de la correction des Textes Arestiques*, and the paper which I had the honour to submit to the Congress at Leyden, they will find (1) whole pages of the Pahlavi version examined and shown to be perfectly exact, and much better than anything substituted for it by those who speak so contemptuously of it; (2) that many of the so-called discoveries of these scholars were already to be found in the Pahlavi version. This does not look as if the version were a worthless one.

I must say, in conclusion, that it is much to be regretted that, for the sake of a system, scholars should persist in maintaining erroneous views that have been refuted again and again. It is a pity too that a work like the *Encyclopædia Britannica* should reproduce and propagate them.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, No. 3, p. 319 *seq.*

Art. XIV.—*Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess.* By H. F. W. Holt, Esq., Sec. R A.S.

In common with other Oriental nations the Chinese have possessed a knowledge of the game of chess for many centuries. As is well known, the invention of this noble game has in turn been attributed by various writers to many nations and peoples of antiquity, nor have there been wanting champions who have asserted that the knowledge of this deeply interesting game was first derived from the Chinese. The historians of China do not, however, lay claim to any such honour, nor indeed do they appear to be aware that it is known to any other country.

Dr. Forbes in his History of Chess has pointed out the absurdity of many of those legends which have assigned an absolutely mythical origin to chess, and has divided the history of the game into three distinct periods, the first of which is the ancient Hindū game called Chaturanga, in which the moves and powers of all the pieces employed were the same that prevailed in Asia and Europe down to the close of the fifteenth century of our era. The origin of this form of the game is, he says, lost in the depths of remote antiquity ; but there can be no question that it was invented in India. The board consisted then, as it does now, of sixty-four squares. The game was played by four persons, each having a King, a Rook [elephant], a Knight [horse], and lastly a Bishop [then represented by a Ship], together with four Pawns. The two opposite players were allied against the other two, and the moves were decided by the turn of an oblong die

having four faces marked with the numbers two, three, four and five; the two and five being opposites as were the three and four. The only peculiarity in this primæval game was that the King might be captured as well as any other piece. This was merely chess in its infancy, and the capture of the King was certainly in conformity with the usages of actual warfare, though we may look upon it as having a tendency to spoil the game. The very simplicity and imperfection of this primitive chess furnish the best possible proofs of its being the original. Its duration may have been from three to four thousand years before the sixth century of our era. Dr. Forbes supports his arguments by elaborate theories, but a later writer, Van der Linde, in his exhaustive work, "Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels" (Berlin, 1874), argues that Chaturanga is always used of an army, and never of a game, by the old Indian poets; that all Sanscrit scholars are agreed that chess is mentioned in none of the really ancient Hindū records; that the Purānas generally, though formerly considered to be extremely old, are held, in the light of modern research, to reach no further back in reality than the tenth century; while, moreover, the copies of the Bhavishya Purāna which are in the British Museum and Berlin do not contain the extract relied upon by Dr. Forbes [who found it under the article Chaturanga in the Sanscrit Encyclopædia entitled Shabda-Kalpa-Druma, published at Calcutta in 7 vols. 4to., about forty-five years ago, and in a work published at Serampore in 2 vols. 8vo., 1834, entitled Raghu-Nandana-Tatwa, *vide* vol. i. p. 88], though it is to be found in the Raghunandana, which was translated by Weber in 1872, and is stated by Bühler to date from the sixteenth century. The ultimate outcome of Van der Linde's studies appears to be that chess certainly existed in Hindostan in the eighth century, and that probably that country is the land of its birth. While putting forth nothing which cannot be proved, he inclines to the idea that the game originated amongst the Buddhists, whose religion was prevalent in India from the third to the ninth century. Van der Lassa, also, who had, in an article prefixed to the "Handbuch" in

1864, accepted Forbes's views, withdraws his support in a review of Van der Linde's work published in the September and November numbers of the Deutsche Schachzeitung, 1874, and expresses his adhesion to the opinions set forth by the latter.

We thus find that even the latest authorities are unable to fix the actual period when chess was originated; but it is generally accepted that the game was first known in India, whence the knowledge of it extended to Persia and the Arabians, who call it Shatranj, a word manifestly derived from the Sanscrit Chaturanga; and according to Masoudi, an Arabic author who wrote about A.D. 950, Shatranj had existed long before his time.

In the absence of any more precise indications from the early literature of India, it is only to that of China that we can turn for any possible points of information which their old historians and ancient records may have furnished. Nor is the search altogether in vain.

The Lun Yü 論語 or "Miscellaneous Conversations," is the third of the famous "Four Books," and consists of Dialogues between Confucius (B.C. 551–479) and his Disciples. In the 22nd chapter we find the following text:

子曰, 飽食終日, 無所用心, 難矣哉. 不有博奕者乎, 爲之猶賢乎已.

Which may be rendered, "The Master said, 'To do nothing but gorge one's self all day without having any occupation for the mind, is indeed a difficult task. For is there not at least chess-playing? for a striving to attain is surely a worthy object?'"

Again, in Mencius (fourth century B.C.), the fourth of the "Four Books," chess-playing is pointed out (chap. xxx.) as "one of the five things which are said, in the common practice of the age, to be unfilial." The others are idleness; love of prosperity and attachment to one's wife and children; following the desires of one's eyes and one's ears so as to bring one's parents to disgrace; and being fond of bravery, fighting and quarrelling, so as to endanger one's parents.

Yet that Mencius did not consider chess an unworthy

occupation for a man's mind, when his filial duties were not involved, is sufficiently shown in the following passage from his works, on the occasion of his preaching to a king on the importance of close and unremitting application: "Now chess [奕 yih] is an art, but only a petty art. Yet, unless a man's attention be solely directed to it, and the will be brought to bear upon it, none can succeed. The man named 奕秋 Yih tseu or Chess-(playing) Tseu, is the best chess-player in all the country. Suppose Chess-(playing) Tseu were to teach two men chess, and one man devoted his attention and brought his will to it, and *listened* to nothing but (the words of) 'Chess' Tseu; whereas the other man, although he *heard* him also, suffered his attention to be drawn off by perhaps a bird that approached, and his thoughts ran upon stringing his bow to shoot it: although both these people *learnt*, yet not in equal degree. Was it because their capacity to acquire knowledge was different? By no means so. It arose from different degrees of attention."

In the preceding extracts the word used for "playing" is 博 po, and for "chess" 奕 yih. The first means to extend or spread out; the second, "to range in order." That the expression 博奕 po yih means "to play chess" is thoroughly accepted and understood by Chinese scholars; and one quoted by Dr. Morrison distinctly says 兩人下棋爲博奕 *Liang Jen hsia chi wei po yih*, "the 'hsia chi' played by two men is the same as 'po yih.'" The second character had in fact become obsolete at a very early period, the word 棊 chi being substituted for it; while the first, to which an idea of gambling attached, was rejected in favour of the simpler word 下 hsia "to put down." Thus "po yih," to play chess, became "hsia chi" to put down the chess-piece, and this name obtains to the present day.

But of "chi" or chess there were two varieties. As Dr. Legge points out in his note to the passage from the Lun Yü quoted above, "there are two kinds of chess, the *Wei chi*, played with 361 pieces, and referred to the Emperor Yao (B.C. 2356–2258) as its inventor, and the *Seang chi* or ivory chess played with 32 pieces, and having a great analogy to

the European game. Its invention is attributed to the first Emperor of the Chow dynasty, though some date its origin a few hundred years later."

In the sense that the character "Chi" is the specific name of games played on boards divided into squares, the remark of Dr. Legge that there are two kinds of chess may be said to be correct. These are the only two games of the Chinese played upon a board of this description; but, whilst the "Seang chi" is undoubtedly chess as we understand it, "Wei chi" is played with two sets of counters one black and the other white, each player using about 150 pieces. The board contains 324 squares. The counters, however, are not set on the squares themselves, but on the points of intersection where the lines cross or touch one another, and it is along these lines and on these points that the game is played. The board of 324 squares therefore gives 361 playing points, and at the commencement of the game not one of these points is occupied. The radical of the character "chi" differs in the two games, that in the Wei chi being 石 shih = stone, because the counters are generally made of marble, glass, or a peculiar preparation of hardened rice resembling stone, while in the Seang chi the root is 木 muh = wood, because the chess counters are made of wood.

Wei chi may be rendered "the Game of Surround." It would be beyond the scope of these remarks to endeavour to explain the intricacies of this really fine game; but its chief object may be described as an attempt to gain possession of so many of the 361 playing points on the board as possible, by surrounding them and the counters of the adversary which hold them, and by a series of skilful combinations reducing the enclosed force to a condition of absolute immovability, or, in fact, checkmating it. The counters of the defeated adversary are then removed from the board, and the space so captured is held by the surrounding line of the victor's counters. Thus gradually the playing points of the board are gained by one or other of the players. This explains the term Wei chi or game of Surround, which also may be

rendered the "besieging game" or, as it has been not inaptly translated, the "Game of War."

The other Chi or game, the game of chess par excellence, is called 象 棊 Seang chi. The generally accepted translation of this is "Elephant chess," because the character 'Seang' means 'Elephant,' and that the elephant is one of the pieces of the game, occupying indeed the position of our Bishop, and, like him, moving diagonally. I think, however, that there are good reasons for not accepting this interpretation. In the first place, if the game derived its name from one of the pieces, it would naturally be either the King or the most powerful figure on the board, and this the elephant is very far from being. Indeed, with one exception, it is the weakest. Again, the chessmen, instead of being carved into different shapes like ours, are simple discs of wood, all of the same size and colour, the value of each being denoted by the character it bears, and one set distinguished from the other by the names being coloured respectively in red and black. But there is this peculiarity about them, that the characters or symbols on the red side of the game, although having, of course, always the same relative power, differ in nearly every instance from those on the corresponding pieces on the black side. Thus, while the black "King" is called the "Tseang," the red "King" is the "Shwai." Both symbols, however, mean "general, or commander." In like manner the black "pawn" is called "Ts'uh," and the red pawn "Ping"; yet both mean "soldier." But in the case of the "Seang," to which I am particularly referring, though the black "seang" means "elephant," the red one does not. For this reason also I object to the translation of Seang chi as "elephant chess," and think that "symbolical" or "figure chess" is preferable. The primary meaning of "seang" is, no doubt, "elephant." But, as Dr. Medhurst tells us in his dictionary, some Chinese in ancient times having found the bones of a dead elephant endeavoured to arrange to figure and imagine how it would be when alive. Hence the character 象 "seang" has come to mean "imagination, ideas, resemblances," etc., and in *this*

sense, both the red and the black seang have an identity of meaning.

The earliest mention of 象棊 is to be found in the 格致鏡原 *Ko che ching yuen*, or, "Mirror of investigations into the origin of things," in connection with the name of 孟嘗君 Mêng Ch'ang Keun, who appears to have been a great player both of this game and of Wei chi. He died B.C. 279, having been a foremost personage in the stirring times in which he figured. The number of partisans attracted by his liberality was so great that his abode received the designation of the Little Empire.

In the 通鑑綱目 *Tung chien Kang muh*, "A General History of China," under date B.C. 154, it is recorded that during the reign of Wen-Te (B.C. 179–156), Lieu Hsien, the hereditary Prince of Wu (Yang chou Foo), in Kiang nan, a descendant of Kao-Hwang Te (B.C. 206), was a guest at the Royal Court, and on one occasion, when engaged in a game of chess with the heir to the throne, a quarrel arose as to a doubtful move which had been made. Each player hotly held himself to be in the right, and the guest, momentarily forgetting the respect due to the prince, this latter snatched up the chess board and hurled it at his adversary's head with fatal effect. This unfortunate circumstance was the original cause of a very serious revolt of many powerful tributary sovereigns headed by the father of the slain prince.

The Tung chien Kang muh, which was drawn up under the direction of the celebrated 朱熹 *Choo He* (A.D. 1130–1200), is a reconstruction and condensation of the T'ung-tien 通典, the great work of Sz' Ma Kwang 司馬光, the renowned historian of China, who completed it A.D. 1084. It is always regarded as the standard History of China.

The Chinese text of the above-given extract, from Du Mailla's translation of this work, shows that 棊 *chi* was the word used for "chess"; 行棊 *hing chi*, for "a forward movement"; 博局 *pō-chü*, "a playing square or point" (another instance of the use of the word *pō*, as merely playing in the sense of "playing at" a game, in contradistinction to playing as the act of gambling); and 棊槃 *chi pan*, "a chess

board." The radical proves the game to be chess and not Wei-chi.

象 棊 Seang chi is again mentioned in a "Book of Marvels" of the eighth century, the reference being of interest, as actually indicating the moves of some of the pieces, such as the "horse," the "general" or "king," the "chariot," and the pawn or "soldier." The peculiar movement of the "horse," identical with that of our knight, and the direct forward movement of the "chariot," the equivalent of our castle, being precisely indicated. The story told in this Book of Marvels is that of a vision, which leads to the excavation of an ancient grave mound in which a chess board, with all the pieces set out, is discovered; and this would imply that in the eighth century the game of "Seang chi" was already regarded as of considerable antiquity. It is probable, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that it has been played very much in its present form from the time of the 唐 T'ang dynasty, commencing in the seventh century, and with perhaps certain modifications and variations from its earliest mention in the 論 語 Lun Yü as given above.

The "Tung Chien Kang Muh" or General History of China, above quoted from, makes another mention of chess playing at a very early period. It is there stated that in A.D. 263, during the reign of How Te 後 帝, the second sovereign of the How Han 後 漢 dynasty, A.D. 221–263, ruling in Szechuen, when 阮 籍 Yuen Tsi, one of the Seven Sages, was playing a game of chess, intelligence was brought to him of the death of his mother. The person who was playing with him would at once have broken up the game; but Yuen Tsi, absorbed in it, insisted on continuing to the end. This Yuen Tsi was a celebrated scholar and functionary, principally renowned by his habits of eccentricity and his love of music and wine-bibbing. He was one of the celebrated "Club of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove," an association of convivial men of letters who were accustomed to meet for learned discussions and jovial relaxation in a grove of bamboos. Lastly I may mention T'ai Tsu

太 祖, the founder of the great Sung dynasty A.D. 960, who was a great chess player, and is stated to have staked, and lost at that game, a large temple which still exists on the slopes of the celebrated Hua Shan mountain on the Wei river in Honan province.

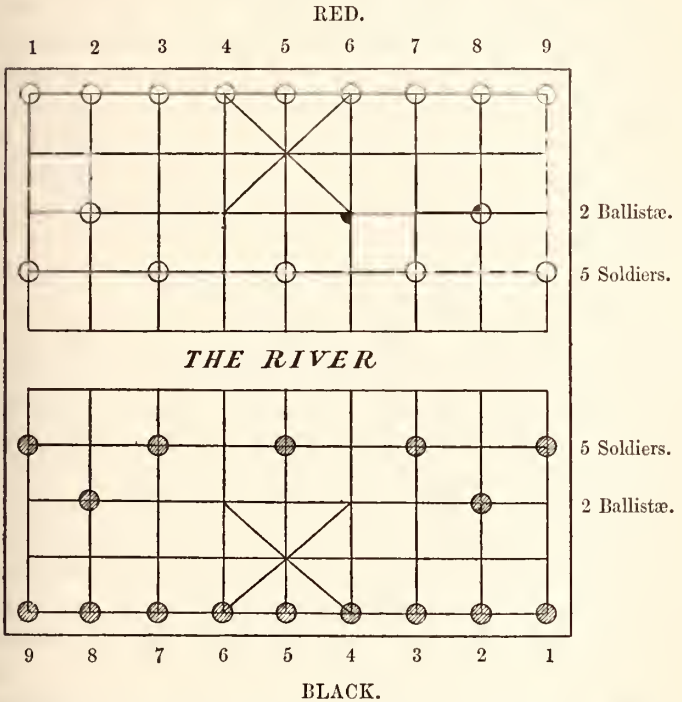
In his "History of Chess" Dr. Forbes gives a passage from a letter addressed to the President of the Royal Irish Academy by Mr. Eyles Irwin, a gentleman who had passed many years of his life in India and China, and who states that he procured from a mandarin an extract from the Concum or Chinese Annals which, "in justice to the Celestials," Dr. Forbes inserts. The "Concum" must be the 綱 鑑 Kang Kien, published in 1711. According to this extract chess was invented by Han Sing, an officer of Hung Cochu (Han Kao-tsu, founder of the Han dyuasty B.C. 202), in the course of a campaign which he was undertaking against Choupayuen (Tsú-Pa wang). The troops being in winter quarters and suffering from the cold, clamoured to be allowed to return to their homes; and in order to pacify them and occupy their attention, Han Sing invented this game for the amusement of the soldiery, and thus quieted them until the spring, when he again took the field and defeated Tsú Pa wang, who afterwards killed himself in despair. This event took place B.C. 202.

The "Kang chien" is an abbreviation of the "Tung chien kang muh," and this latter work, although furnishing ample details as to the campaigns of Han Sing, certainly does not bear out the statement that he invented chess. A facsimile of the Chinese text, given to Mr. Eyles Irwin and forwarded by him from Canton, on the 14th March, 1783, appears in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. v., and an inspection of this shows that the officer who furnished Mr. Irwin with this information has merely drawn up a note of the circumstances from some book or books, unfortunately not named by him. The historical facts and dates are sufficiently correct, but the particular incident of the invention of chess by Han Sing requires confirmation.

The Chinese chess-board may be thus described. It con-

tains 64 squares, like ours, but has this peculiarity that the opposing forces are separated from one another by a line or space of about the width of a row of squares, which intersects the field of the board between the players. All the squares are of one colour.

Plan of the Board.



The Pieces on the back row :—1 Chariot. 2 Horse. 3 Elephant. 4 Minister. 5 General. 6 Minister. 7 Elephant. 8 Horse. 9 Chariot.

As in Wei chi the game of chess is played not upon the squares themselves but upon the points of intersection and along the lines. The lines crossing the board between the players are numbered 1 to 9 from right to left of each player. The pieces number 16 a side as in European chess. On the back row there are 9 pieces, for instead of a queen, the general has two advisers or ministers. The general

stands on the centre or fifth point, supported on either hand by a minister occupying the fourth and sixth points respectively. On the third and seventh points are the elephants, next to them the horses, and on the outside ones the chariots. The four squares in front of the general and his two ministers, giving nine playing-points, are crossed diagonally by two lines, and the movements of these three pieces are confined to this limited space. The next row is vacant, and on the third points of the second and eighth lines stand the two pieces called 砲 P'ao, erroneously called cannons, but which are properly Ballistæ, or engines for hurling stones. In the next rank are the five soldiers or pawns, which are placed on the fourth points of the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth lines; then comes a vacant row and then the River.

Movements of the Pieces.

5. The General—the Tseang or Shuai—moves one point at a time forwards, backwards or sideways, thus controlling eight points besides that on which he stands, within the limits assigned to him and the Ministers. The General cannot be taken, but may take any piece of his opponent's, provided that in doing so he does not move into check; for although he is powerless beyond them, the General's squares or quarters are open to invasion by any piece of the enemy. He may not at any time be put or left in the same line with the opposite General unless some piece intervenes. When the General is in check, of which he should always receive notice by being named, he must either take the piece checking him, cover check or move out of it; otherwise he is checkmated, a term for which it is believed the Chinese have no exact equivalent, although they sometimes say that the piece is "dead."

4-6. The Ministers—Sze—move within the same limits as the General, but only on the diagonal lines, backwards and forwards. Thus the Sze only controls four points besides that on which it stands. It has, however, no more privileges than any other piece on the board, and, if attacked by an

outsider, it can only be moved out of the way or some other piece used to cover it.

3–7. The Elephants—Seang—move backwards and forwards diagonally through two squares at a time, provided that no piece occupies the point between the two squares which must be passed over. The Elephant, however, cannot cross the River, and therefore can only be played on to six points besides that which it occupies.

2–8. The Horse—Ma—which is almost identical with our Knight moves one point backwards, forwards or sideways, and then one diagonally, but he cannot leap over any piece which occupies the intervening point. He is free to move all over the board.

1–9. The Chariot—Chē—moves backwards, forwards and sideways all over the board, just like the Castle, provided that no other piece is in the way.

The two P'ao or "Cannon," as they may now be called, also move backwards, forwards and sideways all over the board, in the same way as the Chariot; but can only assume the offensive or make a capture when some single piece intervenes between them and the adversary to be attacked or taken. Thus, if the General be in a direct line with a hostile cannon at the other end of the board, and no other piece intervenes, he is not in check; but should a single piece at any time come between them when thus placed, the General is at once in check and must either move or interpose a second piece. Or, again, the cannon may leap backwards over some friend or foe—it does not matter which—to capture a hostile piece which may so be open to attack, and by that very same move check the General by interposing the piece over which it has just leaped. The great combative force of the two cannon in a great measure makes up for the absence of the Queen, and the feebleness of the Elephants, while another element of strength lies in the soldiers or pawns.

The Soldier—Ping or Ts'uh—moves forward only one point at a time until he has crossed the river, which he can do in two moves. Once across, however, he becomes a much

more formidable antagonist, as he can now move sideways in either direction or forwards, always one point, but never backwards, and can capture any piece which he may attack on these points. On reaching the end of the board, however, the soldier cannot be promoted to be a superior piece.

In all cases the capturing piece takes the place of the one captured.

As I observed at the commencement of these "notes" the Chinese do not appear to be aware of the existence of chess in another country. On the other hand it is certainly a remarkable fact that the Brahmins consulted by Mr. Irwin *had* heard of the existence of Chinese chess. In the letter on that subject, to which reference has already been made, he writes, "I had often heard (in India) of its existence in China, though on a different footing, as well in respect of the power of the King as in the aspect of the field of battle. The Brahmins who excel in this game, and with whom I used frequently to play for improvement, had a tradition of this nature," etc., etc.

The singular fact of this tradition only goes to confirm that which can scarcely be a matter of doubt—namely, the evident derivation of Indian and Chinese chess from some common source. In the Chaturanga we have the King, the Elephant (moving as a Castle), the Horse, and the Ship (moving as a Bishop). In the Chinese game we have the General, the Minister, the Elephant (moving as a Bishop), the Horse, and the Chariot (moving as a Castle); while in the Shatranj or Mediæval chess we have the King, the Mantri or Minister, the Elephant (moving as a Bishop), the Horse, and the Rukh (moving as a Castle). There can be but little doubt that the Sanscrit word Mantri, here used for Minister, is the origin of that curious word Mandarin, which is so commonly used by foreigners to represent Chinese officials. It is a word which is absolutely unknown to the Chinese themselves, and can scarcely have come into use in any other way than from its connection with the chess piece so called.

In the Chaturanga we have the Ship (as a Bishop) moving

two squares diagonally, and in the Shatranj the Elephant (as a Bishop) moves three squares diagonally, attacking only the last of the three, whilst in the Chinese game the Elephant moves through two squares diagonally, attacking only his third point. Substituting points for squares, the movements of the Horse in the Chinese and Indian games are about identical, while the same may be said of the Rukh of the Shatranj and the Chinese Chariot. On the other hand, the pawns differ in number and moves; there are two Ministers instead of one Mantri, and two cannon instead of none at all; while the River is the most striking point of difference of all; nor can we ascertain whether it is an innovation or an original feature in the game.

The claims of China to a very early knowledge of the game cannot be overlooked, and the views put forward by Captain Cox that Chaturanga was the original game, next to that the Burmese, and thirdly the Chinese, altogether need confirmation, in spite of the dictum of Dr. Forbes that "that is a conclusion at which every unprejudiced person is sure to arrive after a careful consideration of these three varieties of chess."

ART. XV. — *Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon.* By C. J. R. LE MESURIER, Ceylon Civil Service, M.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc.

THERE are few Oriental races more superstitious than the Sinhalese of Ceylon. Omens, charms, divinations, etc., are as much sought after by them as by any other Indian people, and no undertaking of any importance is commenced without a previous consultation with the Neket Kórayá, the astrologer of the village. He is supposed to be acquainted with the temper, habits and movements of the planet gods, and to be able to prescribe offerings for their propitiation; while the Kapurála or Giganarála, the minister of the gods, the Kattadiya or devil charmer, and the Yakkadura or devil dancer, are scarcely less important personages when it becomes necessary to perform the ceremonies prescribed by the astrologer.

I propose in this paper to describe a few of the customs and ceremonies connected with the cultivation of rice in the district in which I am at present stationed,[1] merely premising that although many of them are only observed in full in the more out-of-the-way, and therefore less civilized parts, they are all very generally regarded as absolutely essential to a successful harvest.

When it is intended to commence the work of cultivation, the astrologer is consulted, and he selects a lucky moment (nekata) for the beginning of the work. He also prescribes the food to be eaten and the dress to be worn at the time, and the direction facing which the first sod is to be turned. Above all, if the cultivator wishes to obtain an abundant crop, he must be free of uncleanness of any sort. He should be

[1] Mátora, Southern Province of Ceylon.

careful to turn the sod at the exact moment appointed for it, and he should, at the same time, offer up a short prayer to the Alutnuwara [1] or the Kataragam,[2] the God for a good yield.

When it is time to soak the seed, another lucky moment is obtained, a bow is made to the corn before it is removed to the water, and nothing unclean or impure is admitted into the cultivator's house during the process of germination. A nekata is again required at which to sow the seed, and the manner of performing this work is minutely set out by the astrologer. It often happens that the lucky moment is in advance of the time appointed by the village committee for the sowing of the tract of fields in the village, in which case the cultivator prepares a few inches of ground in a corner of his own field, and sows a few seeds in it at the right moment. At the first sowing of the year he places a flower of the areca-nut palm and a branch of bamboo or a ginger plant over this spot; and, at the sowing in the latter portion of the year, a flower of the cocoa-nut palm or of the Rat Koralheba (a species of the Achyranthes aspera), and a leaf of the Haborala (Alocasia Macrorhiza) plant, while he offers up a prayer that the blades of the rice plants may resemble the broad and green leaves of the Haborala, Bamboo, or Ginger Plant, and that the yield on each ear may be as numerous as the flowers of the cocoa-nut, areca-nut, or Koralheba.

After a tract has been sown, and the plants begin to be attacked by grubs, or are likely to suffer from drought, the cultivators get up what is called a Parapolyehūna (a cocoa-nut fight), one of the favourite games of the goddess Pattini; the scarcity of water or the grubs being ascribed to her anger, and the game being intended to appease her. Each cultivator subscribes a measure or two of unhusked rice to pay expenses, and then, with alms in the shape of fruit and flowers, they wait on the minister of the goddess, the Giganarála or Kapurála, and entreat his services. At the same time the spot is prepared for the game, the cocoa-nuts collected, and the opposing teams are chosen. The Kapurála

[1] The son of Siva Rama.

[2] The son of Siva.

or Giganarála then proceeds to invoke the goddess, explaining, amid the beating of drums and the burning of resin, the object of the meeting, and then the game commences.

The two captains stand about thirty yards apart, and one of them throws a cocoa-nut at the other, who strikes it while in the air with another cocoa-nut held in his hand. Should the thrown cocoa-nut be broken, the sender repeats the throw, until the nut in his antagonist's hand is broken, and then the process is reversed. The game is continued in this manner for several days, until a large number of cocoa-nuts have been broken. Each day a procession is formed and the cocoa-nuts that have been broken are carried in triumph round the fields whose crops are in danger; and every night the kernels of the cracked nuts are crushed, and the oil extracted therefrom is used to light up the play-ground. On the last night a feast is prepared, and, after the Kapurála or Giganarála has offered up a dish containing a small portion of each of the different curries, on an elevated platform, for the use of the gods, the assembled villagers sit round and eat the rest of the food towards the early part of the morning. This brings the ceremony to a close. Should the drought continue or the grubs remain, the evil is attributed to the devils and not to the gods, and the devil-dancers are sent for. A grand dancing (Garayakun-netúva) is begun in the evening and continued until the following morning, offerings being made in the meantime to the Garayakshayo—the house devils.[1]

A platform is also put up by the side of the field, on which, at certain stages of the ceremony, one or more of the dancers perform, and on which, after certain charms are repeated, some resin is burnt.

This devil-dancing is also sometimes performed when flies attack the blossom of the rice plants, the flies being considered due to the agency of the devils or of the evil eye or of the evil month.

[1] These devils are supposed to haunt the house of the cultivator and to be always on the look-out to injure him.

In the Mátora district the plague of flies is, as a rule, met by a ceremony called the Kenkeriwa. This is performed by the Kattadiya or devil charmer, who repeats certain charms over some cocoa-nut milk or powdered resin and then scatters the milk or burns the resin at different places in the field. The field itself is marked out by a line of tender cocoa-nut leaves tied all round it. A platform is erected close by, and offerings made on it to the Mangala, Hurriyam, or Riri [1] devils. There is another form of the ceremony, and a very effectual one it is considered to be, in which a brazen vessel, with the figure of the devil drawn on it, is carried round the field and beaten with a Ranawara (Cassia auriculata) stick.

The services of the astrologer are again sought for at the reaping of the corn. He selects the lucky moment, and at the appointed time the cultivator, with a low bow to the standing corn, and a short prayer for a good crop, commences the work; the astrologer's directions as to the quarter to be faced, the dress to be worn, and the food to be eaten having been in the meantime most strictly observed.

Another nekata is required for the threshing, and another for the measuring of the corn. On both occasions the bow and the prayer for plenty are never omitted. The bow is an acknowledgment of the great number of uses to which the corn can be applied; the Sinhalese believing that everything of great service to them is entitled to respect.[2]

When the corn is removed from the threshing floor to the house, a nekata is obtained to place it in the garner. This is a precaution against rats and insects, while it is also believed that, if stored at the right moment, it will increase in quantity under the watchful eye of the planet gods. Often, too, a nekata is obtained for the first time the corn is taken from the granary, or when it is required for seed purposes.

[1] Devils in the retinue of Vesamuri, the chief of the devils, noted for their mischievousness.

[2] As, for instance, they take particular care at home not to trample on grains of boiled rice, or to leave them where they are liable to be trampled on.

Uncleanliness excites the anger of the gods, and defilement of any sort is carefully avoided during the cultivation of the rice fields. A birth, a death, the eating of pork, and of certain kinds of oily fish, a womans courses, etc., all cause defilement, and no person who has been rendered unclean from any one of these causes is allowed, if possible, to pass through a field of standing corn or a threshing floor. Empty vessels or dried firewood, especially if carried by women, are forbidden in a rice field; in fact, anything which has a tendency to emptiness, lifelessness, or barrenness, is most studiously kept away from the crop.

The roasting or pounding of rice near a field is supposed to have an injurious effect on the quantity and quality of the crop, and, curiously enough, the stealing of unripe corn, by persons who live on the border of rice fields, is commoner in places where this belief is weak than elsewhere. It is thought that the devils, to whom an offering of roasted or fried rice-flour cakes is always made after the crop has been garnered, will be angry because the cultivator has, they will imagine, commenced to enjoy the raw rice without the usual public offering to them.

When the corn is in blossom, no grass can be cut in the field,[1] indeed, the cutting of anything in the field is believed to have a pernicious effect on it.

No account of income and expenditure is ever kept, it being considered most unlucky to do so. The gods, it is thought, dislike it as being a check on their benevolence, and would be certain to punish such presumption.[2]

The mystic number nine is always omitted when corn is measured. In its stead the previous number is repeated with the addition of the word "hondai" (it is good). Thus they say "eight hondai" instead of "nine," "twenty-eight hondai" instead of "twenty-nine," etc. It is believed that the mention of the number enrages the planet gods who are

[1] There is sound practical wisdom in this. The grass at the sides of the ridges, etc., protects the blossom from the wind and from injury by the passers-by.

[2] The fisher people will never count the number of fish they catch, or a large cattle proprietor the number of head he possesses.

nine in number. In some places the odd numbers are omitted, and the word "lábai" (gain) substituted.

When measuring the corn the measurer generally faces the east. He may, however, face any direction but the west, *i.e.* that of the setting sun.

At the threshing-floor empty vessels are always kept upside down, and the language used there is peculiar and not easily understood. All indecent words or words of evil import are carefully avoided, and the threshers behave as if they were in a temple of the gods when they put the corn into the bags.

There is a curious custom of the threshing-floor called the "Goigote"—the tying of the cultivator's knot. When a sheaf of corn has been threshed out, before it is removed the grain is heaped up and the threshers, generally six in number, sit round it, and taking a few stalks, with the ears of corn attached, jointly tie a knot and bury it in the heap. It is left there until all the sheaves have been threshed and the corn is winnowed and measured. The object of this ceremony is to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn in the heap, which it is believed they would otherwise most certainly do, if the performance were omitted.

Soon after the corn is threshed, winnowed and measured, a "merit-giving" entertainment is held. This takes place either at the cultivator's house or at the threshing-floor, before the corn is removed from the field, and generally in the early morning.

The preparations are completed on the preceding night. One among the many dishes is made of seven different kinds of vegetables, while the dessert is composed of ripe plantains and cakes made of the new rice. In some parts of the country guests are verbally invited, in others a conch is blown to assemble the friends and neighbours, and elsewhere they come without invitation after the day and hour have been publicly notified.

On this occasion the Kapurála or Giganárala erects a platform close to the field and places a dish on it containing

a small quantity of all the different kinds of food prepared as a thank-offering to the gods. The guests then sit round on mats, and rice is served out to them on pieces of plantain leaves, but they do not begin the meal until all are helped and the Kapurála or Giganárala has proposed prosperity to the cultivator, and invoked the blessing of the Kataragawa, Paltina or Alutnuvara gods conjointly with the other deities on him. After this ceremony the corn is taken home.

Next, the cultivator pounds out a few measures of the new rice, cooks it and takes it with some highly seasoned curries to the nearest temple, to be offered to the priests, in consideration of which, a short benediction, with a promise of Nirvána, is pronounced upon him. On his return home he takes another supply of uncooked rice to the village headman, who gives him in return for this favour, a cup of coffee and a chew of betel.

As a general rule, the Kapurala, Giganarála, Kathádiya, and Neket Kárayá are paid for their services in kind at the harvest, together with the washerman, the tomtom-beater, the blacksmith and the devil dancer. These present their "little bill" in due course, and are cheerfully and generously requited for their services at the different stages of the cultivation of the field during the preceding months.

ART. XVI.—*The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjáb.* By THOMAS H. THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.L.

THE aim of the present paper is to give some idea of what is known of the 'Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjáb.' It lays no claim to be the result of original research. It is, in fact, little more than an epitome of information collected from books, periodicals, and official records, or gathered from the lips of Indian friends. Moreover, the task of collecting information has been greatly simplified by the appearance, within the last year, of a remarkable work by a rising Indian civilian. I refer to the Report of the late census of the Panjáb, by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson. The Report is a monument of elaborate research, is written in a most attractive style, and has been justly described by high authority as a "mine of information,"—not only regarding census operations—but also concerning the history, races, languages, and literature of the Panjáb. For the first portion of this paper free use has been made of the contents of that valuable work. I shall conclude by a few observations on the effects of thirty-five years of British rule on the development of vernacular literature and the intellectual condition of the people.

Before describing the literature of the Panjáb, it is right that I should say a few words about the land and the people.

The province of the Panjáb, with its feudatory states (exclusive of Kashmír), covers an area exceeding that of Prussia, and includes a population of nearly 23,000,000 souls,

comprising one-fourth of the Musalmán, one-twentieth of the Hindú, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the Queen.

There are other provinces of India more vast, more populous, more wealthy; but none, perhaps, present such striking variety of climate, scenery, and population, or afford so many points of interest to the historian, the ethnologist, or the student of ancient institutions. On the south-west it includes the almost rainless region of Multán, dependent for very life upon wells, canals, and river inundation; further north vast grazing grounds of scrub and bush, then a wide grain-producing tract extending through zones of increasing rainfall and fertility to the foot of the Himalayas; then stretches up among the mountains through forests and rich valleys up to and beyond the peaks of the central ranges, and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spiti. On the east it includes the Mughal capital of Dehli, and the western borders of Hindustán, on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rájputána, and on the west includes within its trans-Jhílam territory a tract which, except in respect of geographical position, can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. Writing in Akbar's time, Abulfazl, the great author of the *Aín-i-Akbari*, describes Lahore as the "grand resort of people of all nations"; this description is, in a sense, applicable to the whole of the Panjáb. Upwards of three hundred separate tribes and castes are enumerated in the census papers, and these are further subdivided into a multitude of clans and sections. The bulk of its peasantry are *Jats*, believed to be of Scythic origin, strong in frame, thrifty, hardworking, impatient of tribal or communal control, but orderly and well disposed. Next in importance come the *Rájputs*, of pure Arian stock, brave, proud, with strong feudal instincts and respect for tribal heads, but lazy and indifferent husbandmen. Then the *Aráins*, a purely Panjáb race, the market-gardeners of the province. Next the *Gujars*, a tribe of eastern Tartary, the herdsmen of the lower hills and riverain lowlands. Among the minor tribes are *Ghakkars*, Shiah immigrants from Khorassan, long

dominant in the Salt Range; *Tájak* aboriginals from Irán; *Mughal* descendants from the soldiery of Baber; *Ahírs* from the west coast of Bombay; *Khaggas* and *Qoreshis* from Arabia; *Meos* and *Mínas*, pre-Arian races from the Aravalli hills. Its central grazing grounds are occupied by *Káthias*, *Kharrals* and other nomad tribes of great antiquity; its hills, by *Dógras*, *Kanets*, *Thákors* and other races peculiar to the Province; while scattered through its towns and villages, are the *Khatris*, *Aroras*, *Súdhs*, *Bhábras* and *Paráchas*, who conduct its commerce. Lastly, on the North-West frontier is the *Pathán* or Afghán of India, whose nationality is still a puzzle, bigoted, vindictive, faithless, unamenable to chiefs' control, but hospitable, and with a charm of manner which makes one almost forget his treacherous nature; and the *Biloch* of Persian stock, revengeful and predatory, and, like the Pathán, hospitable, but, unlike his Pathán neighbour, devoted to his tribal chiefs; less turbulent, perhaps, less treacherous, less fanatical, or, to quote the words of Mr. Ibbetson, "with less of God in his creed and less of the devil in his nature."

So much for the land and the people,—I add a few words on their past history.

In pre-historic times the Panjáb was the scene of the great conflict which forms the main incident of the *Mahábhárata*. In history it first appears as the scene of Alexander's latest exploit, and the rude semblances of triremes which still ply on the waters of the Satlaj are, perhaps, a reminiscence of the conqueror's fleet. After a blank interval of eighty years we find the Panjáb—or part of it—under the sway of the Greek Satraps of Bactria. The legends of their coins, first Greek, then Greek and Pali, attest their conciliatory policy, and we trace their civilizing influence in fragments of artistic statuary and sculpture from the ruined Buddhist monasteries of Swat and Yusufzai. But it was not to last. Successive swarms of Scythian immigrants from the arid plateaus of the Oxus, the *Xantii* of Strabo, the *Jatii* of Ptolemy and Pliny, the *Jats* of modern times, first filled the valley of the Indus, then streamed into the Panjáb. By isolating India from

Greece, they changed the course of history. But they gave the Panjáb its best cultivators. To this day their favourite legendary hero is a Scythian warrior, and in their sturdy independence, their innate love of horses and strong drink, and their use of the bow as the symbol of sovereignty and homage, they preserve some traces of the life and habits of their ancestors. Eight hundred years elapse. The Panjáb is under Rájput chiefs, and Islám appears upon the scene. I will not weary you with an account of the Muhammadan dynasties of the Panjáb. Suffice it to say that the Province was the scene of the struggles which first gave India to the Muhammadans, which in turn transferred the empire of Hindustan from the Lodi to the Mughal dynasty, and from the Mughals to the Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Pánipat, and finally crushed it at Dehli and made us masters of northern India. Meanwhile Sikhism in its militant form was developing, and culminated in the chiefship of Maharája Ranjít Singh, who died, in 1839, Lord of the Panjáb from the Sulimáni mountains to the Satlaj, and from Kashmír to beyond Multán. In 1849 the Panjáb was annexed to the British Empire, and thus, in the language of a local ballad, "sorrow was silenced and the Sikh Empire became a story of the past."

Let us now approach more closely the main subject of the paper, and enquire what are the languages spoken in this region of mingled nationalities? According to the returns of the last census of the Panjáb, the number of eastern languages spoken in the province is *ten*.

The inhabitants of the central plain—three-fifths of the entire population—speak *Panjábi*, a language closely akin to the *Hindi*, but sufficiently distinct in its phonetic system and vocabulary to admit of its being recognized as a separate tongue, as separate, perhaps, as Flemish from Dutch, or Catalan from Provençal; as such it is included by Mr. Beames among the seven modern Arian languages of India, —languages bearing the same relation to the Sanskrit as the Romance languages of Europe to the Latin of Cicero or Cæsar.

The peasantry of the eastern districts speak the western dialect of *Hindí* known as the *Brij Bhásha*, and the Persianized form of that language known as *Urdú* or *Hindustáni* is spoken as a vernacular by all the better classes resident in towns, and is further used as a *lingua franca* throughout the province. The language-field of Hindi (within and without the Panjáb) is said to cover 240,000 square miles, and the number speaking it is estimated to exceed 50,000,000 persons; but of these not more than 2,000,000 reside in the Panjáb.

On the south a form of Hindí called *Bágri* (the language of the Bikanír prairie) is spoken by 117,000 settlers from Rájputána. In the hills north-east, *Pahári* (or the mountain language), another form of Hindí — subdivided into numerous dialects—is the vernacular of 1,500,000 persons, and far away in the valleys of Pángi, Láhul and Spiti, Tibetan (or *Bhot* as it is termed by the natives) is the language of a few thousand mountaineers. In the hills west of the Rávi *Dogri* or *Chibháli*, a language akin to the Panjábi, is spoken, and *Kashmíri*, an Arian vernacular, distinct from Hindi and Panjábi, is spoken by 50,000 immigrants in British territory.

In the south-western plains 1,272,000 persons are recorded as speaking *Jatki* or *Multáni*, a language intermediate between *Sindhi* and Panjábi.

On the north-west frontier *Pashto* or *Pakhto*, the language of the Afgháns (the *Πάκτυες* of Herodotus), is spoken by 900,000 British subjects. It is an Arian language of the Iranic rather than the Indic class, but has many points in common with the Sindhi.

Lastly, *Bilochi*, an archaic form of Persian, overlaid with Sindhi and Jatki words, is still spoken by a few tribesmen—the number given is 25,748—on the south-west border of the province.

Such, briefly, are the ten vernacular languages, or distinctive forms of language, spoken in the Panjáb. It must not, however, be supposed that their respective boundaries

are definite. The dialects are innumerable, and except, perhaps, in the case of Pashto, one language shades off into another. Thus the Hindi shades off into Panjábi, Bágri and Pahári; the Panjábi into Dogri on the north, and Jatki on the south. Even the Tibetan of Spiti (a Mongolian language) shades off into the Arian Pahári of Kúlú.

We are now in a position to take up effectively the problem with which we started. What literature, if any, is to be found in the ten languages above enumerated?

If, indeed, it lay within the scope of my present paper to include the works of Arabian or Persian authors, who flourished in the Panjáb, at the courts of Ghaznivid, Pathán or Mughal rulers, I could give a goodly list. I could claim as a Panjábi the great *Abu-Rihán-al-Barúní*, who, though a native of Kharism or Khiva, spent much of his time in the land of the five rivers. I could claim *Amír Khosrau*, the father of Urdu poetry; the historian *Nizám-ad-dín-Ahmad*; the author of the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*; and last, not least, a poetess, in the person of the princess *Zeb-un-nissa*, daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, whose book of mystical effusions, entitled the *Diwán-i-Makhfi*, is still read and admired by the learned in Hindustán. But the literature with which we have to do is *vernacular* as opposed to classical or exotic literature. In respect to this the information I have to give is, I regret to say, imperfect and unsatisfying; but I shall be able to show that the subject is beginning to attract attention, and if the result of this day's meeting and the encouragement kindly afforded by this Society should be to stimulate research in this new field of study, this paper will not have been written in vain.

Let us proceed to take the languages in the order already given, commencing with Panjábi. Though Panjábi is spoken by 14,200,000 persons, and is known colloquially by almost every district officer in the province, its literature has, until lately, been singularly neglected. At an early period of our connection with the Panjáb, the language was sneered at as a *patois*, and its literature has suffered the fate

of the proverbial dog. But it *has* a literature, written as well as oral (if such an expression is admissible), a literature not merely of to-day, but extending back for upwards of two centuries, less extensive than the Hindi and Urdú, less cultivated, less ornate, but not to be despised; much of it is borrowed from Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindi originals, much of it uninteresting, much of it puerile, much of it a good deal worse, but it is a mine worth working, and the remark of Mr. Beames upon the language is applicable also to the literature of the Panjáb:—"There is a flavour of wheaten flour and a reek of village smoke about it, which is infinitely more captivating than anything which the hide-bound Pandit-ridden languages of the eastern parts of India can show us."

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the most ancient specimen of written Panjábi is an old version of the *Janam Sákhi*, or Life of Nának, the Sikh reformer, believed to have been drawn up by Gúrú Angad (the 2nd Guru) between A.D. 1539 and 1552. This old version—probably the original one—was discovered by the late Dr. Trumpp, and a translation of it is included in the introduction to his great work on the *A'di Granth*. One would have thought that the Sikh Scriptures, embodying, as they do, the doctrines and precepts of popular teachers, would have been recorded in the vernacular language of the people for whose use and benefit they were compiled. But, strange to say, it is not so. According to the learned translator of the Granth, both portions of that volume, the *A'di Granth* and the *Dasamah Pádshah ka Granth*, are written, for the most part, not in Panjábi, but in old forms of Hindi—and are not only unintelligible to the people, but not accurately understood by its professed exponents—the *Granthis* of the Amritsar temple. But here and there, for instance, at the end of the *Japji* or opening prayer, and in the *Bhog* or concluding portion, *Sloks* or distichs in the Panjábi language are introduced,—examples of which will be found in the appendix. The next oldest specimen, according to a Sikh friend, who ought to know, is the *Ditta Randháva ka*

Gosht—the book of the sayings of Nának. Besides this is a mass of religious literature, such as the *Sau Sáki*, portions of which have been roughly translated into English by my friend Sardár Ata Singh Bhadauria, the *Sáki* of *Máni Singh*, the Life of Hárgobind, and other works not likely to be interesting to the European,—with, perhaps, one exception; I refer to a collection of verses, dating from the Guruship of Arjún (1581–1606), and known as *Wárán Bhai Gurdás da*. The verses are written in the metre used for martial epics, and are intended to describe the battle of good and evil in the human soul. As specimens of the earlier secular literature I can mention the *Páras Bhág* (a collection of ethical precepts), an epic on Akbar's siege of Chittore, and a much admired one on Nadir Shah's invasion. Of a later period we have numerous translations and imitations of Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindi tales and poems, and notably of the *Bárah Máh* or "Songs of the Twelve Months,"—a favourite collection by *Mir Jawán*,—a well-known Urdú poet. Of these modern imitators *Háshim*, who lived in the time of Maharája Ranjít Singh, is the most admired, and a specimen of his polished versification will be included in the appendix. Lastly, in Panjábi, as in Hindi and Sanskrit, poetry is applied to classes of literature not deemed in western countries to be capable of poetic treatment. Thus there are poetical books on medicine,—the *Khair Manukh*,—a poetical guide to sanitation, and the *Rajniti* or *Bhai Budh Singh ka Baith*, a poetical treatise on the duties of a prince.

So much for what may be termed the post-classical literature of the Panjáb. But side by side with this literature there is in the Panjáb, as elsewhere in India, a vast amount of Folklore in the shape of legends or folk-poems, folk-tales, ballads, songs, and *swángs*, or semi-religious mythical plays, partly acted and partly recited. Until very recently this interesting field of literature was almost unexplored. An example, indeed, had been set in other parts of India by the publication of *Old Deccan Days*, *Folk-tales of Bengal*, and the *Indian Fairy Tales* of Miss Whitley Stokes, re-edited by

Mr. Ralston; and in respect to Pashto folklore, by the works of Major Raverty, and the collection of popular stories, ballads, riddles, and proverbs in Mr. Thorburn's "Bannu" (published in 1876), and of Balúchi folklore in Mr. Dames's Northern Balúchi Grammar (published in 1881). At length, however, in the case of Panjábi, a commencement has been most satisfactorily and appropriately made by the son of one, whose name will be always associated with one of the most successful periods of the administration of the Panjáb; I refer to Captain R. C. Temple, of the Bengal Staff Corps, the son of Sir Richard Temple. He is publishing in numbers a collection of Panjáb legends, carefully recorded so as to preserve the peculiarities of language, together with a scholarlike translation. There is an introductory note to each legend, but few further annotations, a defect which will, doubtless, be remedied hereafter. He is editing with valuable notes a series of folk-tales, collected by his coadjutrix Mrs. Steel, the wife of a Civilian, and published in the *Indian Antiquary*, and further has started a monthly periodical entitled *Panjáb Notes and Queries*, for the "systematic collection of authentic notes and scraps of information regarding the country and the people."

My remarks on Panjáb folklore will be taken chiefly from the introduction to his volume on Legends.

"In the Panjáb," says Capt. Temple, "the *folk-tale* is abundant everywhere. It lives in every village and hamlet, in every nursery and zenana, and wherever the women and children congregate. The *folk-poem* is very far from dead, but the wandering bard is beginning to die out."

The "bards" he divides into the following classes:—

(1) The bard proper, kept at the courts of native rulers or grandees, who sings, *inter alia*, national legends of warlike feats, and is the depositary of the family history of the local chief;

(2) The priestly depositary of the sacred legends of the Hindús, who, with his company, sings *swángs* at the various stated festivals, at the Holi in spring, and the Dasahra in autumn especially;

(3) The wandering devotee, who attaches himself to some

saint, Hindú or Musalmán, and sings laudatory legends at the festivals peculiar to his hero;

(4) The professional ballad-singer or *Mirási*, who accompanies dancing girls and sings for hire at the joyous ceremonies connected with marriages and the like. He will sing any kind of song you like, from a national legend to the lowest ribaldry, and is invariably a disreputable rascal;

(5) A performer at the festivals of low outcastes in imitation of the true *swáng*. With a prodigious memory, and some notion of verse and metre, he will drone away in language suited to himself and his humble audience through hundreds of lines of legend—always valuable;

(6) The rough villager—especially in the hills—with a turn for poetry and recitation, who recites stories strictly local in their scope to an admiring crowd of his friends and neighbours, in language that is at once the joy of the philologist and the plague of the folk-lore collector.

The *legends* he has divided into groups,—

(1) Those relating to *Rassálu*, son of *Sálivahn*, the eponymic hero of Syálkot, descendant of a Scythian prince;

(2) Those relating to *Sakhi Sarwar*, the favourite modern Muhammadan saint of the Panjáb;

(3) Those relating to other saints;

(4) Those relating to kings.

The Panjáb legend can hardly be described as "lively reading," but is far from dull to the student of history, philology, and ancient customs.

The *tales* are endless. Many, such as the well-known Leila Majnún and Yúsaf Zuleika, are from the Persian; others old Sanskrit or Hindi stories. Of those of local origin many are great rubbish, many are worse; some are unobjectionable, and a few amusing. But, after all, the value of a tale or legend is not to be measured by its power to amuse; the legend is a precious repository of old forms of language, and sometimes of historical tradition, and both tales and legends, besides their value to the comparative folklorist (to use an expression from America), embody much useful information about the habits, thoughts, and customs

of the people. Those who have had the pleasure to read 'Indian Fairy Tales' will know how wide a field the folk-tale offers for interesting and instructive criticism. Some of the favourite tales have long been included in the written literature of the Panjáb; of this class is the poetic tale of *Sússi* and *Pannú*, well known in Sinde; of *Wáris Shah* and *Hir*; of *Soni*, the potter's daughter; of *Sáhiba* and *Mirza;* of *Saifál*. I give the titles of a few others translated by Mrs. Steel as suggestive of their character :—

The Princess Pepperina.
The King with Seven Sons.
The Death and Burial of poor Hen-sparrow.
The Toper and the Farmer's Wife.

The general features of a good Panjábi folk-poem or folk-tale are similar to those in other parts of India, and may be thus described.

There is the hero (who is sometimes, by-the-bye, golden-haired and fair-complexioned) and his companions; then, perhaps, an ogre or a giant; probably a serpent; also saints, religious mendicants, witches, and almost invariably talking animals. The hero gets into difficulties, the ogre devours somebody, the serpents fly and scorch, the witches carry off the heroine, and the religious mendicant makes himself generally disagreeable; but the talking animals are generally on the right side, the saints perform miracles, and somehow or another all ends well.

Of the *ballads* some are mere genealogical recitations of the names of former heroes, accompanied by complimentary ejaculations. These are generally written in continuous rhyme, thus :

Ádi Khaira chaudhri, tappe
Chohak de parwáne,
Jedh, Sajáda, Somra, Kande,
Vair mango, gur ganne,
Age Hast, Bailak, Sárang, Aladín
Kotar sab chuanon manne;
Nain, Laka, Mirza Dilpat,
Butiale banne.

Old and renowned was chaudhri Khaira,
Villages were under the sway of Chohak,
Jedh, Sajáda, Somra,
Ate enmity like sugar.
Hast, Bailak, Sarang, Aladin,
These four all men respected;
Nain, Laka, Mirza Dilpat,
Who brake down the trees.

A few are historical. One in my possession gives a brief history of the Muhammadan dynasties of India; another contains a spirited account of the first Sikh campaign, ending with the battle of Sobraon. A few deal with politics or indicate the current of popular thought in matters of general interest. Some of these have been translated by Mrs. Steel.

The *songs* are infinitely various. Every class, every tribe, every form of occupation has its group of songs. The irrigator as he plunges his leathern bucket in the well repeats a particularly melodious refrain; canal-clearers will sing *dorhas* or antiphones all night long; the hill-coolie, who carries your bag ten miles up hill for sixpence, will, if encouraged, sing all the way; the boatmen have a very varied repertoire, and the *Pawindahs*—but I must explain who these Pawindahs are. They are tribes of warrior merchants from Afghánistán, with Jewish face and fresh complexion, who, at the commencement of each cold season, appear, with knife and shield and matchlock and strings of neatly-laden camels, on the confines of our western frontier. Yearly they fight their way from Ghazni to the Gúmal Pass; thence moving into British territory, fire a salute, lay down their arms, encamp their families in safety on the plains of the Panjáb, and then spread themselves as peaceful traders throughout northern India, exchanging their madder, grapes and dried-fruit, for copper, indigo and piece-goods, and returning at the commencement of the hot weather to their homes in the hills. These Pawindahs have a grand collection of melodious songs and antiphones, some stirring, some

pathetic. Lastly, the domestic songs are endless in number, variety and style, from "tazah batazah," sung by a trained vocalist from Dehli, to the "hilli milli" of the ordinary nautch girl—the prevailing characteristic being stupidity and impropriety.

To complete my sketch of Panjábi literature in a broad sense, I append some specimens of the *proverbial sayings* of which Panjábis, in common with all eastern nations, are peculiarly fond. Many of them are, doubtless, already known, but some are new. The study of the proverbial literature of India is not only, as Mr. Long has shown, most interesting in itself, not only does it throw great light upon the character and habits of the people, but for those engaged in administration has a considerable practical value. Thus Mr. O'Brien, author of the Glossary of the Multáni Language, observes:

"To be able to quote an apposite proverb or saying increases one's power, and makes intercourse with the natives of the country much more cheerful than it usually is. The Multáni peasant seems to remember nothing but droughts, failures of canals, blights, locusts, murrains, and every possible misfortune that can befall a farmer. He forgets good harvests, high prices, timely rains, and canal-water. While he is making the usual complaints, he perhaps admits that rain fell in Mágh and Phagan, and then you have him at once. 'But you have a proverb that "if rain falls in Mágh, the grain will be so abundant that the straw will not contain it," and we also know from the wisdom of your ancestors that if rain falls in Phagan the very fields won't hold the grain.' When he is brought to book in this way, the lugubrious Jat collapses and becomes a pleasant companion. In kutcherry if you refuse a Jat's request and tell him the proverb, 'a miser is better than a liberal man because he refuses at once,' he goes away with a laugh instead of appealing to all the divine powers and eventually being hustled out by the orderlies."

It remains to say a few words about the present condition

and prospects of the Panjábi language and literature. Writing in 1872, Mr. Beames prophesied the ultimate extinction of Panjábi by Urdú, and Mr. Ibbetson considers there can be no doubt the process is in progress. It may be so; but with 14,000,000 speakers of Panjábi, of whom 937 in every thousand can neither read nor write, and only 15 in a thousand are being instructed (such are the somewhat startling statistics of the census), the process will be a slow one. Moreover, with the multiplication of printing and lithographic presses, a new Panjábi literature is rapidly developing. There are now four newspapers published in that language, and from 100 to 200 works in Panjábi are published every year. While two societies—the *Guru Singh Sabha*, and the *Sat Sabha*—have been established at Lahore for the diffusion of useful knowledge through the medium of Panjábi.

Hindí and Urdú.—The written literature of Hindi and its Persianized form Úrdú or Hindustáni, is very extensive, and has found an enthusiastic admirer in the late M. Garcin de Tassy, who, in his "Histoire de la Literature Hindoui et Hindustani," has described the works of some 720 writers, consisting almost entirely of poets. Its folklore is similar in character to that of the Panjáb proper, and will not be further noticed.

Hindi literature commences with the *Prithirájá Rasáu*, of *Chand Bardai*, a native of Lahore, who wrote about A.D. 1200. His poem describes the birth and death and final overthrow of the last Hindú king of Dehli, to whose court he was attached in the capacity of bard. Urdú literature may be said to commence with *Khosrau* of Dehli, who was born in the thirteenth century, but lived to a great age, though *Wali*, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century, is usually regarded as the father of Urdú poetry. The two literatures have since developed side by side, the Hindi following the form and style of Sanskrit poetry and current folklore, the Urdú taking as its model the *diwáns* (medleys), the *ghazals* (odes) and romances of Persian poetry. The general character of later Hindi literature is thus described by Beames (pp. 83, 84, of his Comparative Grammar):—

"Subsequent Hindi literature consists almost entirely of long, tiresome religious poems, together with some of a lighter type, translations or rather 'rifaccimenti' of older poems, such as the 'Ramayan' of Tulsi Dâs, none of which are particularly worth reading, except for the light they throw on the gradual progress of the language. The reiterated employment by them all of a certain set of stock words and phrases deprives their works of any appearance of individuality or originality, which, added to the extremely dull and uninteresting nature of the subject-matter of the poems themselves, makes them on the whole about the least attractive body of literature in the world. The seven hundred couplets of Bihâri Lâl contain many pretty, though fanciful, conceits, and are composed in extremely correct and elegant verse; and here and there among the religious poems may be found meditations and prayers of some merit. The 'Ramayan' of Tulsi Dâs is probably only admired because the masses are unable to read the original of Valmiki. In modern times a perfect cloud of writers has arisen, amongst whom, however, it is impossible to single out any one deserving of special mention."

The same description is applicable to modern Urdú literature. The works chiefly read in the Panjáb are (or rather were, for my information is not very new) the poems of Wali, *Mir-Taqi*, *Sauda*, *Miskin*, and the *Bara Máh* of Mir Jawán, to which allusion has been already made. History has generally been recorded in Persian, but a few local writers in Urdú, such as *Ghulám Murtaza*, *Sujún Singh*, and others, may be mentioned.

But there is a work in old Hindi which deserves special notice in an account of the literature of the Panjáb. I refer to the *Granth Sáhib* or sacred book of the Sikhs. This is composed, as has been before mentioned, of two parts—the *Adi Granth* collected by Guru Arjun (A.D. 1581–1606), and the *Dasamah Bádshah ka Granth*, collected by Guru Govind the 10th Guru (A.D. 1675–1708). The first part has been translated by Dr. Trumpp. It consists of (1) the *Jap* an introduction by Nának; (2) some devotional

pieces; (3) thirty-one *Rágs*, each Rág being a medley of verses by different Gurus and Bhagats (or saints), including a Mahomedan Sufi known as *Sheikh Farid*; (4) the *Bhog*, or concluding portion, consisting of *Sloks* or distichs in the Panjábi language. The second part, written in a purer form of Hindi, consists chiefly of the productions of Guru Govind's immediate followers.[1]

Of its general character as a literary work, the account given by the learned translator is not encouraging. "It is for us occidentals," he says, "a most painful and indeed an almost stupefying task to read even a single Rág."

This is not the place for entering upon a disquisition regarding the doctrines and teaching of the great Sikh apostle. Suffice it to say that the somewhat unfavourable views regarding them expressed in Dr. Trumpp's introduction are not generally held by Englishmen in India, and that a far more favourable account will be found in a work of considerable authority but little known—Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, published in 1848.

To return to Úrdú literature in the Panjáb. It has immensely developed of late years, and on an average 400 works issue per annum from the local presses.

Bágri.—No information.

Pahári.—The only written literature the language appears to possess begins and ends with a small but interesting collection of rhapsodies in praise of *Rája Jagat Singh* (A.D. 1650), by a Kangra bard called *Gambhir Rae* (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, p. 92).

Tibetan.—Mr. Cust (Modern Languages of the East Indies) says: "It has a vast literature, four peculiar forms of character derived from the Indian, but the pronunciation has long departed from the mode of spelling. The New Testament has been translated into Tibetan in the Tibetan characters, but the study of the language and literature of this important field has been so neglected that scarcely one

[1] Those who desire further information regarding the Hindi dialects occurring in the *Granth* should consult Dr. Trumpp's paper on 'Die ältesten Hindui-Gedichte,' published in the Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1879.

scholar exists. Jaeschke's Dictionary is now ready for the press, and will be published by the Government of India."

Dogri.—No indigenous literature, but folk-songs and the like. The New Testament has been translated into the Chamba dialect.

Kashmíri.—No indigenous written literature, but several folk-tales have been published by Mrs. Steel in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xi., and an extract from a religious poem by *Sheikh Shibli*, translated by Dr. Leitner, is given in the appendix. The New Testament in Kashmíri is procurable at the British and Foreign Bible Society's Depot, and a Dictionary of Kashmíri Proverbs, by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, is being published in India for the benefit of the Mission Hospital, Kashmír.

Jatki.—Not a written language, but it abounds in most homely and vigorous proverbs, stories, riddles, aphorisms, and poems, specimens of which are given in Mr. O'Brien's "Glossary of the Multáni Language," published by the Panjáb Government. The most popular form of poetry is the *doṛha*, which is a verse containing two lines,—one sings a couplet and another answers him. One of their favourite stories is that of the "Three Fools." A traveller salutes three men who are sitting by a road-side. They quarrel as to which of them the salute is intended for. The traveller says he saluted the biggest fool. The men thereupon go to the Qázi, and each relates his adventures to prove that he answers that description. The Panjáb Bible Society has published a Multáni version of the New Testament.

Pashto.—The earliest book to which a date can be assigned is a history of the Yúsufzai, written by one *Shekh Máli* in A.D. 1417. There is now a considerable mass of indigenous literature, chiefly consisting of tribal and national histories and of erotic or Sufist poems. Among them may be mentioned the diwáns of *Khushál Khán*, the great Khattak chief (A.D. 1640–1690), known as the "Father of Afghán poetry," and of *Abd-ul-Rahmán* and *Abd-ul-Hamíd*, of the Momand tribe (A.D. 1720), the "Sádi of the Afghans;" the *Makhzan-i-Afgháni*, by the celebrated Mughal priest *Akhúnd Darwáza*,

and the *Tárikh-i-Murassa* of *Afzul Khán* Khattak. Ballads are numerous, and some of them very spirited. A translation of one on the Fight at Naushairha (between the Afghans and Sikhs in 1823), is given in Major Raverty's Pushtu Grammar, and there is an excellent collection of Marwáti ballads, stories, riddles, and proverbial sayings in Mr. Thorburn's "Bannú" (1876). The New Testament has been translated into Pashto.

Balochi or Balúchi.—Not a written language; but the memories of the people teem with ballads setting forth the brave deeds and loves and adventures of their national heroes, and the poetic fire is not extinct, for additions are being made to the stock. They are also fond of riddles, which are always in verse. See Mr. Dames's "Grammar of the Northern Balochi Language," 1881.

Specimens of the different classes of literature above described will be found in the appendix.

I proceed to give a few facts indicative of the development of vernacular literature in the Punjab, and of the intellectual condition of the people since the province was annexed.

In the first Administration Report for 1849–50, 50–51, there is no reference to literature.

Ten years afterwards I find the following remarks:—

"Lahore of the present day cannot claim to be the abode of vernacular learning; the better educated are content with a smattering of Sádi, Háfiz, and Nizámi, and the favourite literature of the day consists of songs, ballads, and tales. There is one newspaper with a circulation of 400 copies, and four vernacular presses, but as yet the native of the Panjáb is not fond of rushing into print. The few vernacular works published consist principally of reprints of old works on the Muhammadan faith, a few pamphlets on Hindú religious subjects, a few Muhammadan works on medicine, and a few simple educational books; tales and popular ballads make up the remainder of the list. Books of travel or on history find no sale."

I now turn to the last Administration Report available—that for 1882–3, and find that there were 858 vernacular

books published in the province during the year, and among them 9 on historical subjects, 47 on science, 66 on language, and 7 on mental and moral science; that there were 28 vernacular newspapers, and 24 periodicals (4 literary, 2 biographical, 4 medical); and 26 societies for the encouragement of different branches of literature, and the discussion of social, political, and religious questions, and diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars.

Again, respecting education, the writer of the first Report above referred to, after giving an account of the indigenous schools which professed to give a certain amount of instruction to less than 5 per 1000 of the population, observes, "The studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develope the intellectual faculties of either."

In 1882-3 we find there is an incorporated university, 25 high schools, upwards of 2800 primary and indigenous schools, besides a medical school, 3 industrial schools, a school of Art, and several hundred girls' schools.

So far, so good; but then regard for a moment the following figures taken from the Census Report of 1881:—

In the Panjáb, out of every 1000 males (including those of 5 years and under), 920 are uninstructed.

In England, out of 1000 persons of all ages, 120 are under instruction; in India 28; in the Panjáb 15.

What is the inevitable conclusion from these facts? That the efforts made and being made to extend and improve education are very praiseworthy, and the advance, from one point of view, prodigious; but that, after all, we have hardly *touched* the great mass of the population. In these circumstances it will not, perhaps, be inappropriate to offer a suggestion based upon the subject we have been considering. In the imperfect sketch I have given of the past and present condition of the literature of the Panjáb, one fact, at least, has been established, the ardent love of the Panjábi, whether from the hills or from the plains, whether Hindú, Sikh, or Musalmán, for *poetry* and *tales*. Would it not be possible

to utilize this love in the cause of education in the widest sense? Would it not be possible for the Educational Department and the twenty-six Literary Societies of which we have just heard, to prepare and diffuse, through schools, zenanas, and other means, a better class of tale and poem and song, and thus develope in the early future not for the few thousand of the better class alone, but for the entire population of a great province—a more wholesome, a more refined, a more elevating Literature of the Panjáb?

APPENDIX.

Specimens of Vernacular Literature of the Panjáb.

I. Panjábi.

1. Panjábi Sloks from the *Granth* (from Trumpp's "Ádi Granth").

(*a.*) Slok at the end of the Jăpjí (date, beginning of sixteenth century?).

Păvăṇŭ gūrŭ, pāṇī pĭtā, mātā dharte măhătŭ,
Dĭvāsŭ rātī, dūĭ dāī dāyā, khelāī săgălā jăgătŭ.
Changyāĭā buryāĭā vāchāī dhārmŭ hajūri,
Kărămī āpī āpṇī, ke nēṛai ke dūrĭ,
Jĭnī nāmŭ dhĭāĭā, gāē sămakăti ghālī,
Nānăkă te mŭkhă ŭjălī, keṛi chŭtō nālī.

Translation.

Wind is the Guru, water the father, great earth the mother,
Day and night, the two are female and male nurse, the whole world sports.
The Righteous Judge rehearses the good and bad works (of men) in the presence (of God),
By their own actions some are near, some afar-off (God).
Those who have meditated on His name are gone, having finished their labours.
Nanak! their faces are bright, (and) with them what multitudes are saved!

(*b.*) A *doṛha* or couplet in the *Bhog* (concluding portion of the Granth), written by Gurú Tegh Bahádur (9th Gurú) when in prison at Dehli, to his son Gurú Gobind (date, latter part of seventeenth century).

Bălă chŭtkiō, bāndnă părē, kăchū na hōtā upāi,
Kăhŭ Nānăkă, ăbă ōṭă hărī, găjă jiŭ hōhŭ săhāi.

Translation.

My strength is exhausted, fetters have fallen upon me, there is no means of escape left;
Nának says, now Hari is my refuge, like an elephant he will become my helper.

2. Specimen of the style and language of the older Panjáb legend; from the legend of Rájá Rasálú (Capt. Temple's *Legends of the Panjáb*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53).

Rájá Hoḍi (king of the country between Atak and Jallálábád) is led by the deer Hírá to the palace of Rájá Rasálú, in the Múrtí hills (S.W. of Ráwalpindi), and sees Ráni Kokiláṅ, the young wife of Rájá Rasálú, sitting in a lattice-window. The following dialogue ensues:

Said the Ráni:

Mahláṅ heth phirandiá Rájá; sháhid phirín, ki chor?
Ike Rájá mere dú wairí haiṅ? ike khaṛá í ḍhor?

O Rájá wandering beneath the palace: art thou a true man or a thief?
Art thou an enemy to my Rájá? or does an animal stand there?

Said the Rájá:

Choráṅ maile kapṛe, Ráni; sháhid ike rang ho:
Na maiṅ tere Rájá dá wairi húṅ, na khaṛá í dhor:
Merioṅ ándá dúr se, ithe khaṛáiá zor.

Thieves wear dirty clothes, Ráni; true men clean;
Nor am I thy Rájá's enemy, nor does an animal stand here:
I came from afar after my enemy; I stand here of necessity.

And then he said:

Badaloṅ dhaṭhí jhaṛ-badalí: kin ghaṛí sunár?
Nák talwár dá píplá, hoṭh pánd de bíṛ!
Kis Rájá dí beṭṛí? Kis Rájá dí nár?
Taiṅ núṅ dhaular choṛhke kaháṅ gaiá gaṅwár?

The black rain-clouds fall from the clouds,[1] what jeweller made thee?
O thou whose nose is a sword-point,[2] with lips red with betel-leaf!
What king's daughter art thou? What king's wife?
Leaving thee in the palace, where has the fool gone?

The Rání replied:

Na maiṅ badaloṅ dhaṭhiáṅ, Rájá; na ghaṛí suniár;
Nák talwár dá píplá, hoṭh pánd de bíṛ,
Rájá Sarkap dí maiṅ beṭṛi: Rájá Rasálú di maiṅ nár.

I fell from no rain-cloud, Rájá; no jeweller made me;
(Though) my nose is a sword-point, (and) my lips are red with betel;
I am the daughter of Rájá Sarkap; I am Rájá Rasálú's wife.

3. Specimen of Sikh religious poetry (from the Wáráṅ Bháí Gurdás Jí).

Amali amal na chhaḍḍní hui bahni ikaṭhṭhe,
Jiu júe júáríá lag dáv upaṭhṭhe,
Chorí chor na pallarahiṅ dukh sahni garaṭhṭhe,
Rahin nagni ka wáṛíáhuṅ ve karmí laṭhṭhe,
Pápí páp kamaunde oi phirde naṭhṭhe,
Pír murídán pirhaṛi sab páp paṇaṭhṭhe.

Translation.

The drunken cannot leave off drinking if they sit together,
So the player with dice continues to play falsely,
The thief will not give up stealing, but prefers to suffer pain,
The profligate will not abandon his courses,
The evil do evil and continue doing it,
[So] the saint and his disciples being united all evil ceaseth.

4. From Háshim's '*Songs of the Twelve Months.*'

The song contrasts the delights of spring with the agony of a mistress parting from her lover who starts in spring-time on a journey to Central Asia. There is only space for two stanzas.

Chaṛde chetar bágh baháráṅ,
Rassia rang suhá gulzáráṅ,
Liyáṅ dil bhar pakaṛ muáráṅ,
Karkar minstooṅ arz guzáráṅ;
Jáo na jániyán!

[1] Referring to the Rání's dark complexion. [2] *i.e.* O fascinating one.

Jáwan aj nahíṅ aj wáṛi,
Rakh dildári, chhaḍḍ tayárí,
Taithoṅ jild hazáran báṛi.
Gol gumániáṅ.

'Tis the first month, Chetar; the garden is springlike,
Delicious is the crimson hue of the flower-beds,
The loved-one seized the bridle-reins,
And imploringly entreated him, saying,
'Go not, O beloved!

'Thou must not leave to-day,
Oh, be not heartless; stay thy departure;
Round thee my soul a thousand times
Weaves a circle!'

5. Folk-song (from Capt. Temple's paper in the *A.S.B. Journal*, 1882).

Jin suí hare kíte han,
Atc sáunle kíte kág,
Dhaule hans banáeke,
Sab rang mor ate rág;
Uh Swámí ik satt hai,
Ali kúṛá sabh sansár,
Jo kar'ní mánas kare,
To hár utáranhár.

Translation.

He who made the parrot green,
And made the crow black,
Made the swan white,
And the peacock many-hued, and their song;
He is the one true Lord,
And the whole world is vanity.
If a man do his duty,
Then will he be saved.

6. Folk-song (from do.).

Dhúp paí tar-tíkhní,
Rae Mamóluwá bo,
Kiháṅ kari haṇḍaní bát
Merá man taiṅ liyá bo

Tum ghorá, ham pálkí,
Rae Mamóluwá bo,
Chali rahnge ikṭyo sáth,
Merá man taiṅ liyá bo.

Tum sísa, ham ár'sí,
Rae Mamóluwá bo,
Baní rahndí, goryá den háth,
Merá man taiṅ liyá bo.

Tum champa, ham máltí,
Rae Mamóluwá bo,
Khaṛi rahnge ikṭyo sáth,
Merá man taiṅ liyá bo.

Tum long ham iláyachí,
Rae Mamóluwá bo.
Bik'je pansáriye den háṭ,
Merá man taiṅ liyá bo.

Translation.

The sunshine is growing hot,
O Rae Mamolu,
How shall we go along the road?
O you have captured my heart!

You be the horse and I the carriage,
O Rae Mamolu,
We will go on and on together,
O you have captured my heart!

You be the looking-glass and I the looking-glass-ring,
O Rae Mamolu,
Looking pretty on beauty's hand,
O you have captured my heart!

You be the *champá*, I the *máltí* flower,
O Rae Mamolu,
We will stand side by side in the garden,
O you have captured my heart!

You be the clove, and I the cardamum,
O Rae Mamolu,
We'll be sold [together] in the druggist's shop—
O you have captured my heart!

7. "Song of the Canal" (translated by Mrs. Steel, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xi.).

Naharí naharí phal pakke pání gahari,
Jadoṅ paṭṭ le ándé náhar lagge moghe te jhalár,
Rang sipáhiáṅ thekadár jitthe nahar paindí sí á;
Tar tar gaṇḍhe te tarkhárí évi nahar de kaṇḍe.
Lokí khánde kanak dál jitthe suá piá sí á;
Jitthe Jaṭṭáṅ moghe lai lá otthe kanak te kapáh:
Pháthá Jaṭṭ te juláhá táṇí tór galoṅ to láha.
Víga rupaiya Sarkár dá, áná Lambardár dá.
Jarmána bhardí khál dá Sáhib Jí lendá chiṭṭi chándí.
Sáhib Jí lendá kharí chándí páni pan fuṭ rahá;
Pání panj fuṭ rahá suá ṭuṭno rahá.
Suá ṭuṭ rohí vich piâ, Sáhib chhittar leke piâ.
Thoko kille: deho paráli: aggoṅ kheti jándí mári.
Agge Painehh, pichchhe Patwárí, ehhittar painde wáro-wárí.

By the deep waters of the canal the fruits ripen.
When they dug the canal they made cuts and water-wheels.
Where the canal goes there are the profits of the watermen and the contractors.
Also there are cucumbers, onions and vegetables on the canal-banks.
Where the canal goes there the people eat wheat and pulse.
Where the Jats take the canal-cuts there grow wheat and cotton.
The Jat begins in earnest and the weaver breaks his loom.
A rupee an acre to the Government and an anna to the Lambardár.
The magistrate demands silver in payment of fines for cutting the canal.
The magistrate takes good silver for five feet of water.
The water comes up to five feet and the cut runs continuously.
The cut breaks into the jungle and the magistrate beats (the workmen) with shoes.
Drive in the pegs! Give up your straw, then your field will go to the bad.
First the headman and then the accountant are beaten in turn with slippers!

8. Song, very popular in the Panjáb during the late Kabul War (Capt. Temple, *A.S. Bengal Journal* for 1882).

Merí sundar pyárí áí mandar meṅ ;
Hans hans kartí hai, he, khilí.
"Kábul ki laṛáí, yaro, sunkar mujhko,
Ho, be, rahí thí bekalí.
Kábul márke kabje meṅ láe.
Jítí nahíṅ hai Hirát galí."

Translation.

My pretty dear came into the house,
Laughing she is, oh, bursting with laughter.
"I have heard about the Kábul war, my friend,
And oh, I have remained ill at-ease—
Kábul we have conquered and taken into our possession,
But we have not conquered the road to Herat."

9. Part of a Ballad describing the battles of the Satlaj in 1847.

Translation.

The queen-mother (*i.e.* the Rání Chandán) cried out from her inner chamber—
"What will become of me ?
Ye clamour for high pay, O Khálsah,
But take ye the pay of former days."

The Sikhs said No! and straight took counsel
To destroy Dehli at a blow.
But God careth not for the designs of man ;
He heedeth no one !

Then cried the Sikhs: "Make ready your powder ;
First destroy Ferozepore,
Then loot gold and hang long earrings in your ears,
Yea, right big ones ! "

So, amid the neighing of colts and mares,
They commenced their march ;
Few patriots,—but many plunderers,
Burning for pillage.

Then said the Jats,—
The huge-thighed, stout-limbed Jats,—
"We are falcons, the Feringhees our quarry,
Bring them to us!"

But, when they crossed the ford,
Lo! a mighty host!
Balls fly thick in the air,—
This was the style of warfare.

Then fought the Sikhs and the dark Purbeahs;
The bracelet, the necklace, and the earring
Were blended together in close conflict;
All was confusion.

Then the Sikhs fled to their tents;
But they set up a good watch:
They wrote down the names of the dead,
And said: "We will fight again!
Mark out a boundary, O Khálsah!
Call in the runaways!
Yea, we will fight again!"

Then wrote they to the Rájá [Gúlab Singh],
"Come thou and command us;
Our honour is not lost;
Lead us, and we conquer."

But the Rájá replied with sarcasm,—
"Do as you think best;
First conquer Hindústán,
And then, perhaps, I'll come."

10. Riddles.

(1) Ath angal da hai oh' asalí;
Ná us de hád, ná us de faslá;
Jatá-dhárí da oh chelá!
Sukhi rí, sájin? Ná, rí, kelá.

'Tis in truth four inches long,
It has neither bones nor ribs.
'Tis a follower of the matted-haired.
A lover, my dear? No,—a plantain.

(2) Harí thí,
Man bharí thí,
Ghâne motion se jarí thi
Báhar maidán dhartí par,
Dosále oṛhe khaṛí thí.

Bright was she
Happy was she,
Studded with many a pearl was she,
Standing out in the open,
Mantled in green was she.

Answer—A field of maize.

11. Proverbs.

(1) Ek nahín to sau súkh.

One 'no' saves a world of trouble. (Deny having been present, and you will be saved further trouble as a witness.)

(2) Kota úsriyá tirkán bisríyá.

When the house is built, the carpenter is forgotten.

(3) Chuá núṅ haldí dá gaddah ladhí, to ban baithá pansárí.

A rat found a bit of turmeric, and set up a druggist's shop. (A person embarking in a large business without capital.)

(4) Palliyáṅ túṭí bazár puchchhti.

With an empty purse asks his way to the bazaar. (One who attempts to hide his poverty.)

(5) Dádhdhe da satwáṅ vih da sau.

A powerful man's hundred is seven score. (Might is right.)

(6) Kakkhán di jugírí dandkand da parnálá.

A house of straw with an ivory waterspout. (One who dresses above his station.)

(7) Anhá hátthí lashkar dá kháp.

A blind elephant makes a gap in its own army. (The ignorance of energetic men in power produces evil to the people.)

(8) Awwal khesh te ba'ad darvesh. First yourself and then the beggar. (Charity begins at home.)

(9) Bura kuttá khasmeṅ gál.
A bad dog brings his master into trouble.

(10) Anhin kukkrí khaskhas da choghá.
Poppy seeds to a blind fowl. (Casting pearls before swine.)

(11) Muṅh meṅ Rám Rám baghal meṅ churí.
Friendship in his face and a knife in his sleeve.

(12) A Jat, a bard, a caterpillar, and a widow-woman: these four are best hungry. If they eat their fill, they do harm.

(13) The soil, fodder, clothes, hemp, grass-fibre, and silk: these six are best beaten, the seventh is the Jat.

(14) The Jat, like a wound, is better when bound.

(15) The Jat's baby has a plough-handle for a plaything. (Alluding to their skill in agriculture.)

II. Hindí and U'rdú Literature.

The subject is far too extensive for adequate illustration here; but a few quotations from the Hindi portions of the Sikh Scriptures (the *Granth Sáhib*) may appropriately be given. I add the translation of a Lament on the Fall of Dehli in 1857, by the last king, who was a poet of some distinction and wrote (in U'rdú) under the *takhellus* or *nom-de-plume* of *Zaffar*. Those who seek further information are referred to the great work of Garcin de Tassy, and the Dictionary of Hindustáni Proverbs by the late Mr. Fallon; and the lovers of Folk-tales will find much to interest them in Captain Temple's "Wide-awake Stories," and Miss Stokes's "Indian Fairy Tales," all procurable at Trübner's. The following quotations from the *Granth* will give some idea of the language and also of the doctrines of the book.

1. From the *Rág Gauri* (Nának).

Dújá kuṅu kahá nahí koi,
Sabh mahi eku niranjnu soi.

Whom shall I call the second? there is none;
In all is that One Spotless One.

2. From the *Rág Gauri* (Nának).

Rah dowai khasmu eko jánu.

Know there are two ways (of Hindus and Mussalmans), but only one Lord.

3. From the *Mājh* (Nának).

Tuṅ nirguṅ marguṅ sukh dátá.

Thou (God) art without qualities and endowed with all qualities giver of comfort.

4. From the *Siṛi Rág* (Ravidás).

Tohí sohí sohí tohí antarú kaisá,
Kaṅak kaṭik jal tarang jaisá.

Between thee and me and me and thee what is the difference?
Like gold and the bracelet, like water and the wave.

5. From the *Rág Gauri* (Nának).

Kirdu paiá nah metai koi,
Kiá jaṅa kiá agai hoí,
Jo tisu bhaṅa soí húá.
Áwaru na karnai wálá duá.

The lot has fallen, none effaces it,
What do I know what will be in the future?
What has pleased him, what has come to pass,
None other is acting.

6. From the *Rág Gauri* (Nának).

Bharíai hath, pairu, tanu deh, páni dhotai utarásu kheh,
Bharíai mati pápá kai mangí, ohu dhopai nawai kaí rangi.

If hand, foot, body, trunk become defiled; by washing with water the dirt will be removed.
If the intellect be defiled with sin; it is washed with the dye of the Name.

7. Nának on himself.

Na hun jati sati nahi patriá múrkh,
Práṅ wati Nának tin ki saraṅa jiṅ tuṅ nahí visarya.

I am not chaste nor learned; foolish and stupid was I born:
Nának says: (I flee) to the asylum of those by whom thou art not forgotten.

8. Lament on the fall of Dehli by the late king.

How are times changed! how is life become a burden!
In that city of Delhi—that city like a paradise—none knew what grief was.
But the pestilential gale of grief hath saddened the hearts of rosy faces.
Some left their homes with naked feet, and some wept bitterly.
Heaving many a cold sigh. "What," they exclaimed, "hath the revolution of fate effected?"
They, who slept on beds of flowers, now sleep on beds of thorns.
The living are as dead, and lo! a new phenomenon!
They, that rested on cushions of down,
Have nought but a gravestone for their pillow;
They that were garlanded with flowers,
Have for their necklace the beads of bitter tears.
These are the fruits of the babúl thorns we planted!
These are the consequences of our sins!
But the same Being who inflicted this misery will grant us joy.
For ye all know that, after the autumn, cometh the spring.

9. A few Hindi Proverbs (from *Panjáb Notes and Queries*).

(1) Kuch dál meṅ kálá.
Something black in the peas. (A screw loose somewhere.)

(2) Tawele ke páp bandar par.
The sins of the stable are on the monkey's head. (The cat did it!) Natives commonly keep a monkey about a stable.

(3) Sastí roven bár bár, mahingí roven ikhí bár.
Cheap weeps oft, dear but once. (Cheap and nasty.)

III. Pahári.

From the Rhapsodies of *Gambhír Ráe*, the bard of Núrpúr, in the Kangra district of the Panjáb (Beames's paper in A.S.J. Bengal for 1875).

Umḍa ho samúdra jyoṅ sah jahán dilli-pat.
Kai lákh dal sáj ḍera án karyo he
Suṅdar suehhre it jagat súmerú bhúp,
Mau ke madán víeh khamb gáḍ laryo he.

Aḍiṅ karí gánṭi koú túr toṅ na chháhen paweṅ
Jhámbí pátsáhí sanmukh sár jaryon ke
Mántoṅ an sabh váṅdhi vasudev sat.
Jano vanjára ek ṭánḍa lád paryo he.

Swelled like the sea Sháh Jahán, Lord of Dehli,
Arranging an army of many lakhs, he came and pitched his tent,
Beautiful, fair-faced is here, Jagat, king of Sumerú.
In the plain of Máu, planting the pillar he fought,
Making hedges and entrenchments, that no one might touch him from afar,
Restraining the Pátsháh's forces, he swept with the steel,
The son of Basudev, arranging all his honoured ones,
Like a Binjára, having loaded his ṭanḍá, has alighted.

IV. Kashmírí.

1. From the *Dástán* of *Sheik Shibli* (translated by Dr. Leitner, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. p. 266).

Os hasrat Sheikh Shiblí der zemán,
Dôd ladá ak wutshun yetz wedán,
Dupús Sheikhán: dôd ladó! dapte tzi
Dôd khendè yût wadán tshùkye tzi,
Tore dupnás tshum meh rôomat tôt yár
Dupús Sheikhán: Bând wefadár yár
Suí yár bând yus ná-rawí fa abád
Yár wefadár wutshun ba-Huzúr,
Tzi ásaki ró-omat; sui tshui ná dûr.
Tsháy besháret maiune amik tálibës,
Asil trewít ghair pazeho tzán-dünes?

Once there lived a holy man called Sheikh Shibli, who on one occasion saw a man weeping bitterly from excessive grief. The Sheikh said, "Tell me, O thou who art plunged in sorrow, who is it that has caused these tears?" The man replied, "Because I have lost my beloved friend." The Sheikh rejoined: "Seek [another] faithful friend, seek such a friend as thou mayest never lose, and find this faithful friend only in God. Thy fault only will it be if thou lose him, for he is never far." Of this good news the meaning to the seeker of truth is that he should not abandon the reality of God's love for human friendship.

2. A few Kashmírí proverbs (from *Panjáb Notes and Queries*).

(1) Dik ná ta paizár khet.
Don't give and eat shoes. (Don't pay until you are forced.)

(2) Dúri dúri chhu marts methán.
At a distance black pepper is sweet. (Distance lands enchantment, etc.)

(3) Hih pantsh, dih pantsh barábar.
Take five, give five, all the same. (*Poco curante.*)

V. Jatki or Multáni.

1. Folk-song.

Sáhib ditá jálán
Ran kuchajjí nál;
Khárá khándc roṭián,
Kunnán píwe dál,
Háthí vángún patli,
Tawe vángún lal,
Chhápar pendé ghághrá,
Truá kare rumál.
Gadhí vángún hingdí,
Gharí voṛke dá singár.

The Lord has condemned me to endure
The society of a slovenly woman.
She eats a basketful of bread,
She drinks a tubful of pea-soup,
She is slim as an elephant,
Red as an iron griddle.
She wears a petticoat like the roof of a house,
She uses a mat for a handkerchief,
She brays like a she-ass,
—— She is the ornament of the court-yard!

2. A few proverbs.

(1) Sui de duk vichoṅ kátár uṭhán di langhí vainde.
A string of camels (might as well be) going through a needle's eye.

(2) Hush! Hush! kare, uṭh na bahé.
You may cry 'down! down!' but the camel won't kneel. (You may bring a horse to water, etc.)

(3) Má máríṛi, piu tandúlá, dhí kísú de páṛ?
Mother a weed, father a weed, do you expect the daughter to be a root of saffron? (You cannot make a silk purse, etc.)

(4) Meḍé sir te chháte, yár,
Teḍe sir te jhande,
I ninh bhalerá, yár,
Beá sabho gande.

On my head was unbraided hair, love,
On your head was grown hair;
This love is somewhat good;
All other loves are abominable.
(The wife should not be too old, nor the husband too young.)

(5) Rassa hamesh híṇíṅ já te trutde.
A rope always breaks in the weaker place.

(6) Chotá páṇi vekhke vaḍa tap na már.
When you see the water is narrow, don't make a great jump.

VI. Pashto.

1. A Pathán War-ballad (from the "Marwats' raid into Isákhél," composed about 130 years ago. See Mr. Thorburn's "Bannú," p. 227).

"On the west of the Tanga fine dust has risen,"
A Marwat shouts—a long and deep halloo.
The Marwats had strength—they heeded not the drum.
Before early afternoon-prayers they had prepared thier army;
Before late afternoon-prayers fires blazed in Tarna.
* * * * * * *
"The Marwat swords are flashing, come forth from your shelter![1]
Bégú, son of Hathí Khán, is upon you."
Isakki brought home a white beard and a red sword;
In the field he swooped like a falcon.

[1] The women of the Isákhéls are the speakers. They are supposed to be trying to rouse their men to the fight.

Amongst the Dilkhozais was Atal, a brave warrior:
He brought back a spear broken in the (enemy's) breast.
Kalendar, son of Mamút, is the star of the morning,
With one thrust he made such havoc with his spear
That the Adamzais were sacrifices to it.

* * * * * * *

The fire of the Niázís blazed like burning faggots;
The Marwats rushed into it like blind men.

* * * * * * *

For a man self-praise is unlawful,[1]
But the clothes of Shekhi, my brother, were reddened with blood.

2. Riddles.

(1) It issues from an orifice and enters one; eyes see it not, hands grasp it not; sometimes a rose in the garden; sometimes a thunderbolt.

Answer—A word.

(2) Its head is in man; its middle in the ox; its end in the ground.

Answer—A wheat-stalk.

3. Proverbs and sayings (selected from the collection in Thorburn's "Bannú").

(1) Kih di we khorah kih nah di we marah.
If you have, eat; if you have not, die.

(2) Kih khas yam di tá bas yam.
Though I am a straw, I am as good as you.

(3) Chah da tore wozi ye súr we, da haghah pah tanda núr we.
On his forehead is light whose sword-tip is red.

(4) Zah di borah yam, kho chah maidán pari naghde.
Better be a childless mother, than have a son flee from the battle-field.

(5) Nand ardze bátúrde.
The spectator is a great hero.

(6) Hind ke kih pah úbo dhob kare konah bah ne ocheh pátahse.
Duck a Hindú, and his feet will remain dry.

[1] The poet is the speaker.

(7) Na yoh lás tak na khíze
You cannot clap with one hand.

(8) Dhára wa sharm dzúe o patér de.
Fear and shame are father and son.

(9) Pah khwá lah ajlah mah marah.
Don't die till death comes.

(10) The fly said, "Had I died on the maiden's face, it would not have been death." (An honourable end deprives death of its sting.)

(11) A Páthan's enmity is like dung-fire.

(12) When your cousin is little, play with him; when grown up, fight him.

(13) Speak good words to an enemy softly; gradually destroy him root and branch.

(14) God's will be done, but tie your camel's knee tight (lest he be stolen or stray).

(15) The friend appears in hard times, not at big dinners.

(16) If you don't vex your own heart, you will never make another's happy.

(17) Changat di we kho pah mínat di we.
Be it a grain of pea-seed, let it be with love. (However small the favour, bestow it graciously.)

(18) Though an infidel, you are my liver. (Religious differences do not interfere with true friendship.)

(19) Who eats not eats the stick. (Honesty is *not* the best policy.)

(20) Patience is bitter, but bears sweet fruit.

(21) To every one his home is Cashmere.

(22) A river cannot be drained with a cup. (A good man's character cannot be taken away by the attacks of slander.)

(23) The ass's friendship is a kick.

(24) Your ass goes to Mecca, he comes back an ass.

(25) Sons are sweet, but their arrows are barbed.

(26) Another's misery is half-enjoyment.

(27) The waters flow by, but the stones remain. (The outburst of grief may pass away like a flood, but will leave marks behind.)

(28) A wandering jackal is better than a reclining lion.

(29) One comes from a hundred, not a hundred from one.

(30) Lying is an honest man's wings. (A Bannúchi proverb.)

(31) A poor man is nobody's brother.

(32) An ass and a packsaddle and no anxieties.

(33) The great have ears, not eyes.

(34) Law is good, but force is its friend.

(35) A woman is well in the house,—or in the grave.

(36) Though a cow be black, its milk is white.

(37) Where there are pots, there will be a clatter.

(38) Don't put your feet into two boats.

(39) If you think of a hyæna, you are sure to meet one.

(40) Rose from rose, and thorn from thorn.

(41) The fingers of one hand are not all alike.

(42) As the rock, so its chameleon.

(43) The sleep of kings is on an ant-hill.

VII. Balochi.

1. Ballad (from Dames' 'Northern Balochi Grammar'). Episode in the life of *Mír Chákar*, the legendary hero of the Rind Balochis, founder of the kingdom of Síbí.

Chákar denounces his foes.

Chákar Shaihak gushí: sarí Rind Bádsháh gushí: *án* rosh ki Seví khilí kharde gál gushí: Gwaharámár phasave d*áth* gushí.

Bil*án* mar-lawáshe*n* Seví
Gaure*n* sa*dh*aní margáví
Jáme Nindavá bha*ṭṭ*iyá
Sai-rosh*án* Baharám ne*gh*á
Sí-sál uvt o uzhmárá
Ján-jebhav*án* jangiyá
The*gh* azh balgavá honená
Chot*án* cho kamándí bo*ghán*

Ju*kh*tán na nashant lárená
Warnáy*á*n du-mandílená.
Laḍ ma ḍeravá*n* na rusthaut
Misk ma barútá*n* na mushthant
Whard dumbag*hán* meshání
Karwálí sharáb sharr joshant
Sháhán pha nishán yakhe nest
Drustá*n* wárthag*hán* hindíyá*n*
Shartán dá*th*ag*hán* shímená*n*
Bachaki lawar bá*n*zíyá
Gwaharám muzhe*n* Gandáva*gh*
Singhe ma zirih phirentha
Máchíya lawáshtha lanjaíth
Alí o Walí druh-dárá*n*
Yákí kiláta beron*e*n
Há*gh* kávalí Turkáná*n*
Rind bára*ghe*n boráná*n*
Gwaharám azh dude hande bí
Ne Gor bí ne Gandáva*gh*.

Translation.

Chákar son of Shaihak says: the exalted Ruler of the Rinds says: on the day he leaves Síbí these few words he says: in reply to Gwaharám he says (as follows):

I will leave man devouring Seví, curses on my infidel foes! For three days shall the Jám Nindo from his oven (distribute bread) in honour of Bahrám (slain). For thirty years, for ever shall there be war with these gigantic men, nor shall my sword be clean from stains of blood. I will bend it like a jointed sugar-cane, so that through crookedness it will not go into the sheath.

The distinguished (*lit.* two-turbaned) youths do not rise up to sport among the houses, they rub no scent on their moustaches, but they eat fat-tailed sheep and boil strong liquor in their stills. There is not one of them with signs of a ruler about him. They have eaten all their weapons, they have gambled away their heads, they have children's sticks in their hands. Let Gwaharám stay in dusty Gandáva, a stone thrown into a well. Máchí has drunk blood; Alí and Walí are traitors. The rebels' fort has been surrounded, and reduced to earth by the tyrannous Turks and the Rinds on high-bred mares (chestnuts). Gwaharám (will be expelled) from both places, (and possess) neither a grave nor Gandáva.

2. Passage from the legend of *Bosten* and *Shíren.*

Zangí maní badero
Gwaharám maní jam o bel
Whántkár Shíhane Sháhiye
San*gh*an pha thaí risháná
No*kh*í-á*kh*tha*gh*e*n* masáná
Sí*gh*e*n* gorkhushe*n* syáhárá
Áfa na wárth Báh ne*gh*á
Kikh o Karjalá*n* Sinde*gh*á*n*
Loṭí báhirá*n* Dashte*gh*á*n*
Loṭí wa*dh*-maháre*n* jí*dh*á*n*
Phito*kh* dafá má*dh*-gorá*n*
Dorí phur kumáre*n* áfá
Sutí phurí khaiává*n*
Whává kálvá nelá*n*
Máṛwáṛí jawá*n* zivirená*n*
Marde azh Hurásán á*kh*tha
Le*gh*ár chádar o humboe*n*
Bár ro*dh*anání gona*th*
Hurjín mai*dh*e*n* bhangání
Sarbár Kandahárí miskant
Phai*gh*ám gon-a*th*í Rindání
Tahkíke*n* shalám Shírene
No*dh*á*n* shauz-ja*th*a konárá
Dasht-o-dámana Mungáchar
Sanniya mu*gh*or humboe*n*
Ḍor phurant-i amrez-á*n*
Larzant cho gwanání thá*kh*á *n*
Chotant cho kawándí bo*gh*á*n*.
Laḍí mánchа*th*a máldárná*n*
Meshí buzí whántkárá*n*
Mezhdár Sahák Yárá*n*
Bumbár bastha*gh*an, bánukhá*n*
Sarbár láṛi*th*an gwánechá*n*
Bháwanar khanda*gh* o Nágáhú
Khondá*n* phrushtha*gh*an zardoá*n*
Loká*n* phashaví katává*n*
Káḍá*n* go himáre*n* phá*dh*á*n*
Shírená ja*th*a srá*dh*e*n* kue
Ma Narmukh geáve*n* rejá.

Translation.

Zangí is my chief, Gwaharám my leader and friend, the owner of excellent mares. I swear by your beard, by the new-grown hair of your face. My mare, hunter of wild asses, is sad, she will not drink water by the Indus, nor eat the reeds and karjal grass of Sind. She longs for the herds of wild asses of the Dasht, she longs for her own pleasant pastures, for the female wild asses of the Phito*kh* Pass, and the pools full of fresh water; the sandflies and musquitos irritate her, the vermin will not let her sleep, the Máṛwáṛí barley is coarse to her.

A man came from *Kh*orásán, his clothes and face dirty; he brought with him loads of madder, saddle-bags of fine bhang, and bales of Kandahár musk.

He had with him a message from the Rinds, a true greeting from Shíren.

The clouds have rained on Konár, on the plain and hill-skirts of Mungáchar, on the pleasant slopes of Sanní.

The pools are filled to over-flowing, (the water) trembles like the leaves of the gwan-tree (*Pistacia khinjuk*), and bends like joints of sugar-cane. The graziers have given the word to march, the owners of the sheep and goats, Mezhdár, Sahák and Yár Khán; the housewives have tied up their bundles, and the camel-drivers have loaded their bales. On the hill passes of Bháwnar and Nágáhú, the yellow camels bend their knees, the male camels in long strings, the women with tender feet. Shíren has pitched her fair tent on the wide spreading land of Narmukh.

3. Love-song.

O Samín be-phursá bihishtiye
Azh latífá nema*gh*á khaiye
Man gulá dema mail khu*th*e doshí
Bairamo ásí sár khu*th*o mátos
Bo azh bríkhán rapthaghan whashen
Hijr manán momín janant pásán
Cho kahíráni áraven ásán
Be-karárán ma nemshafí pásán
Pha whashí o dost hubbo iklásán
Zillatán sáhsáre deáe jáná
'Nah' na khanán pha dost pharmáná
Cho isparán dempán mani jáne
Chábuk o chashm díd paikáne

Kahr amulání girgire*n* názant
Dadame gár-ant dadame báz-ant
Nain dafá gír ki gál khanán roshe*n*
Nain manán kurz at maz ál chosh-e*n*
Pha dafá mahlíjá dí ján áyán
Nishtho duá go hawán roshe
Wa hu*dh*á me*r*hán ma*n* dilá shefí
Er-khafí dost azh thangare*n* tha*kh*tá
Biáí ro*dh*ána cho chyárdahí máhán
Masaro*n* bí cho akbare Sháhán
Gu*d*á azh durr-chíre*n* dafá phursán
'O badhashkání grán bahá lále*n*
Mára thaí lo*gh*wáre*n* sare*n* sau*gh*an
Irmirí gon-khapto*n* annágáhí
Phar thaí sah*th* sakale*n* nyádhán
Hon bahá ban pha sakale*n* *kh*ulkán.'

Translation.

The rain that unasked-for falls from Heaven comes from the direction of the beloved one. Last even I met a love face to face. The lightning springs forth, it is my love that has awaked me. The scent of her locks has sweetly seized me. The pain of separation sharply stings me in the night-watches. I spring up like the flame of Kahír-wood (*Prosopis spicigera*), I am without rest in the midnight watches, for the sweetness of meeting with my love. Give my body some breathing-space from pain, I will not say 'No' to my love's command, my body is as a shield stretched forth. Let my eyes be gladdened by the sight of my fair one, let the pain caused by my lady be a little appeased; sometimes it disappears, sometimes it increases. I cannot use my mouth to speak by day, I have no strength, she is so strong, to come to meet and speak to her.

I sit and pray for that day: 'O God, be merciful, and incline your heart to me.' Let my love come down from her golden throne, let her come growing like the waxing moon on its fourteenth day, let her be in front of me, and I shall be King Akbar. Then I shall ask from her pearly mouth 'O priceless ruby like the ba*dh*-ashk fruit, make me your husband, bound by oath, my heart has been irrevocably taken possession of, I will live for the sake of your jewel like beauty, I will spend my blood for you, fairest of beings.'

4. Riddle.

Bujhárat.—Ya shai jawai*n* ulkahá astá
Duzhmaneá resentha-ish khashtha
Báng havá pahre ráh sará gwastha
Go minnat meṛhá*n* niya*dh* dastá
E bujhárat Bráhimá bastha.

Bozh.—Warnáí.

There was one good thing in the world; an enemy has pursued and turned it out. In the morning watch it passed along the road. Neither begging nor praying will bring it back again. Bráhim composed this riddle.

Answer.—Youth. (The enemy is old age.)

5. Proverbial saying.

Khaṭán so*kh*tha áfá phúkí wárth.

One burnt by hot milk will not drink even water without blowing on it.

This corresponds with the Hindustání proverb *Dúdh ká jalyá chánchh hí piwat phúnk*, or the English 'A burnt child dreads the fire.'

ART. XVII.—*Beginnings of Writing in and around Tibet.* By TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, M.R.A.S., Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College, London).

I. EMBRYO WRITINGS.

1. Man writes as he speaks.
2. Various sorts of embryo writings.

A. OBJECTS: (*a*) *Used singly.*

3. Of the Scythians of Europe.
4. Of the Lu-tze and Tibetans.

(*b*) *Strung together.*

5. Of W. Africa and Kakhyens of Tibeto-China.

(*c*) *Fastened on sticks or strings.*

6. Of the Li-so of Tibeto-China.

(*d*) *Fixed, carved or drawn.*

7. Natural transition to hieroglyphical writing.
8. Hieroglyphical graffitti of Siberia.
9. No genuine Chinese hieroglyphics.
10. Rock hieroglyphics in N.E. China.
11. Hieroglyphics in Japan.
12. Hieroglyphical writing in Tibeto-China.

B. SIGNS: (*a*) *Used singly.*

13. Of the Tang-hiang; Ju-juan (N. Tibet).

(*b*) *Beans or pebbles strung or netted.*

14. Of Formosa; Timor; Peru.
15. Of Tibet; N. America.

(*c*) *Knotted cords.*

16. Of Tibet.
17. Of ancient Chinese.
18. It is a late legend.
19. Its historical value.
20. Of the Yang-tungs; Buriats; Japanese; Li of Hainan.
21. Of the Sonthals of Bengal.
22. Of Polynesia and Peru.

(*d*) *Notched sticks.*

23. Use of notched sticks above quoted.
24. Of the Zardandan; Kakhyens.

25. Shan state seeks British alliance through a notched stick.
26. Of the Aboriginal tribes of China.
27. Of the Ju-juan, Djurtchis, K'itans.
28. The Kwas of the Yh-King.
29. The Chinese *fu* and *K'i K'iuen*.
30. Tallies in the west.
31. The Oghams of Wales and Ireland.

(*e*) *Marks incised or drawn.*

32. Signs on rocks in Siberia; in N.E. Tibet.
33. Cup-marks in China and India.
34. Legendary tortoise-writing in Cochinchina.
35. Marks of the Stone age. Objects and signs in writing.

II. Writings impeded and decayed.

36. Writing struggles for life.
37. Forgotten Alphabet among the Aïnos.
38. Alphabetic writing of the Lolos.
39. Former writings of Borneo.
40. An Indian writing forgotten in North Celebes Islands.
41. Inscriptions of Easter Island;
42. Supposed to be hieroglyphical;
43. Are a South Indian writing.
44. Ancient Alphabet of Annam.
45. Forgotten writing in Haïnan Island; in Karen land.
46. The Chinese writing, a momentous instance.
47. Characteristics of the early writing.
48. Pictorial characters non-genuine.
49. Origin of the Chinese writing.
50. Phonetic expression in the early characters.
51. Struggle against surrounding circumstances.
52. Differences between the Chinese and aboriginal languages.
53. Language of the immigrant Chinese.
54. Effects of its decay on the writing.
55. Chinese have reached alphabetism and dropped it.

III. Mo-so Hieroglyphical Writing of Tibeto-China.

1. *History.*

56. Their name and its Chinese transcription.
57. Conquered by the Nan-tchao in 796 A.D.
58. Submitted to the Mongols, Tibetans, and Chinese.

2. *Description.*

59. Traces of former power. Mu-Tien Wang.
60. Their hold of the country.
61. Despised by the Tibetans. Tibetan poem on Mo-so conquest.
62. Description of their customs from Chinese sources.
63. Description from European sources.

3. *Writing.*

64. Copy of their hieroglyphic writing sent by P. Desgodins.
65. Genuine MSS. obtained by Capt. W. Gill and M. Mesny.
66. One of them presented to the British Museum.
67. Characteristics of the writing.
68. Letter to the author by P. Desgodins on the subject.
69. How this writing may be a survival.
70. Likeness with Tibetan charms.
71. Possibility of a Tibetan origin.
72. Embryo picture-writing of the Kakhyens.
73. Other writings used by the Mo-so.

4. *Linguistic.*

74. Vocabulary of the language.
75. Linguistic remarks.
76. Classification of the language.

5. *Ethnology.*

77. Ethnological parentage with the Jung.
78. Hypothesis of a survival in their names.
79. Present connection with the Li-so and Burmese.
80. Information from Chinese sources.
81. Combination of the two sources of information.
82. The Mo-so belong to the Kuen-lunic race.

IV. Alphabet in Tibet.

83. The Forbidden Land.
84. Evolution of writings around Tibet.
85. Tubŏt Fanni gives his name to Tibet.
86. Great connection of the Tubŏt tribe.
87. Were the Early Tibetans savages?
88. Alphabet in Tibet, seventh century.
89. First attempt unsuccessful.
90. Second attempt. Fabulous record.
91. Embellishments of the record.
92. Historical basis of the record.
93. Mission to Œnœdkok.
94. T'ongmi Samb'ota in India.
95. The U-djan alphabet.
96. Its derivation.
97. The cursive character.
98. Its derivation.
99. Why called *Naga* or *Klui*.
100. Later derived alphabets.—Addenda.

I.—Embryo Writings.

1. Man writes, as he speaks, by a special aptness of his nature. As a consequence he has used all sorts of methods and devices which are now in practice, more or less, for the transmission of thought by images, symbols, or arbitrary signs. Rude systems of writing are found everywhere in use, survival or tradition. Many more have totally disapppeared in course of time, superseded by some preferable system, either more advanced or better fitted to the surrounding circumstances. It is not a necessity of nature that these low means of communication should always be pictorial. Conventional marks used alone or in connection with figures play quite as great a part as images among these embryonic writings. And combinations of material and conventional symbols are frequently met.

2. The many devices made use of for these low means of communication or embryonic writings, may be classified into a double division, of (A) material objects or symbols, and of (B) symbolical or conventional signs.

(A) The material or symbolical objects are either
- (*a*) used singly;
- (*b*) strung together;
- (*c*) fastened on knotted sticks or knotted cords;
- (*d*) fixed on a board; or
- (*e*) carved, delineated or drawn.

(B) The symbolical or conventional signs consist of

I. (*a*) twigs, reeds, pebbles, goats' dung variously placed;
- (*b*) netted beans (like the *wampum* in N. America);
- (*c*) knotted cords (like the Quippus of Peru);

II. (*d*) notched sticks;
- (*e*) marks on stones, like cup-marks, lines, etc.;
- (*f*) strokes and lines of all sorts.

A. *Objects*: (*a*) *used singly.*

3. Material objects sent singly are, of course, the most handy system for low-cultured tribes to communicate out of

sight and ear. Such, for instance, was the system in use among the Scythians at the time of Darius's campaign against them.[1] Pherecydes of Heros relates that Idanthuras the Scythian King, when Darius had crossed the Ister, threatened him with war, sending him not a letter, but a symbol, which was a mouse, a frog, a bird, an arrow, and a plough. When there was (not unnaturally) much doubt concerning the meaning of this message, Orontopagas, the Chiliarch, maintained that it was a surrender of the empire; for he conjectured the mouse to mean their dwellings, the frog their waters, the bird their air, the arrow their arms, and the plough their country. But Xiphodres interpreted it differently, for he explained it thus:—"Unless like birds we fly aloft, or like mice burrow under ground, or like frogs take ourselves to the water, we shall never escape their weapons; for we are not masters of their country."

Herodotus tells another version of the same story.[2]

4. On the Tibeto-Chinese frontier, the Lu-tze and the Li-su have still means of communication of the same kind.

The Lu-tze, being unable to read or write, have arranged with the Chinese a sort of code of signals or tokens, by which important messages are carried to and fro between them.

[1] In Clem. Alex. *Stromat*, v. pp. 671-672 (ed. Potter, Venice, 1757), quoted in G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, 3rd edit. vol. iii. pp. 105-106, *n.*

[2] I extract the following sections of bk. iv. (transl. Rawlinson):

"The Scythians had willingly exposed some of their cattle to be seized by the Persians, in order to attack them in a trap.

"131. This they did several times, until at last Darius was at his wits' end; hereon the Scythian princes, understanding how matters stood, despatched a herald to the Persian camp with presents for the King: these were a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer to tell them what these gifts might mean, but he made answer that he had no orders except to deliver them, and return again with all speed. If the Persians were wise, he added, they would find out the meaning for themselves. So when they heard this, they held a council to consider the matter.

"132. Darius gave it as his opinion, that the Scyths intended a surrender of themselves and their country, both land and water, into his hands. This he conceived to be the meaning of the gifts, because the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth, and eats the same food as man, while the frog passes his life in the water; the bird bears a great resemblance to the horse, and the arrows might signify the surrender of all their power. To the explanation of Darius, Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators against the Magus, opposed another, which was as follows:—'Unless, Persians, ye can turn into birds and fly up into the sky, or become mice and burrow under the ground, or make yourselves frogs, and take refuge in the fens, ye will never make escape from this land, but die pierced by our arrows.' Such were the meanings which the Persians assigned to the gifts."

For example, a piece of chicken liver, three pieces of chicken fat, and a chili, wrapped in red paper, means, "Prepare to fight at once." [1]

Among the Tibetans themselves, a system of the same kind existed formerly. In the Chinese description of the seventh century, speaking of an earlier period, it is reported that: "for collecting warriors they use gold arrows. They use a gold arrow seven inches long as a sign of office. There is a post-station every hundred *li*. If the war be important, the courier carries also on his breast a silver hawk; if of urgent importance, several of these hawks." [2]

(*b*) *Strung together.*

5. Of material or symbolical objects strung together, I do not know any instance in Tibet or the neighbouring regions, but the practice is now current among the negroes of Gambia and Guinea, on the Western Coast of Africa. There, a log, a stone, a feather, or other things, are strung together, and sent as messages.[3]

The somewhat similar, though different custom of the Kakhyens, on the South-Eastern borders of Tibet, is rather of a higher standard.[4] They hang on strings, stretching across the pathway to their villages, small stars of split rattan and other emblems.[5]

(*c*) *On sticks or strings.*

6. The following instance in the same region of Tibeto-China is of a mixed character and belongs to our *A* (*c*) class. The use of material objects is combined with that of

[1] T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 310.

[2] Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, pp. 440–1 (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. 1880).

[3] Capt. C. A. Moloney, C.M.G., of Bathurst (Gambia), has collected some very valuable information on this custom.—*Vid.* also an interesting paper in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*

[4] *Vid.* Shway Yoe, *The Kachyens*—See below § 72.

[5] The custom of wearing symbolical objects in a necklace, which are seen on the figures of Assyrian kings, is perhaps a superstitious revival of this early system. Anyhow, it is interesting to see many, if not all of these signs and emblems among the zodiacal? signs of the land-mark stones, a dozen of which are in the British Museum. And it is very suggestive to meet them among the written-in-relief Hittite hieroglyphics. *Vid.* below, § 7.

notched sticks. When the Li-su are minded to rebel, they send to the Mo-so chief (who rules them on behalf of the Chinese Government) what the Chinese call a *Muh-k'i*[1] and the Tibetans a *Shing-tchram*.[2] It is a stick with knife-cut notches. Some symbols are fastened to it, such, for instance, as a feather, calcined wood, a little fish, etc., etc. The bearer must explain the meaning of the notches and symbols. The notches may indicate the number of hundreds or thousands of soldiers who are coming; the feather shows that they arrive with the swiftness of a bird; the burnt wood, that they will set fire to everything on their way; the fish, that they will throw everybody into the water, etc., etc. This custom is largely used among all the savage tribes of the region. It is also the usual manner in which chiefs transmit their orders.[3]

(*d*, *e*) *Fixed, carved, or drawn.*

7. The fixing of the objects, material or symbolical, in nature or in figure, on a board, is the stepping-stone to the more advanced systems. Carving hieroglyphics, *i.e.* the above objects in relief, or delineating them on a board, are the intermediary systems which in a tangible way lead to the drawing or painting of a hieroglyphical writing. I do not know any historical record describing the practice as I have put it; but it is almost impossible that something of the kind should not have been naturally in use as a consequence of the more simple systems. Objects fastened on notched sticks or knotted cords could not do for long records. The system of writing in relief which appears among the oldest specimens hitherto known of the hieroglyphics of Egypt seems to me a survival of this old process. And the relief system in the Hittite inscriptions,—whatever may be their early connection by derivation or imitation from the Egyptian writing,—are perhaps also survivals of a native process in

[1] *Muh-k'i* 木 契.
[2] *Shing* = piece of wood.
[3] Cf. *Les sauvages Lyssous du Lou-tze Kiang*, par l'Abbé Dubernard, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 1875, t. x. pp. 55-66.

earlier times. So, too, the relief of the Himyaritic or Sabean inscriptions, which is not explained away by any influence of casting, may be also a survival from a writing, perhaps similar to the Hittite system, which may have preceded the adoption of the Semitic writing in which they are written. All this is speculation, but perhaps not idle, and may help to the solution of moot questions, as we know not what future discoveries may disclose, on these interesting problems of origin.

8. We have only to register here hieroglyphics incised or drawn. Some hieroglyphical graffitti have been discovered on rocks above Tomsk, on the right bank of the Tom river in Siberia.[1] They are incised at a height of more than twenty feet. They are very rude, and somewhat like the famous *Livre de Sauvages* of merry fame in palæography. Quadrupeds, men, heads, all roughly drawn, and some indistinct lines, are all that can be seen. It looks more like the pictorial figures which can be used as a means of notation by ignorant people at any moment, than like an historical beginning of some writing. There is not the slightest appearance of any sort of regularity or conventional arrangement in them.

9. No genuinely historical hieroglyphics have hitherto been found in China. This interesting peculiarity is not, however, surprising in face of recent researches which show that the Chinese Bak tribes brought the knowledge of writing with them when they migrated into China, and that this writing possessed at the time an historical antiquity of some two thousand years.[2] The Chinese did not stretch eastwards to the sea-shore till four or five centuries after their entry into N.W. China. The region towards the sea remained for many centuries afterwards still sporadically occupied by the former aborigines.[3]

[1] J. Spassky, *De Antiquis quibusdam sculpturis et inscriptionibus in Siberia repartis*, Petropoli, 1822; L. de Rosny, *Archives Paléographiques*, p. 144, pl. xiii.—Vid. our remarks on other graffitti of Siberia, below § 32.

[2] Cf. below §§ 46, 47, 49.

[3] It is not improbable that one or another of the aboriginal group of tribes possessed a rough kind of writing, at the pictorial stage, such as is found everywhere, and that something of this writing may have crept into the more perfect

10. It is apparently to the art of the aboriginal non-Chinese that the following inscription belongs, should it be proved to be primitive; and it is the only precise mention I have ever found of the kind in my researches.

Outside of Li-tch'eng (in N. Shantung[1]), at some 500 li on the west towards the north, is a stone cliff mountain,[2] on the upper part of which may be seen marks and lines representing animals and horses. They are numerous and well drawn, like a picture.[3]

11. Hieroglyphical inscriptions in Japan are mentioned by several authors,[4] but I am not aware that any copy or facsimile of them has been published anywhere. In a Japanese work, the *Giji Hen*,[5] some facsimiles are given of characters and inscriptions of fanciful forms, among which some might be considered as pictorial, though I dare say the whole lack sufficient indications of genuine antiquity.

12. From these vague and unsatisfactory legends, we come now to more tangible matter. It is the existence now-a-days of a hieroglyphical writing, preserved by the sorcerers of the Mo-so, a tribe of Tibeto-China. It might be a late invention. It might be an ancient one. Nobody knows. But it is not unlikely that the truth is between the two. The writing apparently contains survivals of an ancient and undeveloped system of communication by written hieroglyphics. As the third section of this paper deals with this writing, we must leave the matter for the present.

B. *Signs:* I. (*a*)—*used singly.*

13. In the second category of the embryonic means of

system brought by the early Chinese rulers. We know that some of these tribes did use knotted cords and notched sticks, but we have no tidings of any other sort of writing than these besides the cup-marks on the river cliffs, which seem to have been found in China by the new comers.—Vid. below § 33.

[1] *Lih-tcheng*, 歷城, lat. 36° 40′, long. 117° 01′. Vid. *Addenda.*

[2] 石崖山.

[3] *Shui-king* 水經 comm.; *Tai Ping yü lan*, bk. 50, f. 7.

[4] L. de Rosny (*Archives paléographiques*, p. 233) possesses a fac-simile of an old inscription in hieroglyphics from Japan.—Léon Mentchnikoff, *L'Empire Japonais*, p. 200.

[5] Hirata Atsutane, *Giji Hen* (1819, 8vo.), ff.

communication we have put first the use of twigs, reeds, stones, beans, goats' dung, etc., variously placed.

The Tang-hiang in the N.W. of Tibet had no written characters in the sixth century, and only arranged reeds and pieces of wood to remember the seasons. They boast with the Tang-tchang and Pöh-Lang of being descendants of a monkey.[1] One of their six most important tribes bore the famous surname of Tu-pöt, and it is from the same stock that came Tupöt Fanni,[2] the conqueror of Tibet, as we shall see below.[3]

Down to 402 A.D. the Ju-Juan people of Tartary, not without relation with the Tang-hiang, used to take goats' dung, and dispose it in a certain fashion on the ground to indicate what they wanted to record.[4]

14. A recent account of Formosa states that the aborigines ignore writing. "They have not even any means of keeping time, and when they have made an appointment for any date, their only means of keeping a check on the days as they pass is by means of a tally of stones or grass, one stone or one knot in the grass representing a day." [5]

In Timor Island, according to the Chinese records in 1618,[6] the people had no writing; when they wanted to record something, they did it with flat stones, and a thousand stones were represented by a string.[7]

Before the time of their acquaintance with the Quippus, the Peruvians used in the same way pebbles or maize-beans of various colours.[8]

Such a practice was not unknown in Europe in the prehistoric period.[9]

[1] *Sui Shu*, or Annals of the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 581-618); *Tai Ping yü Lan* (Cyclopædia of 983 A D.), bk. 795, f. 3. They were the ancestors of the Tangut.—*Vid.* also S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, loc. cit. p. 528.

[2] *T'ang Shu*, ibid.

[3] *Vid.* below § 86.

[4] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. part 2, pp. 337–8.

[5] A. R. Colquhoun, J. H. Stewart Lockhart, *A Sketch of Formosa* (1884, Hong Kong), Excerpta, p. 203.

[6] *Tung si yang kao*, bk. iv.

[7] Groenevelt, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 117. *Vid.* below § 39, n. 4.

[8] H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift.*

[9] Dans certains endroits on a remarqué parmi les alluvions quaternaires, a côté d'armes de pierre de travail humain et de cailloux perforés pour former des grains

B. II. (*b*) *Beans or Pebbles strung or netted.*

15. Strung or netted beans and pebbles (*B. b*) are not used, as far as I know, among the rude systems once in practice around Tibet. Unless we understand, as meaning something of the kind, the records in gold and turquoises in which the sages of Tibet are reported to have glorified their first King.[1]

The *gaionné*, *garthona*, or *garsuenda* of the Red Skin Americans belongs to that class.[2] So too the *wampum* belts of the Iroquois.[3]

B. II. (*c*) *Knotted Cords.*

16. Knotted cords were originally used in Tibet, but we have no information about their system of using them. The bare statement comes from the Chinese annals.[4]

17. It is commonly reported that the ancient Chinese used,

de colliers en de bracelets et servir de parures, des groupes d'autres cailloux remarquables par leur formes bizarres, leurs couleurs variées, certains hazards de mesure. Ces groupes ont été formés inteutionuellemeut par la main de l'homme, ou n'en saurait douter quand ou les trouve en place, et d'uu autre côté les cailloux qui les composent n'ont été utilisés ni comme instruments ni comme parures." *Vid.* Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne*, 9th edit. vol. i. p. 401.

[1] See below § 88.

[2] They consisted in necklaces of beans, the differences of which were suggestive o the intended meaning.

[3] "'This belt preserves my words' was a common remark of an Iroquois chief in couucil. He then delivered the belt as the evidence of what he had said. Several such belts would be given iu the course of a negociation to the opposite party. In the reply of the latter, a belt would be returned for each propositiou aecepted. The Iroquois experieuced the necessity for an exact record of some kind of propositiou involviug their faith and houour in its executiou, and they devised this method to place it beyond dispute." — Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 139. "Among other thiugs, the ancient wampum belts, into which the structure and principles of the confederacy 'had been talked,' to use their expression, were produced and read, or interpreted for the instruction of the uewly iuducted sachem. A wise man, not necessarily one of the sachems, read from them the facts which they recorded. According to the Indian conception, these belts can tell, by means of an interpreter, the exact rule, provisiou, or transaction talked into them at the time, and of which they were the exclusive record. A strand of wampum consisting of striugs of purple and white shell beads, or a belt woveu with figures formed of beads of different colours, operated on the principle of associating a particular fact with a particular striug or figure; thus giving a serial arrangement to the facts as well as fidelity to the memory. These strands and belts of *wampum* were the ouly visible records of the Iroquois; but they required trained interpreters who could draw from their strings and figures the records locked up in their remembrauce."—*Ibid.* p. 143.

[4] Vid. *Tang Shu* in Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, p. 400. And below § 88.

before the invention of writing, and previous to that of the Kwas by Fuh-hi, a system of knotted cords invented by a ruler of the mythical period named Sui-jin.[1] Now it results from my researches that this tradition, which crept lately into Chinese compilations,[2] is no historical truth, so far as Sui-jin and the ancient Chinese are concerned. By ancient Chinese I mean the Bak tribes who brought the knowledge of written characters with them into the Flowery Land, and not the aboriginal tribes non-Chinese, which had apparently the said custom of knotted cords.

18. The name of Sui-jin is not connected with the invention of knotted cords in the various traditions collected about this person and his invention of fire-drill, in the *Tai ping yü lan* published in A.D. 983.[3] Neither was it in existence when Sze-ma Tcheng (circ. A.D. 720) wrote his introduction to the *She Ki* of Sze-ma Tsien.[4] We only find in the latter that Fuh-hi invented writing instead of the knotted cords in former use.

The oldest statement about the subject is that which we find in the great appendix to the Yh-King, commonly attributed to Confucius, but which is certainly not the work of the Sage and has a flavour of later conjecture.[5] There we read: "In the highest antiquity knotted cords were used for the administration of government. In subsequent ages the sages substituted, for these, writing by notches."[6] There is no name quoted for this change in this statement. And we

[1] H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 243.—L. de Rosny, *La Civilisation Japonaise* (Paris, 1883, 18mo.), pp. 130–131.

[2] *Tung Kien Kang muh* (circ. 1180 A.D.), De Mailla, *Histoire generale de la Chine*, i. 4.—*Kang Kien y tchi luh* hy Wu-shing Kiuen (1711 A.D).—*Kang Kien tcheng she yoh* (1737 A.D.), i. f. 3.

[3] Cf. bk. 78, ff. 2–3.

[4] *San Hwang pun ki*, f. 1, where the substitution of *shu-k'i* to knotted cords by Fuh-hi is mentioned without reference to Sui-jin.

[5] *Yh-King; hi tze*, ii. 23. It is also found in the *Tao teh King*.

[6] i.e. *Shu K'i* 書契 said to mean: "written contracts." On the interpretation of this expression cf. *Tai-ping yü-lan*, bk. 747, ff. 1, 5; and *Yuen Kien luy han*, bk. 325, f. 16; where an explanation by Shin tze (400 B.C.) is quoted. This is a forced interpretation, as *K'i* is nothing else than "notches." Cf. *The Six Scripts*, a translation hy L. C. Hopkins (Amoy, 1881), p. 6. Mr. T. Watters, in the second of his valuable *Essays on the Chinese Language*, translates it by "indentures," which is half-way between the original meaning and the moral sense afterwards imputed to the *K'i*.

find it in a section of the above appendix, where the writer has fancied inventions and progresses of all sorts as being suggested by an examination of the *Kwas* of the Yh-King. Now the Kwas are these very writing-notches which were substituted for the knotted cords of former times; so that they could not suggest their own invention.

19. This shows the childishness of the speculations attempted by the Chinese author; it recalls to mind a similar attempt in one of the latest additional sections of the *Shan Haï King*, the sacred book of the mountains and seas, where the statements do not agree with those of the above appendix. It is, however, highly interesting for history to find such allusions at so early a date, as the author could not have spoken of realities as knotted cords and notched sticks should he not have heard of them being in use at some time and somewhere. But is the tradition referring to the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes previous to their migration eastwards and before they learned writing? or is it a combination made by the writer, based upon his knowledge or hear-say of such customs among the aboriginal tribes of China? The answer to the question would entail an inquiry of such length that we had better leave it as it stands until a further opportunity.

20. The *Yang tung*, south of Khoten and consequently north of Tibet, who first communicated with China in A.D. 641, had no written characters; they only cut notches in sticks and tied knots in strings for records.[1]

The Bratyki and Buriats of Siberia are credited with the use of knotted cords.[2]

The Japanese are also reputed to have employed knots on strings or bind-weeds for records.[3]

[1] *Tung tien* by Tu yu (850 A.D.) in *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 798, f. 7 v. Also Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, loc. cit. p. 527.

[2] A. Maury, *Origine de l'Ecriture*, in *Journal des Savants*, Avril, 1875, p. 217. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 143, where other examples are quoted. And also Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, i. 65-6.

[3] Léon Mentchnikoff, *L'Empire Japonais*, p. 200.—M. Léon de Rosny, *Etudes Asiatiques de Geographie et d'Histoire*, p. 4, mentions the knotted cords and notched sticks in Japan. I do not find any reference to this custom in the exhaustive and scholarly introduction of Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain to his careful translation of the *Ko-ji-Ki* (Yokohama, 1883, 8vo.). Mr. C. Satow, in his

The *Li* of Hainan, of whom we shall have to speak further on, being unacquainted with writing, according to Chinese sources, use knotted cords or notched sticks in place of bonds or agreements.[1]

21. Such is also the case with the Sonthals of Bengal. "Their accounts are either notches on a stick, like those formerly used by the rustics for keeping scores at cricket matches in country villages in England, or knots on a piece of grass string, or a number of bits of straw tied together."[2]

"I well remember my astonishment[3] while trying my first case between a grasping Mahajun and a Sonthal, when I ordered them to produce their accounts. . . . The Sonthal produced from his back hair—where it had been kept, I suppose, for ornament—a dirty bit of knotted grass string, and threw it on the table, requesting the court to count that, as it had got too long for him. Each knot represented a rupee, a longer space between two knots represented the lapse of a year."[4]

22. In the first half of the present century, cord-records were still generally used in the Indian Archipelago and Polynesia proper. The tax-gatherers in the Island of Hawaii by this means kept accounts of all the articles collected by them from the inhabitants. A rope 400 fathoms long was used as a revenue book. It was divided into numerous portions corresponding to the various districts of the island; the portions were under the care of the tax-gatherers, who with the aid of loops, knots and tufts of different shapes, colours and sizes, were enabled to keep an accurate account of the

essay on the *Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary*, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (vol. vii. pp. 226-60), has collected and discussed all the authentic information concerning early Japanese writing.

[1] *Kiung shan hien tchi*; *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i. p. 83. J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1882, vol. ii. 8vo.), i. p. 512.

[2] *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, by E. J. Man, late Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs (Calcutta, 1867, 8vo.), p. 42.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 75.—"Some method of calculation by means of knotted cords exists among the Sonthals of Bengal, and is mentioned in the Report on the Census for 1872."—Herbert R. Giles, *Historic China and other Sketches* (London, 1882, 8vo.), p. 3.

[4] Darius (Herodot. iv. 98) made something of the kind, when he took a thong, and tying sixty knots in it, gave it to the Ionian chiefs, that they might untie a knot every day, and go back to their own land if he had not returned when all the knots were undone.

hogs, pigs, and pieces of sandal wood, etc., at which each person was taxed.[1]

Polynesia was the way through which apparently the custom of knotted-cord records reached the new world. The remarkable instance of dissemination we have to quote further on about the Easter Island inscriptions is highly suggestive of such a fact. It is by the Peruvians that the cord system of mnemonics was carried to the greatest perfection,[2] and the name of *quippus* they gave to them might be taken as a generic appellative for the system.

B. II. (*d*) *Notched sticks.*

23. We have had occasion in former paragraphs (11, 17, and 20) to mention the use of notched sticks. It is useless to repeat here the statements quoted above on this

[1] Cf. Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 143.—C. F. Keary, *The Dawn of History*, p. 181.

[2] "The quippu was a cord about two feet long, composed of different coloured threads tightly twisted together, from which a quantity of smaller threads were suspended in the manner of fringe. The threads were of different colours and were tied into knots. The word *quipu*, indeed, signifies a knot. The colours denoted sensible objects; as, for instance, *white* represented *silver*, and *yellow gold*. They sometimes also stood for abstract ideas. Thus, *white* signified *peace*, and *red war*. But the qu pus were chiefly used for arithmetical purposes. The knots served instead of ciphers, and could be combiued in such a manner as to represent numbers to any amount required. By means of these they went through their calculations with great rapidity, and the Spaniards who first visited the country bear testimony to their accuracy."—Vid. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, vol. i. chap. iv. "On the quipus devoted to population, the coloured strings on which the number of men in each town and village was recorded had depending from them little strings for the widowers, and no doubt the widows and the old maids had their little strings from the coloured cord that denoted women. One knot meant ten; a double knot one hundred; two singles side by side twenty; two doubles two hundred; and the position of the knots on their string and their form were also of immense importance, each subject having its proper place on the quipus and its proper form of knot. The art of learning to read quipus must have been difficult to acquire; it was practised by special functionaries, called quipucamayocuna, or knot officers, who, however, seemed only able to expound their own records; for when a quipu was sent from a distant province to the capital, its own guardian had to travel with it to explain it."—Cf. C. F. Keary, *The Dawn of History*, pp. 181, 182. Sometimes instead of knots the little strings of various colours were of the most elaborate character; they represented all sorts of objects—suns, stars, waxing and waning moons, rainbows, birds, animals, lizards, fruits, and even pandean pipes.—Vide illustrations, p. 20, in L. de Rosny, *Les Ecritures Figuratives et Hiéroglyphiques*.—On the quippus, vide H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, pp. 179–190. "The messages from the Inca were indicated by a characteristic red string. At the end of the last century the Spaniards, advised in proper time, prevented a general insurrection of their Peruvian subjects; the intended rebels had communicated between themselves by quippus, the date, orders, and details of the rising."—Julien Vinson, in *Dictionnaire d'Anthropologie* (Paris, 1885, 8vo.), p. 407.

custom among the ancient Chinese, the Li of Haï-nan, the Yang-tung (N. of Tibet), and the Li-so of Tibeto-China. The current expression which connects the notched sticks and knotted cords in the Chinese descriptions of uncivilized tribes, looks like one of those stereotyped compound idioms so numerous in their language. The hearsay of one of the two processes may have been sometimes a sufficient reason to employ the well-known expression. Perhaps we must not accept, without some reserve for the said reason, the Chinese statement of the use in ancient Tibet of knotted cords and notched sticks,[1] which is given in the very terms we put in suspicion. One of the two statements is certainly exact, but we dare not be so confident about the double assertion.

24. Marco Polo, in his account of the province of Zardandan (Western Yunnan), relates that, "When these people have any business transactions with one another, they take a piece of stick, round or square, and split it, each taking half. And on either half they cut two or three notches. And when the account is settled, the debtor receives back the other half of the stick from the creditor." [2]

Dr. John Anderson, in his *Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan viâ Bhamo*, gives some interesting information, taken *in situ*, on the same subject:

"The use of tallies to which the great traveller [3] refers is still prevalent among the Kakhyens and Shans. A slip of bamboo, about eight inches long, is fractured at intervals. The fractures are simple, and do not separate from each other."

And further on he speaks of a Momein messenger who was anxious to get away: ". . . . he was continually referring to the small bamboo tally on which he had marked off the days as they had passed. It was the same as in use among the Kakhyens, a thin strip of bamboo broken across at intervals." [4]

[1] Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, l.c. p. 440.
[2] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, 1874, vol. ii. p. 74.
[3] Marco Polo.
[4] Calcutta, 1874, 8vo. pp. 36, 270.

25. Sir Arthur Phayre has related a curious instance of the same custom: [1]

"In the year 1863 the Tsaubwa (or Prince) of a Shan province adjoining Yunnan was in rebellion against the Burmese Government. He wished to enter into communication with the British Government. He sent a messenger to a British officer with a letter tendering his allegiance, and, accompanying his letter, was a piece of bamboo, about five inches long. This had been split down the middle, so that the two pieces fitted closely together, forming a tube in the original shape of the bamboo. A notch at one end included the edges of both pieces, showing that they were a pair. The messenger said that if the reply was favourable, one of the pieces was to be returned and the other kept. I need hardly say the messenger received no written reply, and both pieces of bamboo were retained."

26. The custom of notching sticks was prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of China. A Chinese writer of the middle of the seventeenth century describes it as follows:— "The notches of the *Muh-k'i*, like the checks (of the Chinese), are used for fixing covenants. The *Miao-jen*, though having written characters, are not all competent to write; so that when they make a business contract, they notch a stick as a proof of their respective good faith." [2]

The Chinese annals of the Tang Dynasty,[3] describing in the seventh century the *Sie* and other aboriginal tribes of a large region (of which the west of modern Kueitchou province may be considered as the centre), say of the *Sie*, that they had no written characters, and that they use to make notches on wood for their contracts.[4] About the other tribes the statement that they had no written characters does not appear,[5] but that of the notched sticks stands.

[1] Quoted from a MS. note by Col. Yule in his noble edition of the Venetian traveller, vol. ii. pp. 78-9.

[2] *Tung K'i sien tchi*, by Luh Tze-yun, f. 13 v. (*Shwoh ling* collection, bk. 29).

[3] *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 788, f. 3v.

[4] 無文字刻木爲契.

[5] *Ibid.* Bk. 791, f. 9, v.—Cf. the rather loose statements of Ma Tuanlin in the translation by Marq. d'Hervey de St.-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 91, 139.

The Black *Lolos* of Yunnan, the *Tsing tchung Kia* and the *Tung Kia Miao* tribes of Kueitchou province, are said, in the absence of any written language, or of a regular calendar, to still use pieces of carved or notched wood for records of events.[1]

Now it may be interesting to say here that the two latter tribes belong to the same stock as the Tai-Shans.[2]

27. The practice was also known in Upper Asia.[3] For instance, in 402, the Ju-Juan, of which we have already spoken, were taught by their chief, Tu-lun, to make use of notched sticks in substitution of their former mode of notation.[4] In the eleventh century, the chiefs of the Ju-tchi, cognate with the preceding, were still issuing their orders by the old device of an arrow with a notch in it, while matters of urgency were distinguished by three notches.[5]

Before making a writing for themselves in 920 A.D., the Khitans or Liao used to keep their records by means of wooden tallies.[6]

28. The oldest remains of notched sticks in literature are most probably the Kwas of the Yh-King.[7] These symbolical marks, made of lines, broken or entire, are now arranged, on a basis of eight sets of three, in sixty-four rows of six or double-three, each of which is placed at the head of a chapter of the above book. They are, in my opinion, nothing else than a survival of the notches formerly made

[1] E. C. Bridgman, *Sketches of the Miau-tsze*, § § 3, 9; in *J.N.C.B.R.A.S.* for 1859.—G. W. Clarke, *A Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chau Miao-tzŭ*, § § 8, 49. App. to A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê*, vol. ii. pp. 368, 383.

[2] Vide *China before the Chinese.* [3] Above § 4, 13.

[4] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. (2), p. 338.

[5] Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien tung K'ao*, bk. 327.—French translation, vol. ii. p. 440.

[6] Al. Wylie, Translation of the *Ts'ing wan K'e mung*, a Chinese Grammar of the Mandchu Tartar Language (8vo. Shanghai, 1855), p. xviii.—H. H. Howorth, *The Northern Frontagers of China*, V. *The Khitai or Khitans* (*J.R.A.S.* 1881), excerpt, pp. 23–48.—G. Deveria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen t'ai*, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882, vol. i. p. 178, n.

[7] I have found that the early text of the *Yh-King*, which has never been understood, will never be so, because the majority of the chapters are made with fragments of an old dictionary, somewhat like the so-called syllabaries of Assyro-Babylonia; the other chapters are very old documents on various subjects, dating, as the others, from the introduction of writing in China. This solution, which is now accepted by nearly all the Sinologists who have scientifically studied the question since my paper has appeared, is established in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1882–3). Cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1884, Vol. XVI. p. 460.

on the eight arrows of divination.[1] They are the forms given in writing to the notches on wood, the broken lines representing the vertical, and the entire lines the horizontal lines, or the reverse. The Chinese traditional legends claim the Kwas (§ 17) as a regular means of intercommunication, which replaced a still older system of knotted cords. It may be that such a substitution did really take place, and that the Kwas are a survival of it, kept for purposes of divination.

29. The *fu* 符 or check of the Chinese was nothing else than a tally or notched stick. As the *Shwoh Wen* has it, the description cannot be mistaken. Intended to secure faith between two parties, it was formerly made of bamboo, about six inches long, which, being cut in two, each party held a portion, in order to see whether they agreed at any future time. The use and meaning of the word was extended to tallies of all sorts and to the symbols of office, of which a part matching to the other always remained in the hands of the superior. Legendary history ascribes the practice to the rulers of the semi-historical period for the appointment of their officers.[2]

There are various historical instances of the use of the *fu*.[3] It was in practice in the half-Chinese (or, better, non-Chinese) state of Tsu, on the banks of the Yang-tze Kiang, in the sixth century B.C. During the Han dynasty they were frequently employed, and the most interesting occasion was during the revolt of the "Red Eyebrows,"[4] *circâ* A.D. 30, in N.W. China, which the Chinese connect with the Siamese.[5] The *fu* was composed of two fragments, both fitting one another. The *K'i K'iuen* 契券 were another sort of binding device. Like the notched sticks, they were used

[1] The *eight* wands, or arrows of fate, are marked on many Babylonian cylinders as held in the hand of Marduk (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxxii. No. 2; liv. A. No. 5) or of Istar (*ibid.* pl. xxxvii. No. 1).

[2] Cf. *K'anghi Tze-tien*, 118 + 5, ff. 8-9.

[3] *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 1-2.

[4] *Tch'ih mei* 赤眉, so called because their leader, Fan Ts'ung, with his whole army, adopted the practice of dyeing the eyebrows blood-colour, in order to increase the terror that their appearance inspired.

[5] *Suh Wen hien tung K'ao.—Ming y tung tchi.—Yuen Kien luy han*, bk. 334, fol. 6-7.

double, each bearing corresponding marks. They were extensively used under the Han period and downwards. Sometimes they were made of silver; more often of iron when dealing with aboriginal or foreign tribes—for instance, by the Emperor Min when dealing with the Ti-Kiang or Tibetans.[1] But the usual material was slips of wood or the bark of trees.[2]

30. The use of notched sticks is not confined to the Far East. It was formerly greatly practised in the West, and it still lingers in some countries. It will be sufficient for our illustrative purposes to remind our readers of the *buch-staben* of the Germans, the *bok-stafir* of the Scandinavians, the *coelbren* of the Welsh, and of the old statement by Tacitus of the use in Germany of notched sticks for divination. Every one is aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer used (till 1834) formerly to present his budget (or bag) containing the tallies with which he checked his accounts; and that the burning of the discarded tallies caused the fire and destruction of the building in the place of which were built the present Houses of Parliament.

Notched sticks were, and are perhaps still, in use among the colliers in Scotland;[3] and they are still used by bakers in various parts of England and France,[4] in the Canterbury hop-gardens, locally in some other trades, at Constantinople, etc.[5]

31. The notches on sticks do not seem in the East and in the West to have ever been any other thing than a simple mnemonic process of numbers or objects. There is, however, one exception; a singular instance of their development into a regular alphabet occurred in the case of the *Oghams* of Wales and Ireland. This was done under the influence of a previous alphabet about which there are two opinions. According to the most probable explanation, the Ogham writing was simply an adaptation of the runes to xylographic

[1] *Tsin tchung hing shu*; *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 6*v*.
[2] On the *K'i K'iuen* at large, vid. *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 3–7.
[3] Where Colonel Yule saw them. Vid. his note in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 78.
[4] I saw those used by bakers in Normandy.
[5] *Notes and Queries*, ser. 1, vol. x. p. 485.—Edelestand du Méril, *Essai sur l'origines des Runes* (8vo. Paris, 1844), p. 29.

convenience, notches cut with a knife on the edge of a squared staff being substituted for the ordinary runes.[1] Another and later opinion maintains their phonetic values from the Latin of the classical period.[2]

B. II. (*e, f*) *Symbolical marks incised or drawn.*

32. Graffitti, not properly speaking inscriptions, have been found in Siberia, but they are not the expected primitive remains of ancient writings.[3] Some [4] are purely Tartar, being written in Mongolian and Kalmuck. Others, obviously the work of common people, may be Arabic; while some others found on the left bank of the Jenissei river are much more interesting. They seem to me to be badly written in Syriac from right to left horizontally, before the time of the adaptation of this writing to the Uigur and Mongol. The characters are still separated one from the other. On one of these graffitti found at the same place, several Chinese characters, as written by common people, are recognizable; for instance, 戊 牛 cyclical characters.[5]

The last we have to speak of are quite peculiar and altogether different from the others. The signs are painted in red. They are made of straight lines disposed like drawings of lattices and window shades, and also like the tree characters of the Arabs and like the runes. They are met with near the Irtisch river on a rock over the stream Smolank.[6]

33. The early rulers of the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes

[1] Rev. Isaac Taylor, *Greeks and Goths; a Study on the Runes* (London, 1879), pp. 108-139; *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. pp. 225–227.

[2] M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Alphabet Irlandais primitif et le dieu Ogmios*, pp. 20–26 in *Academie Inscr. et Bell.-Lettr. Comptes Rendus*, 1881, vol. ix.

[3] We neglect here, of course, the obviously Tataric graffitti and inscriptions of Mongol and Kalmuck characters.

[4] P. J. von Strahlenberg: *Description of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary*, etc., with plates. 4to. London, 1738.—Greg. Spassky: *De Antiquis quibusdam sculpturis et inscriptionibus in Sibiria repertis;* 4to. Petropoli, 1822.—An abstract of the latter, with plates, under this title: *De quelques inscriptions decouvertes en Siberie* in L. de Rosny: *Archives Paléographiques de l'Orient et de l'Amérique;* 8vo. pp. 143–6, Paris, 1872.—Meiners: *De Antiquis Monum. in Sibir. Australi extantibus*; in Comment. Soc. Reg. Gotting. vol. xiii. 1799. Pallas, *Neue nordische Beytraege*, tom. v. St. Petersb. 1781.

[5] *Vid.* above § 8, on a hieroglyphical one.

[6] G. Spassky, *op. cit. Archives*, p. 145, pl. xix. Vid. *Addenda.*

once migrated in China, found on the banks of rivers, near places of worship of the Aborigines, some curious marks, which I understood to be of the pattern known as cup-marks.[1] Such findings are attributed to the great Yü, to Yao, to Huang-ti, the first emperor, and to the legendary Fuh-hi himself. The legends of the findings are mostly centred about the *Ho t'u*,[2] presented to Fuh-hi and the *Lo shu*[3] offered to Yü. The regular and numerical disposition of these cup-marks, as understood in the Chinese traditions, reminded me of the groups of cup-marks as found by an Indian archæologist, Mr. Rivett Carnac, on the southern slopes of the Himalaya.[4] This assimilation was accepted, and further researches by Prof. R. K. Douglas[5] and by myself have shown that cup-marks are met with in China in several places, in Shantung, Ngan-hui, Hupeh, Szetchuen and Kwangtung provinces. There is no doubt that these cup-marks were a mnemonic means of notation used by some tribes of the pre-Chinese population of the Middle Kingdom.[6]

[1] *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 28.

[2] Or Map of the Ho river.

[3] Or writing from the Lo river. On these, *vid.* Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pp. 56-9.

[4] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, vol. xlvi. Mr. J. H. Rivett Carnac had the kindness to write me from Ghazipur, and to send me his following papers: *Pre-Historic Remains in Central India*, Calcutta, 1879; *On Stone Implements from the North-Western Provinces of India*, Calcutta, 1883; *Archæological Notes on Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, India, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe*, 8vo. Calcutta, 1883.

[5] *Cup-marks*, in *Saturday Review*, Nov. 24, 1883.

[6] Some marks, straight lines and circles, on rocks were found along the southern coast of Hawaï. Cf. A. Bastian, *Sprachvergleichen Studien . . . . der Indo-Chinesischen Sprachen*, p. 104 (8vo. Leipzig, 1870). I extract the following note from a contemporary (Feb. 13, 1883): "In many parts of Switzerland, writes our Geneva correspondent, are often found smooth flat stones, evidently hand-polished, and covered with dots, lines, circles, and half-circles. The origin and use of these stones, known among country people as *Schalensteine*, has long been a moot point among the learned. Some have thought they were charms, others that they were meant to commemorate the dead, or that the signs on them were undecipherable hieroglyphics; but it has been reserved for Herr Rödiger, of Bellach, in Solothurn, to throw a new light on these mysterious relics of the past, and suggest a theory concerning them which seems to meet all the necessities of the case. The *Schalensteine*, he says, are neither more nor less than topographical charts, as a comparison of them with any modern map of the districts in which they are found will show. The engraved dots correspond with existing towns and villages, the lines with roads. Even the fords and mountain passes are indicated. Herr Rödiger has examined many of these stones from various parts of the country, and he possesses a collection, picked up in Solothurn, which form together a map of the entire canton. Another significant circumstance is that the *Schalensteine* are mostly found at intervals of about two hours (say, six miles)

34. There is in Chinese books a curious legend about a very ancient writing from Yueh-tchang. This country was in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the region which formerly bore that name was half in Tong King and half in Cochinchina. A mission is said to have come from there to the Chinese Court in the middle of the eleventh century B.C.[1] Another and much earlier mission from the same country, mentioned however, and as far as I know, only in historical compilations of late date,[2] is attributed to the time of Yao (2145–2043 B.C.).

In the fifth year of his reign, a mission from Yueh-tchang came to his Court and presented a tortoise, a thousand years old and three feet in size; on its back were characters of the *Ko-teu* (or oldest) style recording what had happened since the beginning of the world. Yao ordered it to be transcribed and called it the "Tortoise Annals" (or, better, ephemeridis).[3]

This second tradition has apparently developed from that dating from the Tchou dynasty, *i.e.* the mission of the eleventh century. The uncritical Chinese compilers of later times are very fond of embellishing their records with repetitions of events which might enhance the glory of their sages of antiquity.[4] The number of legends engendered in this way is by no means inconsiderable.

from each other, and at spots where several roads meet. The former Herr Rödiger calls "headstones" *(Hauptsteine)*, the latter he denominates "by-stones" *(Nebensteine)*. If he be right in his hypothesis, the places where these stones are met with possessed considerable populations long before the dawn of history; even the villages shown on the *Sehalensteine* must be far older than the Christian era. Herr Rödiger considers the Swiss map stones to be of the same origin as the similar stones which are found in Germany, Scandinavia, India, and further Asia, and sees in them another proof of the high antiquity and common origin of the Indo-Germanic races, and the existence among the latter, in an indefinitely remote age, of civilized habits, organized trade, and more culture than is generally supposed."

[1] *Vid.* below § 44.

[2] It was apparently not yet current in the tenth century, if we may so infer from the silence of the *Tai-ping yü lan*, bk. 785, f. 2, which mentions only the second mission.

[3] *K'ang Kien tcheng she yoh*, 1737, bk. i. f. 9.—*Kang Kien y tchi luh*, 1711; Medhurst, *Ancient China*, p. 330.—*T'ung Kien Kang muh* (twelfth cent.), bk. vii. f. 18.

[4] On these embellishments and their subsequent development, cf. some remarks in my paper on *The Old Numerals, the Counting Rods and the Swan-Pan in China*, London, 1884, p. 1 (excerpt *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii. pp. 297-340).

35. The use of conventional marks belongs to all times and to all countries, and it is needless to insist upon such a well-known fact. Disagreement of opinion between scholars may happen in some particular cases. For instance, the striæ found on a piece of reindeer's horn at Cro-Magnon of the Stone age are explained by some as mnemonic marks.[1] And so too are the striæ found under similar circumstances. Such was the opinion of Lartet, Christy, Broca, Lenormant and others.

Another explanation, however, is given by different authorities; they maintain that such notches were only made on the handles of the implements in order to prevent their slipping out of the hand.[2]

Many instances could be put forward here of the use of marks everywhere, on the rude stone monuments of Europe,[3] as well as in other countries, but it would lengthen uselessly the present section.

The two great lines of evolution which we have attempted to explain in the preceding sections, in numerous examples of embryo-writings, though occasionally intercrossed, keep pretty well their individuality up to the point we have now reached. They both converge to regular writing, and we do not think that any system of writing, deserving to be so called, has ever been framed without the co-operation of these two great sources of notation.[4] This remark does not apply to the numerous cryptograms which are based on a previous knowledge of alphabetism; such, for instance, as the *Anaitsi* and other characters of Japan,[5] the tree-alphabets *El*

[1] Vid. Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 9th edit. vol. i. p. 399; Dr. Broca, *Sur les Troglodytes de la Vézère*.

[2] G. de Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*, p. 408 (Paris, 1883).

[3] Such, for example, as the marks on the stones of the dolmen of Mané-Lud. Sir J. Simpson has collected all these marks in his work, *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, etc., on Stones and Rocks in Scotland, England, and other Countries.* 8vo. Edinburgh, 1867.

[4] A French scholar, Mr. C. Schoebel, published in 1882 a learned but not convincing paper, *Mémoire sur les Origines de l'Ecriture Alphabetique* (in *Actes de la Société Philologique* de Paris, pp. 137-213), where he denies the evolution towards alphabet from a hieroglyphical basis.

[5] Cf. Sanaki-bara yoshi-no: *Bun-gei rui-san*, bk. i. f. 22.—Hirata Atsutane, *Giji hen*, ff. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Mushajjar and *El Shajari* of the Arabs,[1] or the numerous examples published in the curious work of Abubekr ben Wahshih,[2] etc.

II. Writings Impeded and Decayed.

36. The struggle for life is a condition of existence for a writing as for other things. The best fitted resists and lasts. But the better fitting is purely objective; it depends upon the surrounding circumstances much more than upon the intrinsic perfection and high standard of the writing concerned. I do not think this interesting problem of evolution has ever been considered from this important standpoint; while opposite statements, as if they were a matter of course, are often met with in learned works. Alphabets and phonetic writings once acquired have been lost because they were too far advanced for their surroundings. In some cases they have either disappeared, in others they have dropped their too much advanced capabilities. Of such cases there are not a few. Let us consider some instances of the two classes.

37. "The Aïnos have the custom of inscribing all their objects with signs which vary according to the owner. These signs are made of curved and straight lines. Trees in the forests and points of bamboo arrows are marked in the same way." [3] Fac-similes of these signs have been published by the learned author of this statement.[4] Now an examination of them has satisfied me, without leaving any doubt in my mind, that the people who use these marks were once acquainted with the alphabetic writing still used in Corea and not unknown in Japan. Several of these marks can be still resolved into their alphabetic elements, and consequently

[1] "Constructed out of the Arabic alphabet, after the Arabs had come into contact with the Varangians in the ninth century."—Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii. 226*n*.

[2] *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters Explained*, ... in the Arabic language, by Ahmad ben Abubekr ben Wahshih. Transl. by Joseph Hammer. 8vo. London, 1806, pp. 38, 45.

[3] Heinrich Siebold, *Ethnologische studien über die Aïnos auf der Insel Yesso* (Berlin, 1881, 8vo.) s. 19.

[4] *Ibid.* Taff. II.

easily read; for instance, *oku*, *sao*, *sno*, *us*, *yes*, are easily read; some more may be deciphered with perseverance, while others are corrupted beyond hope. Therefore we are justified in assuming that the present people in using these marks employ the groups bodily, and know no more about their composition and value. Since I have examined the specimens published by Herr H. von Siebold, an Aïno inscription has been published by Dr. B. Schube of Kioto.[1] There again the oblivion of the old alphabetic writing is obvious, and the characters, many of which are still recognizable, are mixed with hieroglyphic and symbolic signs.

As to the time when the Aïnos were made acquainted with this Corean or *Önmun* alphabet, we have no information. They may have obtained it direct from the Coreans, as the Japanese do not seem to have been seriously acquainted with or to have ever used it, except in modern forgeries.[2] Besides that, the peculiar combinations made for the rendering of Japanese sounds, which appear in the Japanese form of the alphabet,[3] and which obviously bear a modern face, do not appear in the Aïno use of the alphabet.

38. The Lolos of Szetchuen have an alphabetic writing,[4]

[1] *Die Aïnos*, Taff. vii. Inschrift zweifelhaften Ursprungs hei Oturanai. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 26 stes Helft. Februar, 1882, Band iii. pp. 220–256. Vid. *Addenda*.

[2] M. Léon de Rosny thought he had found proofs of the early use of this writing in Japan, and he communicated the fact to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Vid. *Les sources des plus anciennes de l'histoire de Japon*, pp. 105-116, and *L'écriture sacrée et les inscriptions de l'antiquité Japonaise*, pp. 170-177 of *Comptes rendus A.I.B.-L.*, 1882, t. ix. But his supposed discovery turned out to he a misconception according to the severe criticism of Mr. Basil Hall Chamherlain, *On two Questions of Japanese Archæology*, pp. 315-332 of *J.R.A.S.* 1883, Vol. XV.

[3] Vid. the specimens dating from 1477 A.D., in the *Bun-gei rui-san* (1878), hk. i. ff. 14-15.

[4] Vid. my paper *On a Lolo Manuscript written on Satin* in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. pp. 119-123. The great interest of this writing lies in its bearing on the history of Indian writing. The oldest specimen of writing hitherto known in India is a stone seal found in some ruins at Harapa, near Lahore, upon which General Cunningham writes as follows:—"Its age is of course quite uncertain, hut I do not think its date can he later than 500 to 400 B.C. I now think it may be archaic Indian letters of as early an age as Buddha himself."—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p 60. NOW THESE CHARACTERS ARE THE SAME WRITING AS THAT NOW POSSESSED BY THE LOLOS, as I have shown in the above pamphlet by juxtaposition of the two writings.

connected (by common descent according to my views [1]) with the South Indian Alphabet of Açoka. But they no more understand it as such, and are unable to compose new groups or disentangle the old ones. They often use each word or group as an ideo- or phonogram. This is shown by the extreme corruption of many of these groups as exhibited in the latest documents we have received of the same writing. The clustering of the characters in groups, which, as in Chinese, is a characteristic of this writing, has helped to the obliteration of the characters individually; they can no more be used otherwise than in these groups of ancient make representing the old pronunciation. And these groups are now considered as inseparable ideograms, and used accordingly without knowledge of the respective values of their component characters.[2] This writing, once phonetic, is returning to the ideographic stage. Its phonetic practice entailed more mental work than the common capacities of the people would permit. It was hence fated to drop its higher capability.[3]

39. Among the several writings which were used in Borneo two have left interesting relics and survivals.[4]

The Dayaks engrave as ornaments some signs which they obviously understand no more. Some bamboo objects exhibited at the India Museum, London, bear these marks. They are apparently the survival of an alphabetical writing

[1] Vid. my remarks in E. C. Baber's *Travels and Researches in Western China*, pp. 142-143 (London, 1882, R.G.S., suppl. pap. vol. i.), and also in *J.R.A.S.* 1882, Vol. XIV. pp. 802-803; T. de L., *On the History of Archaic Chinese Writing and Texts*, p. 8 (London, 1882, 8vo.); *The Academy*, July 2, 1881.

[2] These tribes are reported to have a written langnage of over 600 characters. These, he says, are symbols of sounds and not of things, as the Chinese characters. Such was the saying of a Mandarin of Kueitchon province, to Deka, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i. p. 104.

[3] Up till now we have five texts in this writing. Three fac-similes were published in E. C. Baber's *Travels and Researches*. The fourth is the MS. written on satin described in my pamphlet *On a Lolo MS* above quoted. The fifth consists of three pages sent by the missionaries MM. Gourdin and V. Crabouillet to my friend Mr. E. C. Baber, who gave them to me. They will appear in my book *China before the Chinese*. A sixth exists in the Library of tbe Asiatic Society of Shanghai; it has been described in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1884, vol. ii. pp. 582–83.

[4] There are many traces in some parts of Borneo of Chinese influence, shape and ornamentation of roofs, etc. Important Chinese colonies were formerly settled there from the fifteenth century. A Dayak tribe in the interior claim to be descendants of Chinese. Cf. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources, pp. 101-115 (8vo. Batavia, 1876).

anciently known there, and afterwards forgotten.[1] We find a similar writing on an earthenware vase from the same island belonging to the Ethnographical Museum of Dresden. This vase, as far as I remember from a sketch communicated to me by Mr. A. W. Franks, is ornamented with two figures of the Chinese dragon, but not of Chinese make.[2]

Dr. Kern has published some inscriptions found at Koutei in the same island, which are written in this character of Eastern India the Vengi-Chalukya in Kalinga, the same that was carried to Cambodia, to Western Java, and elsewhere, as we shall presently see.[3]

40. This same character of the Vengi-Chalukya was also carried to North-Celebes Islands. The people have not remained at the level required for the practical use of a phonetic writing. It is no more used as an alphabet. Curiously enough, it is employed as pictorial ornaments on the MSS. they now write in a pictographic style of the lowest scale. This I have seen on the facsimile[4] published by Dr. A. B. Meyer, of Dresden, in his splendid album on the writings of this region. The finding was extremely welcome because it is a partial confirmation, and anyhow a stepping-stone helping to understand another palæographical discovery of mine of rather a startling character.[5]

41. In the Easter Island, or Vaïhu, some fourteen inscrip-

[1] I was acquainted with this inscription through a fac-simile sent to my learned friends, Col. H. Yule and Dr. R. Rost, by Dr. A. B. Meyer, Keeper of the Museum. This writing is not without some apparent connection with one of the writings of Sumatra. On the other hand, it presents no less a curious semblance with an inscription dug out in Japan at *Usuki* 臼杵郡 in *Fiuga Kuni* 日向國 in 1821 (Bem-sei, fourth year). Cf. the fac-simile in *Ta Jihpon ti Ming*, f. 189*v*.

[2] I do not know in what part of Borneo the vase was found. It is, however, curious to point out that the Chinese annals of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), *Ming she*, bk. 323, in the notice about Bandjermasin, speaking of the people, say that "they very much like earthen jars with dragons outside."

[3] *Over de Opschriften uit Koeter in Verband met de Geschiedenis van het schrift in den Indischen Archipel.* 8vo. Amsterdam, 1882, p. 18.—Also K. F. Holle, *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten. Bijdrage tot de palaeographie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (8vo. Batavia, 1882), n. 80-1.

[4] *Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels*, pl. I. l. 11.

[5] It is interesting here to note that a bronze bell bearing an inscription in ancient Tamil characters, has been discovered at Wangarei.—Cf. T. R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui; or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 34.—A. de Quatrefages, *Hommes fossiles et hommes sauvages* (Paris, 1884, 8vo.), p. 476.

tions have been found incised on wooden boards, perhaps of drift wood. The characters are peculiar. Most of them display strange shapes in which with a little imagination forms of men, fishes, trees, birds, and many other things have been fancied. A curious characteristic is that the upper part of the signs are shaped somewhat like the head of the *herronia* or albatros. A pictorial tendency is obvious in all of these. Some persons in Europe have taken them for hieroglyphics, and have ventured to find a connection with the flora and fauna of the island. The knowledge of this writing is now lost; and it is not sure that the few priests and other men of the last generation who boasted of being able to read them, could do so thoroughly. Anyhow, in 1770 some chiefs were still able to write down their names on a deed of gift[1] when the island was taken in the name of Carlos III. of Spain.

42. Now, an enthusiastic archæologist of this country, Mr. J. Park Harrison, has spared no pains to bring together all the possible information on these inscriptions. He has put himself in communication with persons acquainted with the island, and he has published with views of his own all that he could get, and also fac-similes of two sides of one of the above inscriptions on drift wood. He had also another one photographed, and had the great kindness to communicate to me his materials some three years ago.[2]

43. In examining carefully the characters, I was struck by the forked heads of many of them, which reminded me of the forked matras of the Vengi-Châlukya inscriptions.

[1] Señ. Gonzalez de la Roza has exhibited a tracing of these signatures, which were reproduced by Mr. Park Harrison, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 15, pl. 27.—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. iii. pl. xxvii. For instance, one of these signatures is a big monogram *Inu*, which was apparently used as an ideogram, while the other signatures are written in a concise form of the characters and monograms of the inscriptions.

[2] J. Park Harrison, *The Hieroglyphics of Easter Island* (8vo. London, 1874), p. 16, with five plates.—*Note on Five Hieroglyphic Tablets from Easter Island*, p. 2.—*Vid.* also *Nature*, Sept. 17, 1874.—J. Linton Palmer, *Davis or Easter Island* (with plate) in *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society* of Liverpool, 1875, xxix. pp. 275–97; *On some Tablets found in Easter Island* (with plate), *ibid.* 1876, xxx. pp. 255–63.—A small inscription enlarged is given in Meyer's *Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels*, pl. vi.—Also one in *Tour du monde*, 2e sem. 1882, A. Pinart, *L'ile de Paques*.

A closer comparison with plates i. to viii. of the *Elements of South Indian Palæography*[1] soon showed me that I was on the right track. And a further study of the *Vaïhu* characters and their analysis by comparing the small differences (vocalic notation) existing between several of them, convinced me that they are nothing else than a decayed form of the above writing of Southern India returning to the hieroglyphical stage. With this clue, the inscriptions of Easter Island are no more a sealed text. They can easily be read after a little training. Their language is Polynesian, and I can say that the vocabulary of the Samoan dialect has proved very useful to me for the purpose.[2]

It is useless to dwell on the importance of this little palæographical discovery for the history of civilization, and its dissemination eastwards.

44. The Giao-tchi or Annamites had once a phonetic writing, which they have lost under the influence of the Chinese.[3] A great antiquity is claimed for such knowledge among them; but we have no means for verifying such an early date as the eleventh century B.C. And though this writing might have been a derivation from the phonetically used Chinese characters, we are not inclined to accept, without reserve, the genuineness of so early a claim.[4] Dr. A. Bastian was given by a Shan of the Yuns who live at Küntun, near the frontier of Yunnan, an alphabet, "which may probably resemble that of the Quanto, the ancestors of the Tunkinese."[5] P. Montrouziès, a missionary there, says that

[1] A. C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, from the fourth to the seventeenth century A.D., being *An Introduction to the Study of South Indian Inscriptions and MSS.* 2nd edit. 4to. London and Mangalore, 1878.—Plates i. vii. viii. are specially interesting for the forked *matras*.

[2] I had withheld the publication of this discovery with the hope of spending more time over it, and giving a transcription and translation of several of these inscriptions. Though it is still my intention, I find my hands so full for a time to come, that I venture to print the above information for the use of some scholar conversant with these matters.

[3] It is said in their records that their writing was in use at the time of their sending a mission to the Chinese King *Tching* of Tchou (viz. 1109 or 1039 B.C.), and that it required translation into Chinese. Vid. P. J. B. Truong-vinh-ky, *Cours d'histoire Annamite* (Saigon, 1875), vol. i. pp. 11.

[4] The question is discussed at length in *China before the Chinese*.

[5] *Remarks on the Indo-Chinese Alphabets*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1868, Vol. III. pp. 65-80.

the phonetic writing of the Giao-tchi is still in use nowadays among the mountainous tribes of the province of Nghê-An, in Tongking.[1] This is the modern name of the region formerly called *Yueh-tchang* or *Viet-thüong*, from whence the above mission to China is said to have come.[2] The same missionary thinks that he has found some specimens of it in inscriptions of a grotto of the basin of the Sâng-Gianh.

In 186 A.D. Si-nhip, Chinese viceroy of Annam, formally introduced the Chinese writing, forbidding most expressly the employment of the former phonetic writing, which the Annamites have entirely lost since that time.[3]

45. In the island of Hainan "Captain Culver found what appeared to be characters of some kind scrawled on the walls of a *Li* village near Yu-lin-Kan, but none of the villagers could tell him anything about them, except that they had probably been written by a medicine man, who was, however, not forthcoming. The characters have a resemblance to a kind of mixture of Chinese and Malay, something like what one might imagine these characters written on the surface of rippling water. Vid. *Addenda*.

"The *Li*, who are non-Chinese rude tribes, occupiers of the island, do not seem to have any form of writing, none certainly that is generally known to the people; they do not seem to have even any recognized symbols for numbers."[4]

46. Another instance of great moment is that of the Chinese writing. Its history, instead of being that of an evolution towards progress (as we understand it), is, on the contrary, that of a slow decay and adaptation to surrounding circumstances of a lower standard than those of its former focus in the west.

The writing of China was not born in the Middle

[1] Dutreuil de Rhins, *Notice sur le Tong-King*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie de Paris*, Avril, 1880, p. 311.

[2] Vid. the official geography of Annam, published in 1829, *Hoang viet dia du chi*, vol. i. pp. 1, 9; vol. ii. p. 31. The *Yueh-tchang* or *Viet-thüong* region is now covered by the provinces of Nghê-An, Thuan-hoa and Quang-nam.

[3] *Vid.* Truong Vinh Ky, *ibid.* p. 27.

[4] James George Scott, *France and Tongking* (London, 1885), pp. 353–354.

kingdom,[1] and there are no reasons to doubt the tradition that the leaders of the Bak tribes, when they entered into China, were acquainted with it, while there are proofs of all sorts in its favour. In such a country of conservatism and preservation carried to the utmost, if the writing had followed a regular course of development, and been evolved from the limbo of any embryonic means of communication, or of a rude system of hieroglyphics, traces of this forcibly slow growth would certainly be found. But it is the reverse that we discover. This writing is not of indigenous growth. It is an importation from the west.

47. The oldest palæographical remains which have been preserved prove the writing to be from the beginning in China, a scholarly writing comprising ideograms and phonograms (former ideograms turned meaningless and phonetic) susceptible of a great power of phonetic combinations.[2] Many signs had reached purely conventional shapes. A proportion by no means small of the ideograms had still some pictorial features, survival of their former hieroglyphical stage, which the Chinese scribes eventually turned into profit at the expense of the phonetism. They insisted on the pictorial features, and probably increased their number, in order to facilitate the understanding of the writing to the various dialect-speaking people. But they were not aware that their characters had passed through several phases of evolution before reaching them; they did not know that their writing, written in columns, must be derived from an older one written horizontally, since, as a natural consequence, many characters have to be laid down before

[1] This unexpected conclusion, to which I was long adverse, has cost me many years of patient work before I could conceive and understand it. But it is now so clear that any scholar conversant with the matter who examines without prejudiced views the facts I put forward in my publications, cannot fail to be convinced. I am now myself rather ashamed not to have found it out at the beginning of my researches. *Vid.* § § 9, 17, 19, 33, 49.

[2] In favour of this result of my studies I find the following views: — Tai Tung, a renowned palæographer of the thirteenth century, author of the *Luh Shu Ku*, arrived at the conclusion that hieroglyphics do not constitute the only original ground of the Chinese writing. *Vid.* J. Nacken, *A Chinese Webster*, in *China Review*, 1873, vol. ii. p. 176. M. Léon de Rosny, *Les Ecritures figuratives et hiéroglyphiques des differents peuples anciens et modernes* (2nd edit. Paris, 1870, 4to.), pp. 3 and 4, expresses a similar opinion.

the survival of hieroglyphical features remaining in them can be recognized. This characteristic, which we ascertain to-day, was never guessed by them.[1] It has for us been a help to find its antecedent writing in that of south-west Asia.

48. The rude pictorial characters which appear in many European books as representatives of the primitive writing of China cannot be accepted as anything of the kind. As a matter of fact, they are not old. They are taken from inscriptions on vases which are forgeries.[2] Imbued with the idea that the rougher the writing the older and consequently the higher priced would be their vases, the forgers (generally of the Sung dynasty downwards to the present day) have drawn their inscriptions accordingly. The proof of this statement is easy to give. The Chinese are noted forgers, but, like those of Europe, they seldom escape detection, which in this case comes from comparison of their own works. We find, for instance, some inscriptions of the most common kind repeated over and over again on genuinely antique vases and correctly written; while in the forgeries they are distorted pictorially, and gradually turned ruder in the successive imitations made by unskilled hands. And, happily enough, in manipulating these inscriptions, which they do not understand, they display the most curious blunders.[3] An examination of such inscriptions disposed in

[1] On its curious effect on the phonetic reading of the ancient groups cf. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23, and also a valuable article in *The Times*, Aug. 26, 1884, *Further Progress in Chinese Studies*.

[2] Such is also the opinion of Rev. J. Chalmers, *The Origin of the Chinese;* an attempt to trace the connection of the Chinese with western nations in their religion, superstitions, arts, language, and traditions (8vo. London, 1868), p. 60. A rather indifferent work, which does not repose on a sufficiently extensive knowledge for the ground it seeks to cover.

[3] For instance, in the first volume of his great work on China, the well-known German traveller, F. von Richthofen (*China*, vol. i. p. 371), has given a sketch of a brouze vase with its inscription as a specimen of the oldest bronze industry under the Tchou dynasty, 1000 B C. Now the inscription proves that the vase is a forgery. The founder, to escape detection, has dropped the first or left columu-line, and the last character of every other five column-line of au old inscription of six lines, which is known from two ancient objects on which it was inscribed. Fac-similes have been published in the *Ku yü t'u*, bk. iii. ff. 7–8, and bk. xvii. ff. 14–5. A splendid bronze vase brought back by Gen. Malcolm contains an inscription in twelve characters, copied simply from the 16th, 17th, and 18th columns of the well-known *San she pan inscription*. Mr. J. Drury Fortnum, of Stanmore, has in his collection a beautiful vase, containing the half of an old inscription, etc.

rows is highly instructive: we intend publishing several of them some day. Is it necessary to add that these fanciful characters have no connection whatever with the oldest forms preserved from antiquity?

49. The Chinese have some traditions, enveloped in a mist of fiction, that their writing comes from the west. Though entangled with secondary myths of later growth, under the late influences of national reasoning and of foreign ideas, it is not impossible to trace out of them a few reminiscences which underlie their whole fabric. It would be trespassing on the purpose of the present paper to do so here, and it will be sufficient to mention only that which relates to the shape of the primary characters learned by the early Chinese Bak tribes before they migrated to the Flowery Land.

This writing (according to the traditions and archæological evidence) was neither scratched nor painted, but was cut deep into soft material; many signs represented (or were supposed to represent) all sorts of things and objects; some strokes of the writing were thick at one end and thin at the other; they were imitated from "prints of birds' claws on clay," and sometimes they were compared to "tongues of fire," or to "drops of rain freezing when falling."

These legendary peculiarities precisely enough remind us of the cuneiform writing of Babylon and the surrounding countries. Now it happens that among the oldest specimens of characters kept traditionally in the best Chinese palæographical works, there are in a few characters survivals of a wedge-writing appearance. The few thousand written words which formed the whole material of the ancient Chinese books rest on a basis of some five hundred different signs (tradition says 540); the oldest forms of the half of this quantity have been preserved. Compared with the few hundred characters which, in the same way, form the basis of the ancient writing of Babylon, they display the most remarkable likenesses. Taking into account the allowance to be made for the difference of material used for writing (which has caused the wedge to vanish), their identity is indisputable. This identity goes much beyond the mere shapes, sounds and

meanings, as many other peculiarities are common to the two writings; the Chinese presenting an imitation, somewhat imperfect, of the other. Comparative researches on a scientific footing show, beyond any doubt, that the elements of the early civilization of the Chinese, and the bases of their knowledge and institutions, were borrowed from a region or people connected with the old culture fostered in Babylon.[1] The greatest probability is that the borrowing was effected through practical intercourse with Susiana or the country of Elam. And in the history of the Chinese this is the first of the sixteen sources which I find to have contributed to the formation of their civilization.

50. In the oldest style the writing was the faithful expression of the spoken language. By the phonetic reading of the oldest *Ku-wen* characters we find the ancient spoken forms of the words. Taking into account the wear and tear, many of them can still be identified with the same words of common descent in cognate languages. We cannot here give all the necessary details which show how closely connected are the oldest means of phonetic expression of this writing with that of Babylonia (a connexion corroborated by the shape of the characters) in polyphony, phonetic complements, and phonetic combination, etc. The oldest phonetic order in the Chinese phonetic groups is from left to right, and also, curiously enough, from bottom to top;[2] the latter

[1] This is established by a formidable array of facts. Some of them are most convincing. We have learned from the Chinese palæographers, for characters identified with ancient Babylonian, some meanings still unknown, and deciphered afterwards by Assyriologists. On the other hand, in May, 1880, I was able to announce that the Chinese signs of the cardinal points, similar to those of Babylon, exhibit a shifting then unexplained; three years afterwards Mr. T. G. Pinches made a corresponding discovery on the Assyro-Babylonian side, cf. T. de L., *Early History of Christian Civilization*, 1880, p. 29; T. G. Pinches, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 6 Feb. 1883. I read myself at the Royal Asiatic Society, on April 30th of the same year, a paper *On the Shifting of the Cardinal Points, as an illustration of the Chaldæo-Babylonian culture borrowed by the Early Chinese*, which will soon appear in my book on the *Sources of Chinese Civilization*, where it is shown that it gives a clue to the road followed by the civilizers of China. And I had the satisfaction at the Royal Asiatic Society's meeting, on March 14th, 1884, to hear Sir Henry Rawlinson, the founder and the most prominent member of the Assyriological school in this country, state his belief (after three years of opposed opinion) in my discoveries of the derivation of the early Chinese civilization from that of Assyrio-Babylonia through the intermediary of Susiana.

[2] *Vid.* some instances, *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23, and notes.

resulted, at first, from the turning up of groups originally written horizontally; these processes were imitated afterwards, and sometimes only for convenience with some special characters. The phonetic-combination groups (where a closed syllable, for instance, is written with two signs, one for the initial, the other for the final) are more frequently met with in the oldest specimens than afterwards, when they were repeated only by tradition. On the other hand, the polysyllabic-combination groups (where each part has a meaning and a sound by itself), as a result of the evolution of the language and the oblivion of the old principles, are found later on. I have been able to give elsewhere a curious instance of them explaining an unintelligible passage of the *Shu-King* at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty.[1]

51. The Chinese official scribes clung to the old principles as much, and as long, as they could. But with the gradual differentiation and decay of pronunciation caused by enlargement of the nation and absorption of foreign native tribes, they eventually found themselves outstripped by a gap between their traditional rendering of the official language and the dialectal varieties. Successive transcriptions of the same words make us assist at the struggle that took place. We see how the scribes ventured to render, by the old means of phonetic composition, then fading away (as shown in the preceding section), the new words introduced into the language. But the ideograms which could be understood notwithstanding the dialectal discrepancies proved stronger in the long run. With the growing independency of the various principalities, ideographism was more extensively used in some states, while in some others the ancient principles of phonetic rendering adapted to the regional pronunciation were still adhered to. The inscriptions show that it is specially in the western quarters of the Chinese dominion that the old phonetic orthography was maintained.

52. In order to understand the sequel of the evolution, and see how the Chinese were led to the threshold of the

[1] Vid. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23*n*. *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIV. p. 800.

alphabetic principles without grasping them, and even dropped what they were taught originally, we must consider a few phenomena of the history of their language. The Chinese Bak tribes, when they reached the Flowery Land, spoke a language presenting (so far as comparison may be allowed at three thousand years' distance) more affinities with the Ugro-Finnish than with the Turko-Tartar languages. But it was characterized, like the Akkadian,[1] by a marked tendency to agglutination, somewhat, though in a smaller degree, like the polysynthetic or holophrastic languages of North America. The words dropped a part of their *significative elements* in case of association in phrase groups. The Bak tribes found China occupied by populations of several races speaking at least two classes of languages of different ideology, and at variance with that of the Chinese.[2] One of these classes, that of the Mân, originating from India, possessed an ideology opposed to the Chinese, elliptic tendencies, and a characteristic nicety of distinction in vowel sounds. The intermingling of these languages with that of the new comers has produced the Chinese language and its dialects, and the cognate and special characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman and Taï-Shan languages.

The phonetic consequences of this intermingling, considered here specially in that which concerns the Chinese languages, were peculiar; so we must remember that nearly everything here explained applies also to the above languages, but on a different scale.[3]

53. The archaic language of the Bak tribes possessed the special phonetic feature called the harmonization of vowels, though thematic only, confined, as in Akkadian, to the signi-

[1] Cf. François Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes Touraniens* (8vo. Paris, 1875), pp. 278-279.

[2] The purpose of my forthcoming work, *China before the Chinese*, is to disentangle the nexus of all the non-Chinese tribes which have occupied the country before the Chinese, in order to permit me to consider exclusively the Chinese origin in a following work. A short abstract of a part of it forms my paper, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, introduction to A. R. Colquhoun's book, *Amongst the Shans* (8vo. London, 1885).

[3] *Vide* a clear classification of this phenomenon, Lucien Adam, *De l'harmonie des voyelles* (8vo. Paris, 1874).

ficative parts of the words.[1] This was the weakest point, and the first which yielded to the native tendencies of ellipse and contraction. A bisyllabic word, for instance, of which the syllabic vowels belong to one class only, is very easily contracted by the dropping of one of the vowels;[2] the aggregate consonants which remain are gradually resolved into a single one, and sometimes eventually dropped altogether. The natural equivalent required to compensate the dropped elements of a crippled word reduced to one expiration or puff of breath, could not be obtained by a stress on one part (the crippled one), and indifference on the other.[3] It was sought for by the genius of the language in a difference of pitch,[4] simple or compound, according to the place of the lost part, in the utterance of the whole *puff-of-breath word.*

54. The gradual curtailing or crippling of the words entailed in speech the addition of a completing word, suggestive of class, as in the native dialects, or of a synonym, the selection of which was, of course, a matter of dialectic preference. Often, words borrowed from the native languages were used to facilitate understanding among the mixed population. This is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in the history of languages.

The rendering of such additional words was, of course, for the scribes, a matter of perplexity. In the canonical books they were often expressed by additional phonetic-combination sub-groups, but the prevailing growth of ideographism led to the selection of ideograms, which in the

[1] François Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic, its origin and development* (8vo. London, 1878), p. 271.

[2] Vid. my *Early History of the Chinese Civilisation* (London, 1880), p. 29. But these affinities date from a period very remote, when we may safely assume that the present Ugro-Altaïc and Turko-Tartar groups were not yet bent by their surrounding circumstances to their present distinct course of evolution. This distinction of the two groups is by no means clearly established, as shown by the late contention about the classification of the Magyar (cf. *A Magyarok eredete* irta Vambéry Armin, Budapest, 1882. Also a valuable article by Count Géza Kuun on *Les Origines Hongroises* in *Revue Internationale*, Mai, 1884, pp. 465-495).

[3] Cf. on the syllabic pronunciation, Henry Sweet, *A Handbook of Phonetics*, pp. 87, *seq.*—Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. i. pp. 286, *seq.*

[4] Otherwise "tone."—On Tone and Accentuation, *vide* my book, *Du Langage, Essai sur la nature et l'étude des Mots et des Langues* (8vo. Paris, 1867), §§ 22-30.

dialects could be read according to their idioms and preferences. The part played by these ideograms became larger, and, from a small starting-point which belonged to the ancient period of the writing, it gradually assumed a prominent rank. The parent-writing of Assyria presented the same phenomenon of small beginnings and eventually large use of ideograms.

55. The Chinese were led by the evolution of their language and writing to the threshold of alphabetism, but their surrounding circumstances did not permit them to perceive it.[1] When in phonetic composition groups, the last phonetic element stood no more, but for the final consonant of a word which was deprived by decay of the sound or sounds formerly following this consonant, *the alphabetic isolation was reached*.[2] Besides that, the harmonization of vowels, which assimilated the vocal sound of an added word expressed by an ideogram, rendered indifferent the original vowel of this ideogram. But the facility of grasping the sense carried by ideograms, notwithstanding the regional pronunciation and dialectal words, was too great a political advantage to be neglected. It had imposed itself quite in a natural way, by mere exigency of the surrounding circumstances, and it required only an official systematization to be the law of the land. This systematization, as we have said elsewhere, was carried on in 827 B.C. during a temporary revival of the Tchou dynasty's power. The breach between the spoken and the written language of China was an accomplished fact. The possibility of an alphabet had been lost, and a cumbrous system of writing—which expresses the succession of ideas and is not a language, which has proved

[1] For some examples, *vid. J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. p. 799, N.S.

[2] The curious Chinese system of indicating the pronunciation of a word by the initial of one word and the final of another, called the *fan-tsieh*, was apparently suggested by a similar phenomenon, with this difference, that it was not the final of the second word, but that of the first and the initial of the second of two syllabic characters in a group which were dropped in pronunciation. The Rev. J. Edkins states that the *fan-tsieh* was introduced by Sun shu yen in a work on the *Erh-ya*, about A.D. 230 (*Introduction to the Study of Chinese Characters*, p. 179). But I have found in the *Tsa luh* of Ku yen-wu (A.D. 1613–82), a very great scholar, that the system was originated by Yang Hiung (B.C. 53—A.D. 18), the author of the *Fang yen*, a comparative dictionary of the Chinese dialects.

most noxious to philologists because of the wrong views they took from it on the spoken language—was obtained. But the phonetic advantage was not lost everywhere.

III. Mo-So Hieroglyphical Writing of Tibeto-China.

1. *History.*

56. The *Mo-so* 磨些[1] or *Na-shi* form the bulk of the population betwixt the Lu-tze Kiang, the Lan-tsang Kiang and the Kin-sha Kiang between the 27th and 30th parallels,[2] in the prefecture of Li-Kiang[3] (N.W. Yunnan). The name of Mo-so,[4] by which they are known among the Chinese, was at first objectionable to them, and it is only in late years that they have accepted and used it.[5] We suppose that they objected only to the Chinese transcription of the appellative as written with two characters meaning respectively "small" and "little." Yet this was nothing else than a form of an appellative apparently of native or Tibetan make; *Mo* for *Mu* is the name of their once leading family, and *so* for *sa*[6] is perhaps the Tibetan word *sa* for place or country. On the other hand, let us not forget that *zo* in their own language means "son," like the Chinese *tze*, which is probably its antecedent. *Muso* means "hunter" in Shan and in Li-so, a sister-language of the Mo-so, and may be derived from the very name of that people, so that it does not preclude any other origin for the appellative, as we shall see below. Their full name *Mo-so Man* in Chinese records is nothing else than "southern Barbarians *Mo-so*."

57. They are mentioned several times in history. First about 796 A.D., in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, I-mou-

[1] The character 些 must be read here as 娑 *so*, and not *sie*, its otherwise common pronunciation. The *K'anghi tze tien* gives this equivalent and quotes the names of *Lo-so* (Lhassa), *Mo-so* and *Tu-kuang-so* as examples of this special pronunciation. *Vid.* ii. 5, f. 30*v*.

[2] *Vid.* F. Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. i. p. 520.

[3] Their own native name is *Na-shi*.

[4] "Le nom de Mosso, tout injurieux qu'il était dit-on dans le principe a fini par dominer tellement que les Mosso actuels l'acceptent sans repugnance et s'appellent eux-mêmes Mosso."

[5] The *Wan-y tchi* (quoted in the *Tai Ping yü lan* cyclopedia (A.D. 977), Kiv. 789, f. 6) locates them above and below the Iron bridge (in the N.W. of Li-Kiang).

[6] *Sa* in Tibetan means: earth, country, place, spot, ground, etc. *Vid.* H. A. Jaeschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 569*b* (London, 1881, 8vo.).

sün, the King of the Nan-tchao, whose title had just been recognized by the Emperor of China, led a campaign against the Tibetans, and afterwards conquered several small States of his neighbourhood, viz. those of the *Mo-so Man* (our *Mo-so*),[1] *Long-tong Man*, and *Mo-tchang Man*.[2]

They recovered their independence when the kingdom of the Nan-tchao collapsed at the death of Shun-hua (899 A.D.), the last prince of the dynasty established by Mung-she, which had ruled over Yunnan for eight centuries.[3] The state of Nan-tchao (since 860 A.D. called Ta-li), which had begun in 629, ceased to exist, and his successors were not able to recover the power of the former kingdom. In 937 the Tuan dynasty began to rule, and gave to its dominion the former name of Kingdom of Ta-li, which, however, was changed several times, and was not definitively used before its recognition by China in 1115 A.D. It lasted till its submission by the Mongols in 1354–1357, who put an end to the Tuan hereditary power.

58. At the outset of his campaign against Yunnan, Kublai Khan in 1253 first met before him in the north-west of Yunnan the very State of the *Mo-so Man*, which he subdued without delay. The power of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty of China was never firmly established in Western Yunnan; the submission of the native small States was nominal only; and the Mongol princes who ruled from father to son over Yunnan, and who lasted a long while after their brethren had been expelled from China, had their authority restricted to the centre and east of the province till their destruction by the Ming dynasty of China, and the suicide of the last of them in 1381 A.D. The Imperial troops were unable to make a regular conquest of the region occupied by the Mo-so, but the supreme suzerainty of the Chinese

[1] The passage, without quotation as usual, is reproduced by Ma Tuanlin. *Vid. Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, vol. ii. p. 297 (transl. d'Hervey St.-Denys), where the name is inadvertently transcribed *Mo-sie-man*.

[2] The *Mo* here is written with the same character as that of *Mo-so*, and suggests apparently a relationship between the two populations.

[3] Their name is not quoted, nor any other, in the Historical Documents concerning Yunnan, where it is stated only that the country fell into anarchy after the death of Shun-hua, and that several tribes threw over the yoke. *Cf.* E. Rocher, *La province Chinoise du Yunnan* (Paris, 1879), vol. i. p. 166.

Emperor was recognized by them, and this shadow of authority was sufficient to guard the susceptibility of the central power (1384 A.D.). The paternal administration of Wu San-kuei, and his final revolt at the beginning of the present dynasty, had loosened the reins to such an extent that in the end the Chinese Government was compelled to conquer the region, which was finally subdued in 1775 A.D. Ba-t'ang Li-tang and Tchung-tien,[1] the latter in the south near Li-Kiang, indicate the extension of the newly incorporated country, including the Mo-so dominion, a part of which was then again under Tibetan rule.

2. *Description.*

59. From inquiries and a long habitat on the spot, the renowned Père A. Desgodins was able to collect some valuable facts and information on this interesting and once powerful tribe. Formerly they had a flourishing empire covering a large area. It extended northwards to Dzo-gong on the Ngu-kiu or Ou-kio river, to the salt-mines near and above Yerkalo on the Lan-tsang Kiang, and to Dzong-ngu in the Kin-sha Kiang basin.[2] The above missionary has often seen, in his travels on the borders of the Lan-tsang Kiang and on those of the Lu-tze Kiang, numerous ruins of houses and forts, remains of Mo-so military posts and colonies, built by them after their conquest of the salt-mines' region from the Tibetans three or four hundred years ago.[3] The capital was Li-Kiang, which the Tibetans and the native chiefs call Sadam,[4] and the name of their king was *Mu Tien Wang* (*i.e.* the Celestial King Mu), whose family[5] is still in existence and numerous.

[1] On Mr. E. C. Baber's map, *Djedam* is written under the name of Tchung-tien, half-way between Li-Kiang and Bat'ang (Vid. *Travels and Researches*, p. 93); but as he does not give his authority, we do not know which of the two conflicting statements is genuine.

[2] Desgodins, *La Mission du Tibet*, p. 258.

[3] Père A. Desgodins, *Notes Ethnographiques sur le Thibet*, in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, Juillet, 1879, pp. 10-12.

[4] Under the Han dynasty it was called 定筰 *Ting-tso* (*Cf.* Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, n. 4147). *Sadam* is perhaps the same two syllables inverted with a dialectal pronunciation. The case would not be isolated in that part of China, as we know several other instances of the same phenomenon. *Cf. Ting-yueh*, which was also *Yueh-tan*.

[5] From p. 21 we are informed that the members of the tribe in the prefecture

60. Though destroyed as an independent power, and without any chance of ever recovering it by themselves, the Mo-so are still preponderant in the country of their former greatness. Nearly all the indigenous chiefs are Mo-so, holding appointments for life from the Chinese Government under the rule of Chinese mandarins. The natives occupy only the secondary posts, yet, as their authority has a family character and is hereditary, they have a good deal of influence on the people. It is specially so in the territories of Aten-tze and Wei-si, going southwards from Yerkalo on the borders of the Lan-tsang, that the greater number of the officers are Mo-so.

61. They are deeply despised by the Tibetans, who call them *Djiong*.[1] P. Desgodins says that to call somebody *Guiong-god*, i.e. Mo-so-head, is an insult in frequent use, which he explains by the low character of the Mo-so communities [2] in Tibet, probably of mixed blood. A great traveller and charming writer, Mr. E. Colborne Baber, has seen at Tatsienlu, a popular Tibetan poem, rather epic than lyric, in the world-wide metre of "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," recounting the invasion of part of Tibet by the Mo-so. "The epic is styled *Djiung Ling* (Mo-so Division), and is only one of three parts of a very extensive work known as the *Djriung Yi*, or "Story-book." Another part, called *Hor Ling* (Hor Division), recounts the conquest of the Hor (Turk tribes) by the Tibetans, and conveys much historical information in a tale of magic and marvel. The third part, *Djia Ling* (Chinese Division),

of Li-Kiang are all surnamed *Ho* 和, but intermarriages are not on this account forbidden (as would be the case according to Chinese customs), so that there are at least two great subtribes among the Mo-so, the *Mu* and the *Ho*.

[1] *Guiong* = *Djiung*. The latter orthography is that of Mr. Colborne Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, p. 88*n*. In H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 75, I find a word *gyong-*, meaning, "rough, rude, impolite," but I do not find anything like *god*, with the meaning of 'head,' in the same work. The latter word is apparently a dialectal form corresponding to the ancient Chinese GET, modern *hiet*, *hieh*.

[2] "Aux vices des Tibetains dont j'ai parlé ailleurs, dit le courageux missionaire, il faut ajouter un esprit chicanier, querelleux, ladre et aimant les procès; ajoutez à cela l'ivrognerie et vous aurez une idée de ces êtres dégradés. Quant aux traits physiques ils sont bien altérés et ne representent plus le vrai type Mosso, cependant en peut le reconnaître à certains caractères; front plus fuyant, nez plus aquilin, les deux os maxillaires intérieurs moins écartés, menton plus fuyant que chez le Thibétain . . . ." *Notes Ethnographiques sur le Thibet*, *l.c.*

narrates a contest of unknown date between the Tibetans and the Chinese." [1]

62. A Chinese notice gives some details of their customs and habits which are worth reproducing here, and concern mainly those who inhabit the prefecture of Li-Kiang :

"Their houses are huts built of boards, with walled doors. As to their clothing, the men pierce their ears, wearing pendants made of a green stone. Their hair is arranged in a twist under a black cap. They wear coats with long collars and wide sleeves, fastened either with a red girdle or a green flowered sash. The women wear short jackets, pointed caps, and cylindrical skirts, finely plaited and fastened with a gay-coloured embroidered girdle. Over all they wear a sheepskin cloak. On the death of a parent, neither coffin nor shell is used, but the body is burned and the bones scattered in a deserted place. A half-burnt log is brought home, and to it sacrifices are offered. The prevailing religion is Buddhism, and Lamas are held in great respect. But they have also other ceremonies. On New Year's Day the members of each family burn incense and take a ceremonial bath. Then with incense in their hands, and carrying rice on their backs, they all repair to the building containing their family altar. The priestess of their rites is respectfully entreated to offer prayers and sacrifices on their behalf. These ceremonies, which last for eleven days, are called 'Days of sacrifice,' and are intended to ensure a happy year. Again, in the 6th and 11th moons, the priestess, at their instance, plants a branch of chestnut, as 'branch for the gods to roost on,' and offers ancestral sacrifices. Their land being too cold to grow rice, they live on barley, darnel, and various other grains." [2]

63. With the preceding remarks it is useful to compare the following description, from the *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*,[3] more recent in date, and showing the gradual *sinicisation* of the tribe.

"The Mosos . . . are quite Chinese in appearance, the men wearing the common blue cotton jacket and short wide trousers of

[1] *Vid.* E. Colborne Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, p. 88.

[2] G. M. H. Playfair, *The Miao-tzŭ of Kweichau and Yunnan*, n. 21. A. 108, 63, gives only a part of the same text. Vid. *China before the Chinese*, s.v.

[3] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtails and Petticoats; or, An Overland Journey from China towards India*, by T. T. Cooper, London, 1871, 8vo. pp. 312-315.

China, shaving their heads and growing the pig-tail. The custom of the women is fantastic, but graceful. It consists of a very becoming little cap of red and black cloth, with pendant tassel, jauntily worn on the top of the head, inclining a little to one side; a short loose jacket, with long wide sleeves, over a tight-fitting cotton bodice, covering the breasts; with a kilt-like petticoat of home-made cotton stuff, reaching from the waist to the knee, and gathered in longitudinal plaits. Instead of stockings, their finely-shaped limbs are swathed from the ankle to the knee with white or blue cotton cloth, while leather shoes, turned up in a sharp point at the toe, complete the *chaussure* of the Moso ladies, who, though not quite so fair as the Chinese, are generally well-proportioned and good-looking, and unembarrassed by the shy reserve of the fair Celestials. As ornament they wear huge silver earrings (resembling in shape the handle of a common key), silver rings and bracelets, and bead necklaces."[1]

At Ya-tse (the *Jê-tche* of P. Desgodins[2]) the women often substitute for the little cap "a red cloth hood thickly braided with cowrie shells."

The Moso chief of Ya-tse is the most powerful ruler of all the tribes along the Lan-tsang Kiang. He rules over the Moso and the Liso tribes, and collects the taxes in the name of the Chinese government represented by the Mandarin in residence at Wei-si.

3. *Writing.*

64. As to their language and writing, what we know on the matter comes, again, mainly from the indefatigable missionary, Père Desgodins. He was able, in 1867, to make a copy of several pages from a manuscript written in hieroglyphics, and belonging to a Tom-ba or Tong-ba, a medicine man among the Mo-sos. These pages, eleven in number, were sent to his family, and much later on, in 1879, I received eight of them through the kindness of the learned

[1] T. T. Cooper, *ibid*, p. 314. This traveller has mistaken the names of Ya-tse and Mooquor (Mukua) as appellatives of tribes instead of localities.

[2] *Mots principaux de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang Kiang, du Lou-tze-Kiang et Irrawaddy*, par l'Abbé Desgodins, missionnaire au Thibet (Yerkalo, 26 Mai, 1872); *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vi. serie, t. iv.

Mr. Gerard de Rialle, and I kept these sheets with the intention of publishing them, as soon as more information should come forward.

65. In the mean time a genuine manuscript of the same writing had reached the British Museum. The lamented Capt. W. Gill, during his famous journey with his faithful companion, Mr. Mesny, had been able to secure three of these MSS. while staying at Ku-deu, on the Tibeto-Chinese frontier east of Li-t'ang.[1] Two of them were sent to Jersey, the seat of Mr. Mesny's family; and an enquiry from me there remained unanswered.[2] The other MS. was presented by Capt. Gill himself to the British Museum.[3] The donor was not aware of their exact nationality; he had obtained them from two men of rather European and specially French appearance, who offered them for sale. Apparently these men were Lolos, who had obtained possession of the MSS. by plunder of Mo-so people, as the latter would never have parted willingly with books so scarce and valuable to them.

66. However, the MS. in the Oriental Department was described only as a "Hieroglyphic Book of Prayers from the Mountains between Burma and China." It had remained there for a while when, attracted by the above title, I examined it and recognised the Mo-so writing, with the general features of which I was familiar since the copies from Père Desgodins had reached me. Col. Yule was informed at once of this discovery, and inserted in his remarkable *Geographical Introduction* (then in type) to Capt. Gill's *The River of Golden Sand*,[4] a few notes embodying the result of my first examination.

67. In an amiable letter from Darjiling, April 25th, 1882, Père Desgodins had the extreme kindness to send me some more details about this writing in answer to several ques-

[1] The fact is not recorded in the published record of his journey, but I have it from the traveller himself.

[2] Capt. Gill was not more successful than myself in a similar attempt.

[3] Add. MSS. Or. 2162. Published in fac-simile on Plates I. II. herewith.

[4] *The River of Golden Sand; being the Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burma; London*, 1880, 2 vols. 8vo. Introd. pp. 90–2.

TITLE
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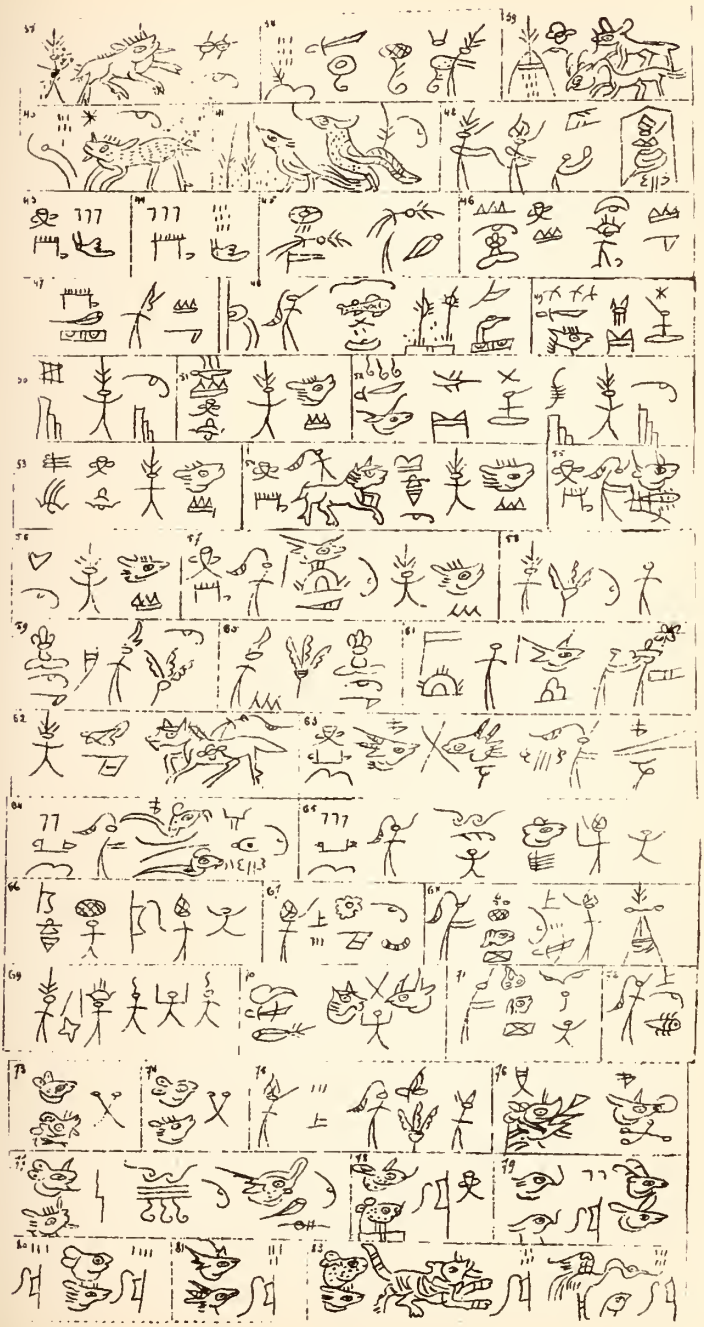
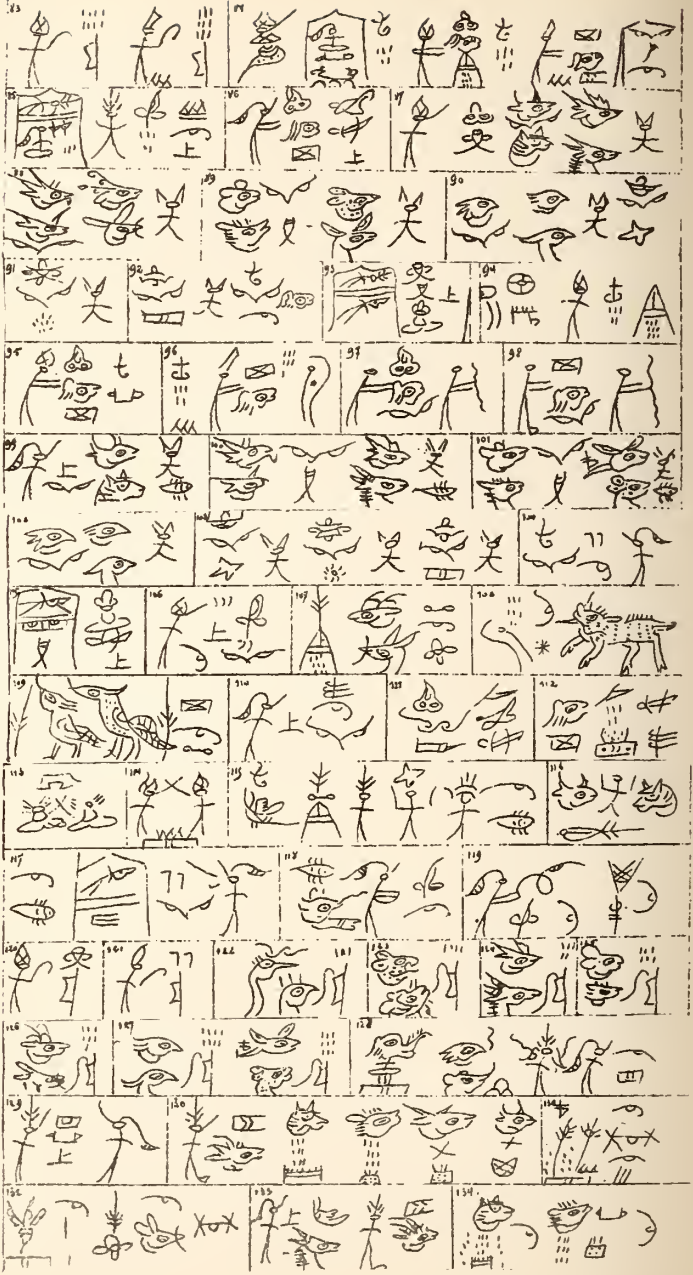
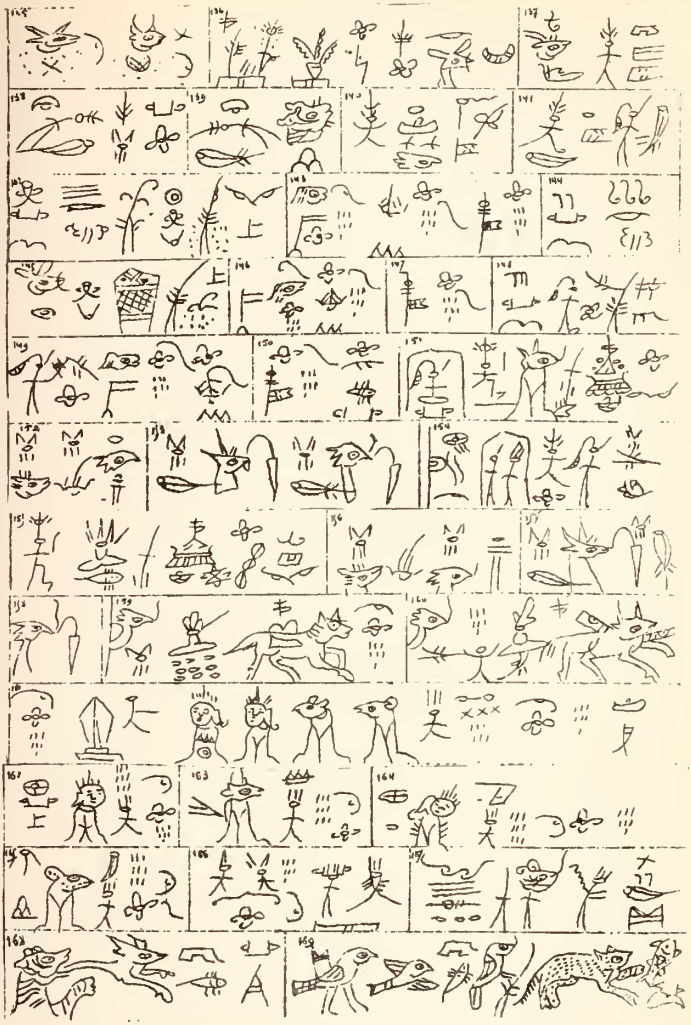
(A title and 9 pp. written both sides, or 18 pages). I.—Title and pp. 1 to 9.





II.—(pp. 10 to 18).



tions of mine. They do not match exactly with what we expected from the former rather vague statements, viz. that this writing, now obsolete, was formerly current among the people. However, they are extremely important for the general theory of writing, inasmuch as they do not pretend to show in that peculiar hieroglyphical writing any survival of former times. According to these views, should they prove correct, it was apparently made up for the purpose by the tombas or medicine-men. This would explain, perhaps, the anomalous mixture of imperfect and bad imitations of ancient seal characters of China, pictorial figures of animals and men, bodies and their parts, with several Tibetan and Indian characters and Buddhist emblems. The superfetation and addition of the Chinese, Tibetan, Indian, and Buddhist signs are obvious, while the pictorial ground of the writing with peculiarities of its own is no less visible. The tails of animals, caps of men, etc., are modified according to the sentence; on the other hand, these occasional additions are also used independently. This feature deserves more attention than would be supposed; should we get a phonetic rendering and a translation of these texts, those appendices might turn to be phonetic complements.

68. Now let us return to the simple facts and statements as they were communicated to us by this energetic and intelligent missionary. "These hieroglyphics," according to his letter, which we translate verbatim, "are not, properly speaking, a writing, still less the current writing of the tribe. The sorcerers or Tong-bas alone use it when invited by the people to recite these so-called prayers, accompanied with ceremonies and sacrifices, and also to put some spells on somebody, a speciality of their own. They alone know how to read them and understand their meaning; they alone are acquainted with the value of these signs, combined with the numbers of the dice and other implements of divination which they use in their witchcraft. Therefore these hieroglyphics are nothing else than signs more or less symbolical and arbitrary, known to a small number of initiated, who transmit their knowledge to their eldest son and successor

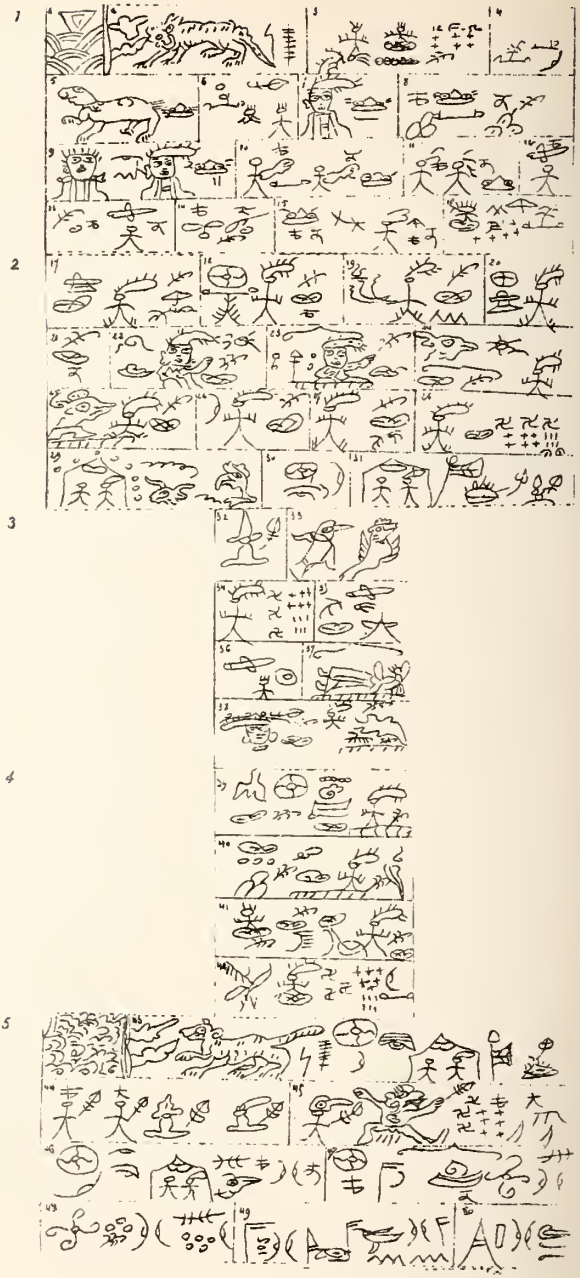
in their profession of sorcerers. Such is the exact value of the Mo-so manuscripts; they are not a current and common writing; they are hardly a sacred writing in the limits indicated above." [1]

69. Yet we cannot help thinking that this sacred writing embodies survivals of the pictorial stage of notation independent of synchronical dates and progresses elsewhere, which seems (within their limited area of self-progress) to be proper to all races of mankind, the white race with exceptions. The latter was more often satisfied with systems of notation more symbolical and conventional; simple combinations of dots and strokes, straight, curved or spiral lines, round and deep as cup-marks or angular and square, were sufficient for them, while the inferior races have always wanted, and have made a more material and eye-speaking system of notation. We may be sure that pictorial writings have crept up everywhere, though very few have survived in the struggle of civilizations; the long period required for their passing through the pictographic and ideographic phases was not allowed to them, and the untimely intrusion of an older and more perfected system, or another one better fitted to the surrounding circumstances, superseded them altogether.

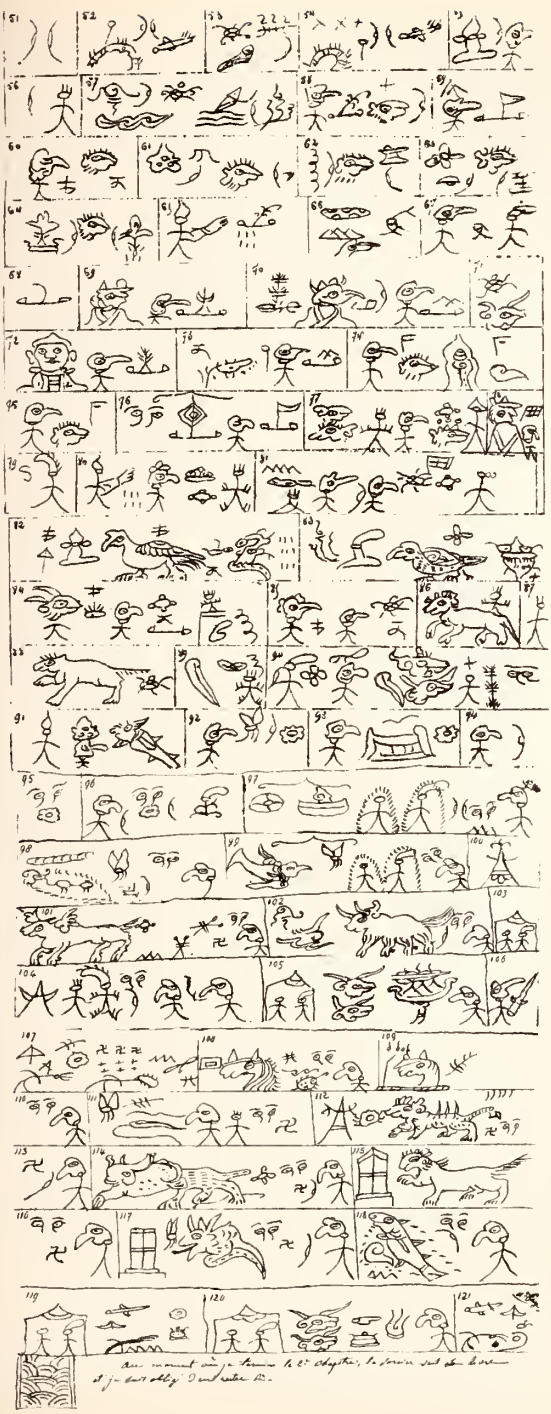
70. The only possible life for still-born writings of that description is that which lingers in obscure corners of superstition and witchcraft. We think that this Mo-so writing may be an instance of the fact, excepting the modifications introduced in the mean time for the purpose of those who use it. And we can support this view by the reproduction, in the learned work of Emil von Schlagintweit, *On Buddhism in Thibet*, of charms found by his brother Robert v. S. during his journeys there. On some of these charms are drawn hieroglyphical signs, which are not without analogy with those of the MSS. drawn by the Mo-so sorcerers. Now, the Schlagintweits

[1] Letter from Père Desgodins to the author, dated from Darjiling, 21 Avril, 1882. In forwarding this letter, the amiable Mr. Desgodins, of Nancy, brother of the Missionary, had the kindness to send me two pages and a half more of MS., completing the whole of the copy made by Père Desgodins from the Tong-ba's MS. Published in fac-simile on Plate III. herewith.

PLATE III.—Mo-so MS. *(Desgodins).*



(18 pages).



did reach Tibet, but only the western part of the country, and the finding there of specimens not unconnected with that writing indicates for it, or at least for the rougher ground script from which it has been evolved, a much larger area than could otherwise be supposed. As the Mo-so have not taught the western Tibetans any more than they did the eastern, from whom, on the contrary, they have learned so much, we must understand the ground of this writing to be of Tibetan origin of unknown date. The inference is plain and cannot be impugned. It requires the attention of future explorers of Tibet, when this forbidden land is open to scientific researches.

71. Up to Père Desgodins' discovery nobody had ever heard of any writing among the Mo-sos. The Chinese documents do not mention this accomplishment of theirs. And the late Mr. Cooper, to whom we are indebted for not a few details on the same people, positively states that they have no writing of their own.[1] If the existence of this acquirement has remained unheard of so long, through the secrecy kept by the very few men acquainted with it, we must expect the same difficulty in Tibet. The notice of the latter country in the annals of the T'ang Dynasty,[2] states that in the sixth century the Tibetans had no written characters, and used notched sticks and knotted strings in their covenants. We know how very little is proved by negative testimonies of this kind, in a case like that which we put forward. The above-quoted instances are cases to the point. And we must leave the matter as a moot question to be elucidated by further researches and new materials for study.

72. It is not uninteresting to remark here that a kind of embryo picture-writing, understood by none but the meetway or Toomsah, *i.e.* priest, has been pointed out among the Kakhyens of Upper Burma. The description is interesting to quote.

[1] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, vid. above, § 8.

[2] *Vid.* the able translation of this notice with annotations by Dr. S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Thibet*, p. 440 in *J.R.A.S.* 1880, Vol. XII.; and also Dr. K. Ganzenmuller, *Tibet*, Stuttgart, 1878, p. 103.

We extract the following from a paper on these people, published in a periodical [1] in 1882 :

"A formal avenue always exists as the entrance to a Kachyen village . . . . On each side of the broad grassy pathway are a number of bamboo posts, four feet high or thereabouts, and every ten paces or so, taller ones, with strings stretching across the path, supporting small stars of split rattan and other emblems. There are also certain hieroglyphics which may constitute a kind of embryo picture-writing, but are understood by none but the meetway or priest."

At the following page (p. 471), we hear of the meetway or toomsah. In the latter we have, perhaps, a cognate appellative of the Tom-ba of the Mo-so; *ba* being probably the Tibetan suffix.

There is no apparent connection between the system of hanging up symbols and hieroglyphics and that of the Mo-so writing, excepting that in the latter there are signs and symbols which might be compared to those of the Kakhyens. From the proximity of the two peoples, and the higher standard of the Mo-so writing, it might be supposed that the Kakhyen *toomsahs* are the pupils of the Mo-so *tombas*.

73. Père Desgodins has inquired if, previously to their absorption by China, the Mo-so had a writing of their own, besides these hieroglyphics; but he was unable to obtain any information on the matter. In these days the Mo-so of the south, *i.e.* those who reside about Li-Kiang on the borders of the Kin-sha Kiang, and about Wei-si and Aten-tze on the Lan-tsang Kiang, being Chinese subjects, use exclusively the Chinese characters. Those of the north, between 29° and 30° N. lat., in the region conquered by them from the Tibetans, use Tibetan characters. Notwithstanding this difference of writing and influences, their language has been preserved, and they use it between themselves with a mixture of Chinese or of Tibetan according to the region which obliges them to speak also either Chinese or Tibetan.

[1] *Cornhill Magazine* (Oct. 1882, pp. 466–476) by Shway Yoe (Mr. J. G. Scott, once resident in Burma, and the author of the best book ever written on its subject, *The Burman*, London, 1882, 2 vols. 8vo.).

4. *Linguistic.*

74. We have no grammar nor current text of their language. A short vocabulary of some 200 words has been published by Père Desgodins from notes taken by his colleagues, PP. Q. Biet, F. Biet, and J. Dubernard,[1] as follows :

1	djre lu	*stone*	lou
2	gni lu	*iron*	chou
3	se lu	*silver*	ngou
4	lo lu	*gold*	ha
5	ngoa lu	*copper*	heu (*red*), eu
6	tchoa lu		(*yellow*)
7	che lu	*air*	heu
8	ho lu	*body*	goumo
9	ngo lu	*head*	koulu
10	tsê lu	*eyes*	men
11	tsê djre lu	*ears*	hè tze
12	tsê gni lu	*nose*	gni ma
13	tsê se lu	*mouth*	kroube
14	tsê lo lu	*hand*	la
15	tsê ngoa lu	*belly*	deu men
16	tsê tchoa lu	*foot*	kheu
17	tsê che lu	*cat*	dzé
18	tsê ho lu	*drink*	tchré
19	tsê ngo lu	*food*	ha
20	gni tsê lu	*rice*	tchoa
100	djre chi	*tea*	lé
1000	tong tchra	*flesh*	chi
heaven	mou	*butter*	marpeur
sun	gni mê	*salt*	tsê
moon	hê mê tze	*tobacco*	yo
star	kheu	*father*	aba-aou
day	gni	*mother*	amè
month	hê	*brother*	bezé
year	khou	*sister*	mèhè
earth	mou deu	*son*	zo
world	dzom bou ling	*daughter*	mi
water	guié	*master*	daha
wood	sé	*chief officer*	su-mouquoi-aqua

[1] *Mots principaux de certains tribus . . . . loc. cit.*

servant	guieu zo	*plain*	pa tze lo
house	guié da	*river*	i bi guii
door	kho	*field*	mou deu
window	kho-ka-go tchra	*grass field*	ko khou
roof	kia kou	*rock*	hâ
kitchen range	koua	*cloth*	bala
stable	tso bou	*girdle*	bouke
animal	goghé	*boots*	zâ
horse	joa	*knife*	je tê
ox	léghé	*sword*	dapia-dapre
cow	ghé mé	*soul*	oua hê
dog	khé	*to love*	chi to ba
cat	ha lé	*to think*	choun drou
bird	â	*to be*	mou
fowl	â mè	*to have*	guiou
sheep	iu	*to will*	djra-djro da
goat	tsi	*to do*	fou
red	hu lu	*to speak*	chado
white	pe sa	*to rejoice*	ba
blue	he le	*pain*	chou djrou guiem mâ bâ
green	guiong ko		
black	na mê	*rich*	hè la gni
mountain	guieu khou	*poor*	ma hâ

75. The words must be read as French. Though several errors have crept in, through the MS. copies and the printing, the affinities of the language are obvious. The common words with the Li-so are more than fifty per cent., and the proportion of Tibetan and Burmese is considerable. The grammar seems to be in accordance with the dictionary, and shows, like that of the Li-so dialect, Burmese features, so that the classification of the Mo-so language must be easy. It must be put down as a member of the specially Burmese division of the great Tibeto-Burmese family.

As materials for the study of the language, in addition to the above vocabulary, we have one word and a single phrase which have been collected by the late Francis Garnier.[1] The word is *hantse* "manger," for which meaning we find in Père Desgodins' vocabulary *dzé*. The phrase is *Khépa khé*

[1] *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. i. p. 520*n*.

tche ma seu, lit. "Chinese I do not know the language," or "I do not know the Chinese language."

76. With several other languages of the same region and some of southern Yunnan and Indo-China, they form a group or subdivision well delimitated (to which, however, several more will have to be added in the sequel) in the great Tibeto-Burmese family of languages, with a special connection to the Burmese and some Taï-Shan ingredients, as follows:

Living Languages.	Branches.	Classes.	Sub-Div.
Dialects of the Laka or Lokuei (Szetchuen-Yunnan)	——	Northern.	Laka.
,, ,, Li-so or Leisu (N. W. Yunnan) ...			
,, ,, Mo-so or Na-shi (N. W. Yunnan)			
,, ,, Mu-tse (MuongLim, N. Indo-China)	——	Southern.	
,, ,, Kouy (Siemlap, N. Indo-China) ...			
,, ,, Ka-to (S. Yunnan)	——		
,, ,, Ho-nhi (S. Yunnan).....			
,, ,, Ka-kho (Paleo, N. Indo-China)...	——		

5. *Ethnology.*

77. Ethnologically the position of the Mo-so cannot be ascertained otherwise than in its main lines. They belong, in their underlying original type, to the same group of populations that the *Nung=Njung=Jung* tribes which appeared on the west borders of China as early as the sixteenth century before our era. The name of *Djiung*, by which they are known to the Tibetans, belongs undoubtedly to them as a survival of the general name quoted above, which is also represented in that of the *A-nung* or Lu-tze, their cognates in Eastern Tibet. In the other name they give to themselves, *Na-shi*,[1] it is not at all unlikely that we have a modern appearance of an old name of the same group, which the Chinese once in former times rendered by the punning transcription of *Niu-tze* 女子, alluding to some gynecocratic customs of their own. We know so little of the Mo-so habits and traditional institutions that we are still unable to corroborate this probability by any survival of the kind other than the priestess mentioned above (§ 62).

[1] Is this *na* the same as the Tibetan *nag*, 'woman,' the old Chinese *nok*?

78. Unless we venture to see another survival underlying the very name of *Mo-so* given to them by the Chinese, the vocabulary from Père Desgodins does not contain the word for 'woman.' Should it be *mo*, as in Tibetan, or *mu*, 'mother,' as in Chinese, combined with *zo*, which is their very word for 'son' (Chinese *tze*), we could translate *Mo-zo* as 'woman son,' corresponding exactly to the old *Niu-tze* or (?) *Na-shi*, and now objectionable to them because they have dropped a long while ago the gynecocratic institutions which once justified it for foreigners. We give this suggestion for what it is worth, and shall not dwell more upon it, as ample confirmation is found of the existence of such institutions in the history and customs of other cognate tribes, such as the *Lakas* or *Lolos*.

79. The connection of the *Mo-so* is narrower with the *Li-so* than with any other tribe. Their parentage is openly admitted in a legend of the country which says that the *Li-so* and *Mo-so*, of Burmese origin, were driven away on elephants from the latter's country.[1] The genuineness of the story requires confirmation, as the same legend is told by the Pwons near the third defile (Kyandwen) of the Irawady.[2] Does this indicate a parentage between them? It is not at all unlikely; the Pwons do not speak a Tai language, and they are connected with the *Kadus*, who belong to the same stock as the *Mo-so* and *Li-so*. We must see probably in this curious tradition embodying the souvenir of a small historical fact, the popular and widespread expression of a conscious knowledge of original parentage with the main stock of the Burmese, upheld and maintained because of the high estate of the latter. The historical fact is worth considering, since it might help to the elucidation of a point of Burmese history. The current tradition says that, about the commencement of the religious era, or partly during Gautama's lifetime, the town of Tagaung (built on the left side of the Irawady, 300 years before the *birth* of Gautama, by Abhiraja, who had

[1] Mentioned by Père Desgodins in his paper, *Mots principaux*, etc., *loc. cit.*
[2] *Vid.* Ney Élias, *Sketch of the History of the Shans*, Calcutta, 1876, 8vo. p. 12.—And also below, § 100, Addenda.

migrated from Kapilavastu)[1] was taken by an invasion of Taruk or Taret tribes coming from a country to the east, called Gandalarît, in the land of Tsin or Sin, which corresponds with Yunnan.

80. Now, the only tidings we have, from the Chinese side, connected with an event of that kind, goes back to the middle of the fourth century B.C. After his accession to the throne, in 338 B.C., the King Wei of the *Teru* or *Tsu* State[2] despatched an army to the south-west, and his general, Tchwang Kiao, subdued part of Yunnan, and Tchwang Hao his son (?) became King of *Tchen* or *Tsen* 滇 (now written *Tien* 滇). This name, which, by the way, is extremely interesting, as it became that by which China was known to the southern traders from the west, was selected because of the large central water of the region, now the lake of Yunnan fu; the word *Tchen*[3] in the language of the region meaning "water." Now we have here the *Tsin* of the Burmese legend without doubt, and in that of the mother-country of the prince-family, the State of Teru (mod. Tsu), of which the new State was the real offshoot, we might find the very name which appears in the legend under the double form of Taruk or Taret.

81. To conciliate the statement of Burmese history with the date of the Chinese record, we must admit a rectification of the chronology of the southern Buddhists as proposed by some scholars, and premise the great probability that the establishment of the new State of *Tsen* in Yunnan had a direct influence on some more meridional regions. Either by a migration southwards of tribes dislodged by the new kingdom, or by, what is more in accordance with the spirit of the legend, the new ruler himself pushing further south his attempts at conquest. In the latter probability he

[1] *Cf.* Ney Elias, *loc. cit.*; Major H. R. Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i. p. 236; Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma* (London, 1883, 8vo.), p. 8.

[2] More is said of this once famous and important state in my introduction on *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, to A. R. Colquhoun's book, *Amongst the Shans* (London, 1885, 8vo.). Excerpt, pp. 27–8.

[3] We find this word connected with the following which will have the same meaning: Tchung Miao JEN; Singpho NTSIN; Kakhyen INTZIN; Munnipuri ISHING, etc.

had to utilize some intermediary tribes as elephant-drivers, a fact which is part of the tradition kept by the *Pwons*, and partly still impressed in that of the *Mo-so* and *Li-so*.

82. The wave of migration of all these tribes, we might say of the race altogether, is strongly marked from north to south; the occasional retrogression of a tribe or two under peculiar circumstances has nothing to do with the general movement which, for ages and ages, let us say forty centuries at the least, has been proper to the various populations which can be traced back to the Kuen-lun range as to their cradle within historic times.

IV. Alphabet in Tibet.

83. Tibet enjoys now the privilege of being *The Forbidden Land* for Europeans. It is not long ago that another land could boast of the same position, but the barriers are now removed, and since last year Corea is open to Western influence. It will before long be the same with Tibet. The jealous monks who hold the country do not yet allow, under any conditions, Europeans to overstep its frontiers. And it could be considered as nearly certain still lately that the supreme authority of the Chinese government would not be respected, should it yield to pressure and authorize the entrance of Europeans into this abode and refuge of decayed and corrupted Buddhism.

But, we may be sure that from one side or the other, the opening of the country must take place at no distant date, apparently through India by mutual interest of trade (Vid. *Addenda*). Yet many years must elapse before any scientific exploration can be made. And even then a long time will pass before the country shall have revealed its secrets. Indeed, we cannot foresee what archæological researches, regularly made, may disclose in monuments, rock inscriptions, etc.

So far as our present subject is concerned, we have already from Chinese, Tibetan, and other sources, some valuable information, which, in my opinion, will prove interesting when put together. The country by itself is not

rich. It is thinly inhabited. It offers by itself little incitement to civilization, which has to come from the outside. Hence the information bears more on the outskirts than on the interior of the country. Its central position in Asia has made it witness, all around its borders, to several evolutions, derivations, progresses and decays of importance for the history of writing in the East as seen throughout this memoir.

84. The hitherto scattered and independent groups of tribes occupying the country now known as Tibet proper were submitted and organized into a regular government (towards 434 A.D.) by Tupöt Fanni,[1] who gave his family surname to his new country.[2] This surname meant "Prince of the Land."[3] He was a scion of the Tartar dynasty known as Southern Liang, which ruled in Kansuh on the N.W. of China, with its capital at Liang-tchou, from 397 to 415 A.D.[4]

The Tupöt are more generally known among scholars from the modern pronunciation of the Chinese transcriptions of their name: Tu-fah, Tu-poh, To-poh, all interchangeable, and from the form To-pa adopted by De Guignes in his wonderful work *Histoire des Huns*.[5]

85. We have seen above that *Tu-pöt* Fanni was a scion of the Southern Liang dynasty; he belonged to the same stock as the famous Wei dynasty which ruled over the north of China from 386 to 535 A.D. The family name of this dynasty was *Tu-pat*, like that of the Southern Liang; there is only a slight difference in the Chinese transcriptions 托 跋 and 禿 髮, both pointing to the same sounds and not much diversified since then.

86. The To-pat were a division of the Sien-pi[6] race, according

[1] *Cf.* a valuable paper by Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking, *The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources*, in *J.R.A.S.* 1880, Vol. XII. pp. 435-541. Vid. p. 440. Since, a very promising scholar, Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill, has compiled from Tibetan sources *The Early History of Bod-yul* (*Tibet*), pp. 203-229 of his valuable work *The Life of the Buddha* (London, 1884).

[2] I have treated at length this question in a special paper: *Tibet: why so called?*

[3] *Annals of the Wei dynasty* or *Weishu* in *Tai-ping yü-lan*, bk. 800, f. 1v., and bk. 101, f. 1.

[4] Cf. *Li-tai Ti-wang-nien-piao*, E. Tsin, ff. 11-13.

[5] Vid. *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. part i. pp. 197-198.

[6] The Coreans are still called Sien-pi by the Japanese.

to the Chinese annalists, and so far were connected with the Coreans and the Mandchus Tungus. We know several branches of them, almost all great and powerful. Besides the ruling families of the mighty Wei, the petty southern Liang dynasties of China, and the dynasty of Tibet, they formed one of the six chief tribes of the Tang-hiang, the *To-po* 扙 波, the descendants of which tribe established the kingdom of Si-Hia, ruling over Tangut and the north-west of China from 982 to 1227 A.D.[1]

A subdivision of the To-pat 托跋 has formed the nucleus of the 蠕 蠕 *Ju-Ju*, or *Ju-Juan*,[2] a separate tribe of the Hiung-nu according to the Chinese annals. They dwelt originally in the country of Kalka, on the frontier of Siberia, and constituted a regular and dynastic power with 18 rulers from 402 to 554 A.D.[3] Destroyed by the Turks, they fled westwards and passed the Volga in 555 A.D.; they were the same as the *Ouar-k'umi*, the ancestors of the (language of the) now much mixed Avars of the Caucasus.[4 5]

Several tribes of the same stock, under the name of *Tu-pöt* 都 波, are mentioned at thirteen days' journey north of the Uighurs, and three of them had their dwellings south of the Baïkal Lake.

87. The Bods or early occupiers of Tibet were still in a state of barbarism when some occasional refugees from India, and especially Nepal, reached them. And it is doubtful if they had arrived at any higher standard when they

[1] Cf. *Tang shu*, in *T.P.y.L.*, Bk. 795 f. 3 v.; where it is written 拓 拔, a variant which leaves no doubt as to the equivalence of all these forms.

[2] Also read *Juan-Juan* and *Jan-Jan*.

[3] *Nan she* 南 史 (420-589 A.D.), monography of the *Y meh* 夷 貊 傳 in *K'anghi tze tien*, 142 + 14, f. 64.—Vid. above § § 13, 27.

[4] They were the first who are known to have used the title of *K'an*. Vid. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. (1) p. 188.

[5] Their chief relationship was with the *Jurtchi*, *Dzhurtshit*, *Tshurtshit*, *Zhudzhi*, otherwise *Nyudzhi*, *Neu-chin*, *Nio-tchi*, and *Tchortchog* (Uighur orthography), *Jurjeh*, *Jurji* (Persian orthography), also *Soh-shin*, *Nuhtchi* (in older Chinese transcriptions), of which the names of the *Tchachourche* and *Nakhtchusi* are perhaps survivals in the Caucasus. I have found myself many affinities between the Awar and the Mandchu languages in vocabulary and ideology. The Caucasian affinities of languages of the far East have been pointed out by Klaproth, Latham, Norris, Logan, Hodgson, Charencey, Schiefner, etc., but have not yet been established on a scientific footing.

were conquered at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. by Tupöt Fanni.

They were in that simple stage of civilization where the absence of needs and no incitement from the outside leave man at liberty to forget and drop any earlier acquirements hence useless and not required for the satisfaction of his daily wants.[1] From the low stage of culture which the ancient Tibetans occupied, we are not free to infer that such had always been their social state. We do not know from whence they came, nor what was the degree of civilization of the stock from which they had separated. Tribes reduced by surrounding circumstances strictly to the satisfaction of the wants of nature, cannot fail to lose any previous knowledge and arts which are henceforth of no use to them. They must adapt themselves to their new circumstances of life. And if any high acquirement comes abruptly within their reach, they are unable to understand and grasp it.

88. Before the reign of their famous king, *Srong btsan sgam-po* (629–698 A.D.), the Tibetans had no writing. Notched sticks and knotted cords were their means of communication, but we have no information on these processes, nor on their likeness or non-resemblance to similar devices in use among neighbouring nations.[2] We have the bare statement of the fact in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty. But in the Tibetan traditions, with the exception of the following, there is no known reference to these rude means of communication. In E. Schlagintweit's *Könige von Tibet*, we read that "the five principal sages of the country glorified the (first) king[3] in records in gold and turquoises," a statement which may be taken as an allusion to the former use of a sort of quippos or wampums.

[1] *Cf.* my remarks in my paper on *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, in excerpt, pp. 6–9. It was printed before the valuable article of Prof. Max Müller, *The Savage*, appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1885.

[2] Vid. *The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources*, by Dr. S. W. Bushell, in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. 1880, pp. 435–541. Cf. p. 440.

[3] This first king was *Gnya-Khri btsan-po*, who ruled five hundred years before the birth of the King Thotori, according to Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 194.

We have said above all that can be said on the subject. Cf. §§ 4, 15.[1]

89. One of the first occupations of Srong-btsan was, apparently, to obtain a writing for the Tibetan language. Tradition says that Buddhist books had appeared in the country five generations previously;[2] should it not be altogether spurious, we might premise this appearance to be the incitement, which became ripe under the reign of the above king. He seems to be the first ruler with real power who was enabled to turn his attention to the welfare and advancement of his subjects.

Srong-btsan soon after the beginning of his reign sent a mission of seven nobles to India for that purpose, but they were unable to find a route, and so returned without having accomplished their object.[3] Such a failure does not prove much in favour of former and regular relations between the two countries.

90. The King, however, was not at all disheartened, and in the third year of his reign (632 A.D.) he sent Tongmi Samb'oṭa, son of Anu, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists. He also instructed them to devise means for the invention of a written language for Tibet by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. So we are told, but we must cut down a good deal of the device as an afterthought of the compilers of traditions. Such a scheme could not have been thought of as here stated, without a previous knowledge in Tibet of Sanskrit and Buddhist notions, which would lead one to suppose some relations with India, and consequently makes more unintelligible the previous

[1] Cf. *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, derived from Tibetan works, in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur. Followed by notices on *The Early History of Tibet and Khoten*. Translated by W. Woodville Rockhill, Second Secretary U.S. Legation in China. London 1884. 8vo. p. 208.

[2] A copy of the *Za-mag-thog bkod-pai mdo* or *Karandavyuha sûtra*, an almsbowl (*patra*), the six essential syllables (*Om maṇi padme hum*), a golden *tchaitya*, and a clay image of the *chintamaṇi*, are said to have fallen from Heaven in the royal palace (Woodville Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 210).

[3] *Bodhimur*, in Sanang Setsen, p. 327, edit. Schmidt.

statement about the first mission, and its inability to find a route to go there.[1]

91. Another feature in the report of the second expedition suggests some doubts as to the veracity of the story. The envoy has sixteen companions with him. Now let us remember that the fabulous tradition about the introduction of Buddhism in China in 217 B.C. mentions also seventeen as the number of the missionaries who were under the guidance of Li-fang.[2] And when Han Ming Ti of China despatched, in A.D. 65, Ts'ai-yn to India for inquiries about Buddha and his religion, the Imperial Messenger was sent with seventeen companions.[3] The latter expedition is an historical event, and its record may have suggested the similar number of envoys in remodelling the other traditions. The silence of the original reports concerning that point was supplemented, apparently, by a little imagination from the recorders. But should it be the case, it is not calculated to inspire great confidence in the other features of these traditions. One of them, that concerning the mission of Li-fang, is considered by many, as spurious from beginning to end, though we are not inclined to accept so severe a verdict,

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Wentzel, a fervent pupil of the late Dr. Jaeschke, for the following note:—"A detailed description of the introduction of writing into Tibet is contained in the tenth chapter of the Gyalrabs (*rgyal-rabs*), a history of the kings of Tibet, made use of by Jaeschke for compiling his Dictionary. (Another copy of this work is in the library of the Petersburg Academy, *N.* 433*a* in the catalogue in the *Bullet. hist. phil.* 1851; a third is mentioned in Schlagintweit's *Die Könige von Tibet*, p. 19 of the separate edition from the *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Bayr. Ak.* i. el. x. iii.) In Jaeschke's copy, the tenth chapter reaches from the end of fol. 29 to the beginning of 34. The substance of it is translated into German (from *Bodhimör*, the Mongolian version of the work) by Schmidt, in the annotations to his edition of Sanang Setzen, *Geschichte des Ost-Mongolen*, p. 327 *sq.* There it is said (fol. 31*b* 3, Schmidt, p. 328) that *Thonmi Sambhota* formed the square writing *Dbu-djan* out of the characters of the gods *Lāñcha*, and the cursive writing (here *zurdjan* 'the angular,' properly the *half*-cursive, which itself then was developed to the more current *dbu-min*) out of the characters of the Nāgas, *Vartula*. What Indian alphabet may have had this last name is not known. *Devalipi* and *nāgalipi* occur also side by side among the 64 alphabets that Siddhārta is instructed in (Lal. 144, 2, of the Calcutta edition)."

[2] Cf. Prof. R. K. Douglas, *China*, London, 1882, p. 318.—Rev. Prof. Samuel Beal, *Abstract of Four Lectures on Buddhist Literature in China*, London, 1882, pp. 1-2; *Buddhism in China*, London, 1884, pp. 47-48. The *Po sie lun*, by Fa-lin, where the tradition is reported, was written between A.D. 624-640, according to Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1863, col. 331, *n.* 1500.

[3] Cf. Mayers's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, 340, 754.

because we think that, after all, the legend might have some foundation.

92. As to the Tibetan expedition, there is no apparent reason to doubt it, with the exception of the additions and embellishments which have been added by the historians. Let us remember that we have no contemporary records nor annals of the time, and that all the knowledge we have from the Tibetan history is derived from native compilations, if not of a late date, at least made many centuries after the events they purpose to record.

93. The Tibetan king furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to their Indian professors. After having had to overcome great difficulties on their road, they safely reached their destination in Aryavarta (*i.e.* abode of the Aryas or the whole central region between the Himalaya and Vindya mountains). So says the Baboo Sarat Chandra Das in his *Contributions on Tibet*, from native sources.[1] The *Bodhimur* or Mongolian version of the *rgyal-rabs*,[2] a native history of the kings of Tibet, states that the mission was sent to *Œnœd Kok*[3] to learn the writing of the country. This last name seems to me to be a corrupted form of the Chinese appellation for India, *Yntu-Kuok* or country of Yn-tu 印度. The same work, as we have it, through I. J. Schmidt,[4] says that it was in Southern India, which I understand to be an indication of the position of India with reference to Tibet, and not at all as the southern part of India.

94. Tong-mi Samb'ota made himself acquainted with the Indian characters, or, as Baboo Sarat Chandra Das says, he

[1] Baboo Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. l. 1881, pp. 187-251; vol. li. 1882, pp. 1-75, 87-128, cf. p. 219.

[2] The title of this important Tibetan work is *Rgyal-rabs-kyi gsal-bai mé-long* or "A bright mirror of the history of kings" (cf. Jaeschke *Tib. Engl. Dict.*, p. 417). It was compiled by the fifth Gyalwa-Rinpochhe, or Great Lama (Sarat Chandra Das, *op. cit.* p. 212).

[3] The name slightly altered was still used in the last century, and figures in D'Anville's map as *Anonkek* or *Anongen*.

[4] Translated by Schmidt in the Annotations to his edition of Sanang Setzen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 327 sq. Ssanang Setzen Khung taidshi completed in 1662 his work entitled *Mongol Khadun Toghudji* or "A History of the Mongol Khans" (H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i. xvi.).

acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit and of sixty-four different characters known in the Arya land. Surely this is an exaggeration, though the number is reiterated from the sixty-four alphabets that Siddharta is instructed in, as reported in the *Lalita Vistara*.

The envoy and his companions were taught by a Brahman called *Li-byin* (i.e. *Lipikara* or *Livikara*, which means merely "a scribe") all the intricacies of the language and writing, while the pundit *Devavid Singha*, or *Singha-ghosha*, called *Tœngrihn-arkhagan* or *Arsalan* in the Bodhimur, instructed them in the Buddhist books and precepts. After returning to Tibet, Tong-mi Samb'ota framed the system of Tibetan characters in two styles, the *yi-ge dbu-djan*, and the *yi-ge zur-djan*.[1]

95. The *yi-ge dbu-djan*, or, as the name means, the letters furnished with heads, also called *rom-yig*[2] or "thick letters" in the Western provinces, and commonly called *U-djan* by a simplification of the first name in speech, are the ordinary Tibetan characters commonly used now in printing.[3] The legendary

[1] Shaug dchoh Khantouktou in the preface to his Tibetan-Mongol Dictionary, states that Taomisamkandra, when back in India framed two Tibetan alphabets, the *tsab* from the *Landza*, and the *char* or *kchar* from the *Vardo*, cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1822, p. 331.

[2] *Rom* = 'thick, big, stout,' whence *rom-yig* as a distinction from the *p'ra yig* or cursive writing, where *p'ra* means 'thin, fine, minute,' cf. Jaeschke, *Tibet Engl Dict.* pp. 353, 536.

[3] They are said to have retained faithfully the primitive forms which were cut on wooden blocks for printing in the seventh century, soon after their introduction into Tibet (cf. H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 471). Printing was introduced from China, where the art was flourishing, especially in the west, on the borderland of Tibet. It began by the habit, still in use, of taking rubbings of engraved stones (*i.e.* of blackening, with a pad, paper squeezed on the inscribed stone, so that the deepened marks appear white on black ground). Such rubbings were in circulation under Han Tchang-ti (A.D. 76), and Tsin Wu-ti (A.D. 265). The engraving of the texts of the sacred books on stone, in A.D. 175, by Tsai-yung, and in A.D. 240-9, afforded facilities for such rubbings. The art was improved in the region of Shuh, *i.e.* Szetchuen, and much used by the Buddhists for the propagation of their texts and images of Buddha. But we do not see it adopted by the Chinese government before the year 593 A.D. for printing the pictures, autographs and neglected texts. Printing on blocks was carried to Korea and Japan, where it was in use in A.D. 764. Two specimens of the latter date printing are in the British Museum. As to the printing with moveable types, the art was known or invented in China circ. 1041-1049 by Pi-shing and improved by Tch'en Kuoh (circ. 1080) and Yang K'oh; most of their types were in clay. A century afterwards printing moveable types in copper were made in Korea. Copies of books so printed later (in 1317) are still in existence.

account says that they were derived from the holy writing the *lhai yi-ge* or Landza. Now so far as the Landza characters are those that we know in Nepal, the derivation of the *U-djan* from these characters is not borne out by comparison. The connection between the two writings is that of a family parentage and not at all that of a derivation. The similarity presented by the U-djan to the characters of the Gupta inscriptions at Allahabad is, on the other hand, remarkable, and in order to conciliate the tradition with the material evidence, we ought to surmise that the latter characters were at that time considered also as *Landza*. But we have no proof of such a fact, and the whole confusion arose from the embellishments and magnifying details added in later ages.

96. The ancient tradition of the appearance in the country five generations before the king Srong-tsang, of a Buddhist book, which was specially venerated in Nepal,[1] has apparently suggested the precise minutiæ given about a connection of the *Dbu-djan* with the Landza of the latter country, while the only truth is that the Landza was a beautified and ornamented style of writing down the same Indian characters which were used as a pattern for those of Tibet. The *lhai-yi-ge* name in the Tibetan tradition may have the same meaning as Landza, but it has not necessarily the very same characters, and it corresponds undoubtedly to the *devalipi*, "Divine writing," which figures among the sixty-four writings of the list given in the Lalita Vistara, which *devalipi* is not the Landza. The perfect likeness in form exhibited by the *ka-p'reng dbu-djan* [2] to the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty at Allahabad represent fairly, we have no doubt, the monumental writing, which was used in all the religious monuments at that time, and is quite sufficient to prove that they were imitated from the latter.

The *Ka-smad sum-dju Ka-li*,[3] i.e. the writing in thirty

[1] According to Woodville Rockhill, *op. cit.* p. 210. It is mentioned by Brian H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Language and Literature of Tibet*, vol. i. pp. 17, 37.

[2] *Ka-p'reng dbu-djan*, i.e. the capital alphabet, the same as the *yi-ge dbu-djan*, or more simply *u djan*.

[3] *Sum-dju* = thirty. Cf. Jaeschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 426.

characters, a general name of the Tibetan writing, includes the *rgya-la med-pai yi-ge drug*,[1] or the six letters which are not existing in Sanskrit.

97. The second of the styles of writing found by Tong-mi Samb'ota was called, as we have seen above, *ye-ge zur-djan*, *i.e.* letters furnished with an angle, or cornered letters, so called from the fact that the upper part or head of the letters were not so regular as in the *dbu-djan* style. He is reported to have derived them from the *Klui-yi-ge* or *Vartula* characters, the two words being considered as equivalent, notwithstanding their respective meanings, which are different. The statement is translated incorrectly by some, as intended to show the derivation of this second writing from that of the Nagas, or simply from the Nagari character, which is another way of escaping the difficulty.[2] Now *Klu* in the Tibetan dictionary of Jaeschke means "serpent demon," and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Naga*. But in the compounds it is written *Klui*, and does not seem to carry on this extreme meaning. For instance, *Klui-skad*, in which *skad* is "language," means the Prâcrit language, *i.e.* the vernacular dialect, in contradistinction to the *rgya-gar skad* or "Sanskrit language," properly the "language of India," in which *rgya-gár*, litt. "white plain," stands for India.[3] In *Klui-skad* we have seen *Klui* corresponding to a peculiar denomination of "that is in common use." It is obviously in the same acceptation that it must be taken in the words *Klui-yi-ge*, which are used for naming the *vartula* character.

98. The latter is the Sanskrit word, meaning "round, circular," which, applied to a writing, is suggestive of the rounded shapes of the cursive characters, in opposition to the angular and straight forms of the monumental or lapidary style. Now, to complete the parallelism, the *nāgalipi* occurs side by side with the *dēvalipi*, among the sixty-four alphabets

[1] Jaeschke, *ibid*, p. 418.

[2] Baboo Sarat Chandra Das arranges it still otherwise, and reads *Wartu* in his text, while in his note thereon he says, "Wartu is probably the language of the people of Kafiristan and Bactria." Cf. his *Contributions*, loc. cit. p. 2. But the reading *vartula* is quite plain, though arranged after the fashion of the Tibetan lexicographs *vartu-la*.

[3] Jaeschke, *Tib. Dict.* p. 105.

of the *Lalita Vistara*,[1] as in the Tibetan record the *Klui-yi-ge* and the *lhai-yi-ge* appear together. Indianists do not know what writing was denominated *vartula*, and was the antecedent of the *zur-djan* of Tong-mi Samb'ota. From the great resemblance between the characters of the latter style as they are drawn in its immediate derivative the *dbu-med*, with those of the first style *dbu-djan*, of which they differ only by the thick strokes of the heads, which are absent, and some looseness in the shapes, which are less tight and want regularity, it is quite clear that the two styles, the Indian antecedents of the two styles of Tibet, were one and the same writing, one drawn or incised on the monuments, the other in use in daily life and for common purposes.

99. The appearance repeatedly of the name of *Naga* in connection with the current and common writing remains to be explained.[2] It is quite clear that the intended meaning was not a special use and acceptation of the word *naga*, but the proper meaning of this word, viz. "serpent," which, however, could not be separated from its usual surroundings of superstition and demon-character. Its translation by the Tibetan *klui*, instead of its transcription as in the case of *vartula*, shows it plainly. It seems to me that *this qualification was given to that current writing because of the curved and snake-like forms of its characters* in opposition to the stiffness of the monumental or to the ornamented forms of the sacred style of writing.

100. The *yi-ge zur-djan* writing, properly the half-cursive, was developed into the more current *dbu-med* or head-less characters, also called *t'a yig* in the western provinces. Of the *dbu-med*, commonly pronounced *Ume*, there are various kinds: the *dpé-yig* (from *dpe*=pattern, model), the more distinct and careful, used in copying books; the *'k'yug-yig*, lit. the running writing, the cursive and often rather illegible style used in writing letters; and the *'bam-yig*, the

[1] Vid. above, § 90*n*. As to the date of the *Lalita Vistara* it is not known. It was first translated into Chinese during the Shuh Han dynasty, A.D. 221-263 (cf. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, *n*. 159). The date of A.D. 76 first given by Stanislas Julien was the result of a mistake.

[2] No satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given of the name *Nagari*, though four hypotheses were put forward. Cf. A. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, 2nd edit. p. 52*n*.

very large and regular style invented for the use of elementary writing schools.[1]

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ADDENDA.

§ 10, n. 1. There is another instance of inscribed stone; but the statement does not deserve the same confidence. It is recorded in the *Wei lio* (a compilation of the third century A.D.). There we read: "In the Liu valley of Liang-tchou was a stone which once slipped without apparent cause; it bore marks intended to represent a horse." Cf. *Tai Ping yü lan*, bk. 51, fol. 2*v*. There was a Liang-tchou in the N.E. of Honan when the *Wei lio* was compiled, and thus far the above fact could match with the other of Shantung, and be considered as two archæological remnants of the native art of former population. On the other hand, the Liu valley is explained in the *K'anghi tze-tien* s.v. 柳 as in the west of China, where the sun is observed to set; in which case the Liang tchou would be the old one of the Great Yü, comprising Szetchuen and parts of Hupeh, Kansuh and Shensi.

§ 32, n. 6. The two following statements, which are probably a repetition of one tradition only, conceal perhaps some vague indications on some graffitti on rocks to be found in the N.E. of Tibet. The *Tai ping yü lan* of 983 A.D. quotes (bk. 38, fol. 5) a statement purposing to be extracted from the *Shan haï King*, where, however, I fail to find it. It may be one of the glosses of ancient commentators which are often considered as part of the text. It runs as follows:—"Muh, King of Tchou, went to the Kuen-lun Hills, and wandering about the (ruins of the) palace of Hien-Yuen (or Hwang-ti), he saw on the ridge of the Tchung mountains some defaced inscriptions; they were the records of the country of Si Wang Mu (or Western Amazon Queen) on the upper part of the Elysian Garden." The other statement is extracted from the *Muh T'ien tze tchuen*, a romantic record written circâ 300 B.C., of the journey in the west of China, by the same Muh King of Tchou about 945 B.C. "On the fifth day, (the King Muh) looking at the Tchung mountain, saw remains of inscriptions which had been engraved there for the benefit of future generations." A commentator quoting the above (*Shan haï King*, bk. ii. ff. 15–16) says: They were called Stone-engraved Annals; they praised

[1] On all the senames, *vid.* Jaeschke, *Tibet. Engl. Dict.* pp. 60, 327, 392, 508. For specimens of the writings see Csoma de Körösi's *Grammar*.

virtue like those set up by Ts'IN She Hwang-ti (246–209 B.C.), and by HAN Wu-ti (140–86 B.C.). The region is that of the spurs of the Kwen-lun range in Kansuh, north-west China and north-east Tibet.

§ 37, n. 1. Vid. also J. Milne, *Notes on Stone Implements from Otao and Hakodate, with a Few General Remarks on the Pre-Historic Remains of Japan*, in *Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. viii. pp. 61–91, and plate p. 65, where mention is made and copy is given of an inscription scraped on a cliff at Otaru opposite Yezo, apparently the same as that of Dr. Schube.

§ 38, n. 3. The description, a short one, is from Mr. W. Mesny, in a letter from Kuei hien, in Kuang-si, 16 Juillet, 1883. He describes the writing as from top to bottom in columns as the Chinese, but beginning on the left of the page (as Mongol and Mandchu). The specimens we have in Europe are all written like the Chinese, in column and from right to left.

§ 39, n. 2. Since these pages were put in type I have had access to the monumental publication of Dr. A. B. Meyer, *Alterthümer aus dem ostindischen Archipel* (Leipzig, 1884, fol.), where the inscription and a picture of the vase are published, fol. 7 and pl. xi. fig. 4.

§ 45.—It is exactly the effect produced by a Karen inscription on a plate of metal, in a writing undecipherable by the Karens themselves (published by Dr. Nathan Brown, *On a Karen Inscription*, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1879, vol. vii. pp. 127–130, with plate), and connected, I find, with that of Tsiampa.

§§ 58, 79. Mo-so soldiers, under the Mahomedan general, Nassir-eddin, helped the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277 A.D. Cf. *Du Royaume de Mien ou Mien-thien*, extrait de l'histoire Chinoise-Mogolaise (trad. Cl. Visdelou from the *Kwang-yü Ki*) in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1883, vol. ii. p. 80.

§ 83. In revising the proofs of the preceding pages, I am able to refer to an able paper on *Our Relations with Tibet* in *The Times* of July 9th, 1885. In view of furthering commercial intercourse, friendly communications have been re-opened between the Indian Government and the Tibetan minister of the Lama at Teshu Lumbo. This promising beginning is the practical result of an interview of Mr. Colman Macaulay with the Jongpen of Kambajong. After the lapse of a hundred years, it revives the hopes, originally created by the two missions of Warren Hastings, of direct commercial relations with the people of Tibet.

INDEX.

Abkhâs or Abas language spoken in the Caucasus, 155.
Açoka, South Indian Alphabet of, 441.
Ádi Granth, description of the, 387; quotations from, 392, 401.
Africa, West Coast of, mode of communication on the, 420.
Agau language, comparison of the, with Assyrian, 72.
Aïnos, forgotten alphabet among the, 439.
Akhmim, discovery of large numbers of mummies at, cxiv.
Akkadian pronouns, notes on, 65 *et seq.*
Alexander, General Sir J. E., obituary notice of, xxiv *et seq.*
Alexandrian Library, destruction of the, lxv.
Alphabet in Tibet, 470 *et seq.*
Alphabetic stage, the Chinese language once reached the, 453.
Alphabets, the struggle for life of, 439.
Alwar, celebrated library at, xlix.
Amra, an Arab poetess, 57.
Anderson, Dr. J., "Expedition to Western Yunnan," quoted, 430.
Andhra country, insufficient identification of the, 216.
Annamites, a lost phonetic writing of the, 444.
Anuruddhapura, the Buddhist stúpa erected at, 214.
"Arabian Matriarchate," theory of the, discussed, 275 *et seq.*
Arabian tribe and its successive subdivisions, names of an, 281.
Arabic, Gleanings from the, 57 *et seq.*
Arabic, résumé of books and papers published on, lxxxix *et seq.*
Aramæan literature, xcvi.
Archæology in India and the East, analyses of books and papers published on, lviii *et seq.*
Ariel, M., his remarks on the *Kurral*, 167.
Armenian language spoken in the Caucasus, 152.
Artshi language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Aryan family of languages, compared with the Báutu languages of South Africa, 38 *et seq.*
Aryan languages, literature of the, xcviii *et seq.*
Assyrian pronouns, notes on, 65 *et seq.*
Assyrian, résumé of books and papers published on, lxxix *et seq.*
Atkinson, E. T., "Religion in the Himalaya," xlv.
Aurea Chersonesus, a misnomer, lxvi.
Avesta, on the age of the, 339 *et seq.*
Avvai, quotations from the, 180.
Awár language spoken in the Caucasus, 156.

Baber, E. C., remarks on a Tibetan epic, 457.
Babylonia, the early civilization of China traceable to the culture fostered in, 449.
Babylonia, the Wolfe Expedition to, lxxxii.
Babylonian Kings, lxxix.
Babylonian measures, lxxxii.
Bágri language, 377, 388.
Bak tribes, peculiarities of the language of the, 451.
Bala Murghâb, caves at, explored by Mr. W. Simpson, lxxii.
Balance-sheet of Royal Asiatic Society for 1884, xxxvii.
Ball, Mr., "Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India," lxv.
Balochi literature, 390; specimens and translations of, 409.
Bántu languages of South Africa, 38 *et seq.*
Bastian, Dr. A., alphabet given by a Shan to, 444.

Beal, Prof. S., analysis of his paper "On the Age and Writiugs of Nâgârjuna Bóddhisatva," xl.
Beames, J., on the literature of the Panjáh, quoted, 379; on Hindi, quoted, 387.
Beans or pebbles, strung or netted, used as a substitute for writing, 424.
Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, analyses of various papers in, xlv *et seq.*
Bertin, G., "Notes on the Assyrian and Accadian Pronouns," Art. V., pp. 65–88.
Biddulph, Col., "Dialects of the Hindu Khush," Art. VI., pp. 89-144.
Bishari language, the, compared with Assyrian, 76.
Bleek, Dr. I., referred to and quoted, 39 *et seq.*
Bods, early occupiers of Tibet, 472.
Bogsha and Tharu, two strange tribes of Upper India, cxxv.
Borneo, ornamented vase from, 442; relics of writing in, 441; traces of Chinese influence in, 441*n*.
Boulger, Mr., "History of China," cxviii.
Brishaparva, the Râja, 29.
British and Foreign Bible Society, selections from their Annual Report, clvi *et seq.*
Brown, C. P., obituary notice of, xv *et seq.*
Buddhist monks, assembled to consecrate the stúpa at Anuruddhapura, 214.
Buddhist remains near Sambhúr, 29 *et seq.*
Burgess, Dr., on Indian temple doorways, lxiv; on Satrunjaya and the Jains, lxvi; his appointment as Archæological Surveyor of Southern as well as Western India, lxix.
Buriats, use of knotted cords by the, 427.

Calcutta Review, summary of the articles contained in the, cxxiv.
Carlleyle, A. C. L., archæological explorations and discoveries by, lxii *et seq.*
Carnac, J. H. Rivett, referred to, 364.
Caucasus, historical survey of the, 145; statistical information relating to the, 148; the languages of the, 151 *et seq.*
Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal, résumé of papers in, l.
Ceylon, customs and superstitions in, 366 *et seq.*
Ceylon, visit of Buddhist monks to, from the Pallava country, an important historical standing-place, 214.
Chaturanga, Sanscrit term for "chess," 354.
Chess, the Chinese game of, 352 *et seq.*
China, notched sticks used by the aboriginal tribes of, 431.
China, origin of the early civilization in, 449.
China, résumé of the books and papers relating to, cxviii *et seq.*
China Review, summary of the articles in the, cxxvi.
China, The Northern Frontagers of, 293 *et seq.*
Chinese aboriginal tribes, language of the, 451.
Chinese Bak tribes, took with them the knowledge of writing, 422.
Chinese game of chess, 352 *et seq.*
Chinese language, adaptability of, for translations from other languages, lii.
Chinese mythology and art, cxix.
Chinese signs of the cardinal points, 449*n*.
Chinese, use by the, of knotted cords as a substitute for writing, 426.
Chinese vases, the inscriptions on, generally forgeries, 447.
Chinese writing, not born in the Middle Kingdom, 445; its earliest characteristics, 446; its antecessor found in South-West Asia, 447; the ungenuineness of the rude pictorial characters supposed to represent it, 447; traceable to the wedge-writing of Babylonia, 448; the phoneticism of its earliest characters, 449; its struggle against surrounding circumstances, 450; intermingled with that of the aboriginal tribes, 451; it reached alphabetism and then dropped it, 453; formally introduced into Annam, 445.
Chitral Valley, language of the, 118.
Chohán race, relics of the, 30.
Christianity, influence of, in South India, 167.
Chronological tables of the history of the Pallavas, 187 *et seq.*
Concubines, their children's right to the father's name amongst the Arabs, 282.
Confucius, on chess-playing, 354.
Cooper, T. T., on the habits and customs of the Mo-so, 458.

Cro-Magnon, relic of the Stone age found at, 438.
Culver, Capt., on the writing of Hainan, 445.
Cup-marks in China and India, 436.
Cunningham, Major-General, archæological explorations of, lviii *et seq.*
Cust, R. N., note by, on the Rev. F. W. Kolbe, 38; "The Languages of the Caucasus," Art. VII., pp. 145-162; "Athens and Rome, Syracuse and Carthage," cxxv; "The Opium Question," cxxvi; remarks on the death of Mr. Vaux, clxix; remarks on the Tibetan language, 388.
Cylinder of Nabonidus, an important record of historical events, lxxxi.

Daijin, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 5 *et seq.*
Dakhan, the political condition of the, in Fa Hian's time, 186.
Dames's "Balochi Grammar," quoted, 409.
Darius, and the Scythians 419; and the Ionians, 428*n*.
Dehli, the last King of, his Lament, 403.
Dayaks, alphabetic writing of the, 441.
Demon worship in Northern India, lxi.
Dening, W., "Moderu Translation into Sinico-Japanese," lii.
Desgodins, Père A., description of the Mo-so, 456; discoverer of the Mo-so hieroglyphical language, 459; letter from, 460.
Devil-dancing in Ceylon, 368.
Devyani, the legend of, 29.
Dharaṇikoṭa, conflictiug testimony as to the founders of, 215.
Dickins, F. V., "The Story of Shiūten Dôji," Art. I., pp. 1-28.
Distances, curious method of computing, lxxii.
Divorce amongst the Arabs, 279.
Djung, the Tibetan name for the Mo-so, 467.
Dogri language, 377, 389.
Dutthagâmini, the builder of the Stupa at Anuruddhapura, 214.

Easter Island, the inscriptions in, traceable to a decayed form of the South Indian alphabet, 442-444.
Edkins, Dr., "Chinese Mythology and Art," cxix.
Edwards, Miss, contributions to Egyptology by, cxi.
Egyptology, record of progress in, cviii *et seq.*
"Elephaut" chess, 357.
Embryo writings, various sorts of, 418 *et seq.*
Epigraphy, summary of progress in, cxxxi.
Exodus, the route of the, cx.

Fa Hian's testimony to the political and religious coudition of the Dakhaṇ, 186.
Fan-tsieh, Chinese term indicating the pronunciation of a word, 453.
Female slavery in Islām, 287.
Forbes, Dr., "History of Chess," 352.
Formosa, method of reckoning time in, 424.
Foulkes, Rev. T., "The Pallavas," Art. IX., pp. 183-220.
Freeland, H. W., "Gleanings from the Arabic," Art. IV., pp. 57-64.
Frere, Sir H. Bartle, obituary notice of, iii *et seq.*
Fu, the, or check, of the Chinese, 433.

Galla language, comparisou of the, with Assyrian, 75.
Garnier, F., Mo-so words collected by, 466.
Geldner, Prof., on the age of the Avesta, 350.
Georgian language, and its varieties, spoken in the Caucasus, 154.
German Oriental Society, résumé of papers published in the Journal of the, lvii *et seq.*
Giatcho, or Annamites, 444.
Giles, H., "Historic China," 428*n*.
Gilgit district, language of the, 89.
Gill, Capt. W., discovery of Mo-so MSS. by, 460.
Graffitti of Siberia, 422, 435.
Gujarati literature, cvii.

Hachiman, a Japanese War-God, 8.
Hainan, forgotten writing in, 445.
Hanazono, the daughter of, a character in a Japanese legend, 13 *et seq.*
Harapa, stone seal found at, 440*n*.
Harlez, Prof. de, "The Age of the Avesta," Art. XIII., pp. 339-351.
Harmonization of vowels, 451.
Harrison, J. P., collector of the inscriptions in Easter Island, 443.
Haug, M., his theory of the age of the Avesta, 340.
Hawaii, island of, revenue book of, 428.
Hebrew and Chaldee Literature, lxxiii *et seq.*
Hebrew MSS., curious discovery of, lxxiii.

Hebrew women, position of, in Biblical times, lxxiii.
Hendley, Surgeon-Major T. H., "Buddhist Remains near Sambhûr," Art. II., pp. 29–37.
Hennessy, J. B. N., "Explorations in Great Tibet," lxxi.
Hereró language, comparison of the, 42 *et seq.*
Herodotus, the story of the Scythian symbolical message, 419*n*.
Hieroglyphical writing, evolution of, 421.
Hieroglyphical writing of the Mo-so, 454 *et seq.*
Hieroglyphics, no genuine Chinese, 422.
Hindí and Urdú literature, 386; specimens and translations of, 401.
Hindi literature, cvii.
Hindu Khush, Dialects of the Tribes of the, 89 *et seq.*
Hindustani literature, cvii.
Hittite hieroglyphical writing, 421.
Hittite literature, xcvii.
Holt, F. W., "Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess," Art. XIV., pp. 352–365.
Howorth, H. H., "The Northern Frontagers of China: the Shato Turks," Art. XII., pp. 293–338.
Hudsailite poems, 57.
Hurkan language spoken in the Caucasus, 156.

Ibbetson, Denzil, "Census of the Panjáb," 373, 386.
Ideograms, the use of, in the Chinese language, 452.
India, the material resources of Ancient, lxv.
Indian Antiquary, résumé of papers published in the, lxiii *et seq.*
Indian Institute at Oxford, formal opening of the, cxxxiii.
Indian temple doorways, lxiv.
Infanticide amongst the Arabs, 289.
Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, description of vol. v. of the, lxxx.
Ireland, Oghams of, 434.
Iroquois, wampum belts of the, 425.

Janûb, an Arab poetess, 57.
Japan, Asiatic Society of, papers in the Journal, lii.
Japan, hieroglyphics in, 423.
Japan, résumé of contributions to the literature of, cxxi *et seq.*
Japanese, Story from the, 1 *et seq.*
Japanese, use of knotted cords by the, 427.
Jatki (or Multáni) literature, 389; specimens and translations of, 405.
Journal Asiatique, résumé of papers in the, liii *et seq.*
Ju-juan, signs for writing used by the, 424.
Jung tribes of China, 467.

Kakhyens, mode of communication by the, 420; knotched sticks used by the, 430.
Kashmír literature, cvii.
Kashmírí literature, 389; specimens and translations of, 404.
Kasikúmuk language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Kasin, important archæological discoveries at, lxiii.
Keary, C. F., "Dawn of History," quoted, 429*n*.
Khitans, wooden tallies used by the, 432.
Khowar language, sketch of the grammar and vocabulary of the, 118 *et seq.*
K'i K'iuen, the, of the Chinese, 433.
Kintoki, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 7.
Knotted cords, used as a substitute for writing, 421, 425–429.
Kôbô, one of the "Great Teachers" of Japan, 7.
Kolbe, Rev. F. W., "The Bearing of the Study of the Bántu Languages of South Africa on the Aryan Family of Languages," Art. III., pp. 38–56.
Kosegarten, G. L., referred to, 57.
Koutei, inscriptions at, 442.
Kunama language, the, compared with Assyrian, 76.
Kunimasa, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 5 *et seq.*
Kurd language spoken in the Caucasus, 152.
Kurin language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Kurral, quotations from the, 170.
Ku-wen characters of the Chinese language, 449.
Kwas of the Yh-King, 427, 432.

Lacouperie, Prof. T. de, analysis of his paper, "On Three Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom," xxxix; "Beginnings of Writing in and around Tibet," Art. XVII., pp. 415–482.
Laidley, J. W., obituary notice of, xxvii.

Latham, Prof., remarks by, on the origin of the Semitic tongues, 77.
Legge, Dr., quoted, on chess-playing, 355.
Leitner, Dr., quoted, 404.
Le Mesurier, C. J. R., "Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon," Art. XV., pp. 366-372.
Lepsius, R., obituary notice of, xxix; his last work, "Längenmasse der Alten," lxxxii.
Lesgian group of Caucasian languages, 158.
Leyden, the Sixth Oriental Congress held at, résumé of the papers read in the Semitic section, lxxxviii; those in the Aryan section, cv; those in the African section, cxvi; those of other sections, cl.
Li-so, connexion of the, with the Burmese, 468.
Li-su method of communication, 421.
Li-tch'eng, the inscription at, 423.
Lolo writing identical with the oldest known Indian writing, 440*n.*; Lolo MSS., 441*n.*
Lushai literature, cviii.
Lu-tze, their mode of communication with the Chinese, 419.
Lyon, Mr., Assistant Commissioner at Sambhúr, excavations carried on by, 31.

Madura, Southern, legend relating to an aucient Academy in, 168.
Mahabharata, progress of Pratap Chandra Roy's translation of the, ci.
Mahâtmya Devî, an episode in the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, description and translation of the, 221 *et seq.*
Makimono, Japanese term for MSS., 2.
Malayalim literature, cviii.
Man, E. J., "The Sonthals," extracts from, 428.
Manichæan doctrines, 292.
Manika Rai, the Chohân, 29.
Marathi literature, cvii.
Marco Polo, quoted, 430.
Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, translation of books 81-93 of the, 221 *et seq.*
Marriages amongst the Arabs, 277 *et seq.*
Material objects, used singly, or strung together, by ancient and modern nations, instead of writing, 418 *et seq.*
Maternal uncle, the reasons for blessing or cursing the, amongst the Arabs, 285.
Matras of the Vengi-Chalukya inscriptions, 443.
"Matriarchate," theory of the Arabian, discussed, 275 *et seq.*
McCrindle, Mr., "Ptolemy's Geography of India," lxvi.
Mee-tway, or priest of the Kakhyens, 463.
Meucius, on chess-playing, 354.
Mesny, Mr., discovery of Mo-so MSS. by, 460.
Miscellaneous Indian or Oriental Literature, summary of contributions to, clii.
Moncrieff, Colonel S., appointed Chief of the Department of Works at Cairo, cxi.
Montrouziès, P., on the phouetic writing of the Annamites, 444.
Morgan's "Ancient Society" quoted, 425*n.*
Mo-so hieroglyphical writing, 423, 454 *et seq.*; MSS. of the, 459; characteristics of the, 461; compared with Tibetau charms, 462.
Mo-so, history and description of the, 454 *et seq.*; accounts of their habits and customs, 458; vocabulary of their language, 465; ethuology of the, 467; traced to the Kueu-lun, 470.
Mu Tien Wang, family name of the royal race of the Mo-so, 456.
Muh-k'i, meaning of, 421.
Mukunti Pallava, uncertainty of his date, 215.
Müller, Prof. Max, quoted, 40; on the flexibility of the Chinese language, liii.
Mut'a marriages amongst the Arabs, 278.

Nâḍadi, quotations from the, 178.
Nágarájas of Manjerika, their historical importance, 220.
Naggâsh, trade dialect of the, xlv.
Na-shi, a name for the Mo-so, 467.
Naville, M., "Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus," cx.
Nicknames amongst the Arabs, 277.
Niue, the number, always omitted when counting grain in Ceylon, 370.
Ninevite copy of the Sumerian grammatical tablet, 86.
Nirvâna statue of Buddha at Kasin, lxiii.
North-American Indians, "totem" system of the, 276.
North-Celebes Islands, a lost alphabet in the, 442.

Notched sticks, or tallies, used as a substitute for writing, in the East, 421, 429 *et seq.* ; also so used in Europe, 434.

Obituary Notices. *See* Alexander, Brown, Frere, Laidley, Lepsius, Parkes, Robinson, Rogers, *and* Trumpp.
O'Brien, Mr., "Glossary of the Multáni Language," quoted, 385.
Oghams, of Wales and Ireland, 434.
Ommun alphabet, the, 440.
Opium Question, the, cxxvi.
Oriental Congress at Leyden, lxxxviii, cv, cxvi, cl.
Ossete language spoken in the Caucasus, 152.
Ouar-k'umi, ancestors of the Avars, 472.
Oxford, opening of the Indian Institute at, cxxxi *et seq.*

Pahári literature, 388 ; specimen and translation of, 403.
Palæographical discovery by M. de Lacouperie, 442.
Pallava, meanings of, 217.
Pallavas, chronological tables of the history of the, 187 *et seq.*
Panjáb, the, vernacular literature and folklore of, 373 *et seq.* ; geography and inhabitants, 374 ; historical survey of, 375 ; languages spoken in, 376 ; post-classical literature of, 378 ; folklore of, 380 ; development of vernacular literature in, 390.
Panjábi language, present condition of, 375 ; specimens and translations of, 392 *et seq.*
Parapolyehūna, or cocoa-nut fight, in Ceylon, description of, 367.
Parkes, Sir H. S., obituary notice of, xx *et seq.*
Pashto literature, 389 ; specimens and translations of, 406.
Pashto war ballad, 406.
Pawindahs, description of, 384.
Perrot and Chipiez, MM., "Chaldée et Assyrie," lxx.
Persian language spoken in the Caucasus, 151.
Peruvians, quippus used by the, 424.
Peterson, Prof., "Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.," xlix.
Phayre, Sir Arthur, story by, of a Shan State seeking British alliance, 431.
Pithom, the store city of, cx.
Poliphony of the Caucasus Province, anecdote illustrating the, 159.
Polyandry amongst the Arabs, 277.
Polynesia, knotted cords used in, 428.
Pope, Dr. G. U., "On the Study of the South-Indian Vernaculars," Art. VIII., pp. 163–182.
Pratap Chandra Roy's translation of the Mahabharata, ci.
Prescott's "History of Peru," quoted, 429.
Pronouns, notes on Assyrian and Akkadian, 65 *et seq.*
Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia, lxvi.
"Purity of race" amongst the Arabs, 289.

Quippu, descriptions of the, 429*n*.
Quippus, used by the Peruvians, 424 ; insurrection in Peru prevented by a knowledge of, 429.

Ramsay, W. M., appointed Lincoln Professor of Archæology at Oxford, lxix.
Rawlinson, Sir H., "the true Father of Assyriology," lxxxi ; agrees with M. de Lacouperie in his opinions regarding the *origines* of the Chinese, 449*n*.
"Red Eyebrows," a Chinese tribe so called, 433.
Redhouse, J. W., "Notes on Prof. Tylor's 'Arabian Matriarchate,' etc.," Art. XI., pp. 275–292.
Rehatsek, Mr., on the Alexandrian Library, lxv.
Reinisch, Dr. L., his works on African languages, 77.
Relief, writing in, 421.
Rice, customs and superstitions in connection with the cultivation of, 366 *et seq.*
Rice, Mr., "Ganga and Bâna Dynasties," lxiv.
Richthofen, F. von, Chinese vase sketched by, shown to be a forgery, 447*n*.
Robinson, T., obituary notice of, xxxv.
Rödiger, Herr, his theory of the Schalensteine of Switzerland, 436*n*.
Roepstorff, F. A. de, a Nicobar tale by, xlv.
Rogers, E. T., obituary notice of, xxvi.
Romaic, the modern language of Greece, cxxv.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, Proceedings at the Sixty-second Anniversary Meeting, pp. i–clxx [this is the ninth, and last, report compiled by the late Secretary of the Society, W. S. W. Vaux]; papers read at meetings of the, xxxviii *et seq.*; election of Council of, clxiii; speech of Sir W. Muir, clxiii; speech of Sir H. C. Rawlinson, clxiv; donations to the Library, clxv; additional remarks by the Hon. Secretary, clxix.
Runes, 434.

Sadamitsu, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 7.
Samaritan literature, xcvii.
Sambhúr, Buddhist remains near, 29 *et seq.*
Sanskrit, résnmé of books and papers pnblished on, xcviii *et seq.*
Satrunjaya and the Jains, lxvi.
Schaleusteine, in Switzerland, 436*n.*
Schlagintweit, R. von, discovery of Tibetan charms by, 462.
Scott, J. G., on the Kakhyens, qnoted, 464.
Scythians, symbolical message sent to the Persians by the, 419.
Seang chi, the Chinese game of chess, 355-6; plan of the board, 361; movements of the pieces, 362.
Seimei, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 6 *et seq.*
Semitic, books and papers published on, lxxiii *et seq.*
Semitic tongnes, origin of the, 77.
Shan state seeks British alliance, 431.
Shato Turks, the, 293 *et seq.*
Shatranj, Arabian term for "chess," 354.
Shina language, sketch of the grammar and vocabulary of the, 89 *et seq.*
Shing-tchram, meaning of, 421.
Shiūten Dôji, the Story of, 1 *et seq.*
Shôtoku, a celebrated Japanese Buddhist, 4.
Siberia, hieroglyphical graffitti of, 422.
Simpson, W., letter from, at Bakú, lxxii.
Sinclair, "Zerka, the Lynx-eyed Watchman of Nnr," lxvi.
Sonthals, nse of knotted cords by the, 428.
Sonth-Indian Vernaenlars, on the Study of the, 163 *et seq.*
Sonth Indian Alphabet of Açoka, 441.
Southern Liang, a Tartar dynasty, 471.
Srong-btsan, a king of Tibet, his attempts to procnre a writing for the Tibetan langnage, 474.
Stone age, relic of the, 438.
Stone seal, containing the oldest known Indian writing, 440*n.*
Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society, résnmé of papers in the Jonrnal of the, li.
Snmerian langnage, explanation of the tablet of grammatical forms of the, 81 *et seq.*
"Surround," the game of, a Chinese variation of chess, 356.
Suyetake, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 7.
Syriac literature, xcv.
Szetchnen, the Lolos of, have lost the knowledge of their old alphabet, 441.

Tabasseran language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Tallies, nse of, 430 *et seq.*
Tamba, a province in Japan, 1.
Tamil literature, cviii.
Tamil, story of a stndent of, 163; literatnre, 165 *et seq.*; poetry, 169.
Tang-hiang, signs for writing used by the, 424.
Taoist doctrines, cxx.
Targnm Onkelos, the, lxxiv.
Tchen, meaning of the word, 469.
Telngn literatnre, cviii.
Temple, Capt., "On the Trade Dialect of the Naggâsh," xlv; "Wide-Awake Stories," cxxvi; his remarks on Panjâb folklore, 381; "Legends of the Panjâb," quoted, 393.
"Temporary" marriages amongst the Arabs, 278.
Tharu and Bogsha, two strange tribes of Upper India, cxxv.
Thorbnrn, S. S., "Bannú," qnoted, 406.
Thornton, T. H., "The Vernaenlar Literature and Folklore of the Panjâb," Art. XVI., pp. 373–414.
Tibet and Mongolia, explorations in, lxxi.
Tibet, knotted cords used as a snbstitnte for writing in, 425.
Tibet, the alphabet in, 470 *et seq.*
Tibet, various substitutes for writing nsed in, 425.
Tibetan charms, 462.
Tibetan epic poem, 457.
Tibetan literature, cvii, 388.
Tibetan origin of the Mo-so writing, 463.

Tibetans, their ancient mode of communication, 420.
Timor Island, method of making records in, 424.
Tiomberombi, a Nicobar tale, xlv.
Tiruvaḷḷuvar, a great Tamiḷ poet, 166.
Tokugawa dynasty of Japan, 2.
Tom-ba, or Tong-ba, the medicine-man of the Mo-so, 459.
Tomsk, inscriptions on the rocks of the, 422.
Tong-mi Samb'ota, legendary instructor of the Tibetans in Sanskrit, 474.
Toomsah, priest of the Kakhyens, 463.
Topographical charts, ancient, 436*n*.
Tortoise writing, 437.
Trumpp, Dr. obituary notice of, xxxii; his opinion of the Ádi Granth, 388.
Tsherkess language spoken in the Caucasus, 155.
Tshetshen or Tush language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Tsuna, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 7.
Tsunetaka, a Japanese artist, 3.
Tupöt Fanni dynasty of Tibet, 471; subdivisions of the same family, 472.
Turkí language, and its varieties, spoken in the Caucasus, 153.
Twigs, reeds, stones, beans, etc., variously placed, used by various nations instead of writing, 424.
Tylor, Prof., his "Arabian Matriarchate," discussed by Mr. J. W. Redhouse, 275 *et seq*.

Ude language spoken in the Caucasus, 157.
Upper Asia, use of notched sticks by the nations of, 432.

Van der Linde, "History of Chess," 353.
Vaïhu, or Easter Island, inscriptions in, 442.
Vasugi, the wife of Tiravaḷḷuvar, the Tamiḷ poet, anecdotes of, 174.
Vaux, W. S. W. [late Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society], vote of thanks to, moved by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, clxv; tribute of Mr. R. N. Cust to, and minute of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, clxix.
Vengi-Chalukya alphabet, 442.
Vinson, J., "Dictionnaire d'Anthropologie," quoted, 429*n*.
Vocabulary of the Mo-so language, 465.

Wales, Oghams of, 434.
Wampum belts of the Iroquois, 425.
Wei chi, a Chinese variation of the game of Chess, 355-6.
Wei dynasty of China, 471.
Wentzel, Dr., on the introduction of writing into Tibet, 475*n*.
Wilken, Prof. G. A., review of his "Matriarchat bei den Alten Arabern," by J. W. Redhouse, 276 *et seq*.
Williams, Prof. Monier, the full text of his address at the opening of the Indian Institute at Oxford, cxxxiii-clxviii.
Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, the, lxxxii.
Wortham, the Rev. B. H., "Translation of Books 81-93 of the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa," Art. X., pp. 221-274.
Writing, ancient and modern substitutes for, 418 *et seq*.

Yamabushi, wandering ascetic half-priests of Japan, 9*n*.
Yang-tungs, use of knotted cords by the, 427.
Yasu-masa, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 9.
Yáyati, a legendary King of Northern India, 29.
Yebi, yebisu, yemisu, meanings of, 1*n*., 2*n*.
Yen-no-Shôkaku, founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, 9*n*.
Yorimitsu, name of a character in a Japanese legend, 7.
Yule, Col., "Marco Polo," extracts from, 430.

Zardandan, use of notched sticks in the province of, 430.
Zoroaster, the epoch of, 349.
Zunz, Dr., volume of Essays presented to, on his ninetieth birthday, lxxvii.

End of Vol. XVII.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SIXTY-SECOND

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 18th of May, 1885,

SIR WILLIAM MUIR,

K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report to the Members of the Society, that since their last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's House on May 19th, 1884, there have been the following changes in, and additions to, the Members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret the loss by death or other causes, of their *Resident* Members,

The Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., etc.
Mrs. Cadell.
C. P. Brown, Esq.
J. W. Laidlay, Esq.

of their *Non-Resident* Members,

The Maharana of Udaipur.
Sir Harry S. Parkes, K.C.B.
E. T. Rogers Bey.
Gen. Sir J. E. Alexander, K.C.B.
Henry Alabaster, Esq.

and of their *Honorary* Members,

Dr. Richard Lepsius.
Prof. Trumpp.

On the other hand, they have great pleasure in announcing that they have elected as *Resident* Members,

The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Durham.
J. Alexander, Esq.
Fung yee, Esq., Secretary, Chinese Legation.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley.
J. T. Carletti, Esq.
W. Knighton, LL.D., V.P.R.S.L.
A. E. Copp, Esq., Treas. Num. Soc.
James Rankin, Esq.
G. Henderson, Esq.
A. Burrell, Esq.

and as *Non-Resident* Members,

The Fateh Singhi Bahadur, Maharaja of Udaipur.
Major Keith.
J. B. L. Pathy.
Ram Das Chubildas.
L. W. King, Esq.
M. Guimet.
M. de Milloué.
S. Umar Baksch.
Pandit Bishen Narayan.
Henry C. Warren, Esq.
Charles Eems, Esq.
R. R. Vasudêv Madhav Samarth.
Rev. S. Hinton Knowle.
Sagara Lal, Esq.
F. S. Growse, Esq.
Capt. Tb. Grimal de Guirandon.
A. E. Hippisley, Esq.
Thakar Jaga Mohun.
Tamiz-ed-din.
Sidney Churchill, Esq.
P. V. Ramaswami Raja.
E. W. West, Esq.
E. J. Kitts, Esq.
Col. M. W. E. Gossett
D. J. Rankin, Esq.
G. W. Rusden, Esq.
Willoughby Dumergue, Esq.
Capt. G. A. Parker.
J. W. Nichols, Esq.

The Council have also elected as *Honorary Members*, Prof. De Goeje and Prof. G. Bühler, in the place of the late Prof. Lepsius and Prof. Trumpp.

The gain, therefore, to the Society has been that of thirty-nine paying members against a loss of nine.

Of the personal history of some of those whom we have lost, and of other distinguished Oriental scholars, not members of the Society, who have been taken from us during the past year, a few words will now be said.

The Right Hon. *Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere*, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D. (Cambridge and Edinburgh), F.R.S., Chancellor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, late President for the third time of this Society, and President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1873, was born March 29th, 1815, at Clydach House, Co. Brecon, being the fifth surviving son of Edward Frere, of Clydach House, the second son of John Frere, of Roydon, Norfolk, and Finningham, Suffolk, Esq., M.P. for Norwich; by his marriage with Mary Anne Greene, eldest daughter and co-heiress of James Greene, of Turton Tower and Clayton Hall, Lancashire, and Llansanfraed, Co. Monmouth, Esq., M.P. for Arundel. In his earlier days Sir Bartle was educated as a day-scholar at Edward VI.'s Foundation School at Bath, whence, after winning several prizes, he proceeded to the East India College, Haileybury. He entered college second of the men of his term, and left it as the head man of his year, after obtaining the gold medals in Law and Mathematics, with eight other prizes, including those for Political Economy, Mathematics, and Classics. In 1834 he entered the Bombay Civil Service, and having, with difficulty, persuaded the Directors of the E.I.C. to allow him to attempt that route, was the first "Writer" to make his way to India by the Overland Route. On his way to Egypt he spent a month with his uncle, the Rt. Hon. J. H. Frere, at Malta, and improved his knowledge of Arabic by

lessons from the famous missionary and traveller Dr. Wolff. From Malta, a Greek brigantine took him to Alexandria and a native boat up the Nile to Thebes. Thence, with four other Englishmen, he went on camel-back from Kenné to Cosseir. From this place, an expected experimental steamer having failed to arrive, the party proceeded in an undecked fishing boat to Jedda, thence in an open ship's long boat to Mocha, and from Mocha, in the monsoon month, that of August, in an Arab buggalow, a boat without an awning, to Bombay, which they reached on Sept. 23, 1834. In the Red Sea, where the heat was very great, the thermometer standing at 115° in the shade, they had to land every night to cook and sleep. The voyage took nineteen days, and, their provisions running short, they were in danger of starvation.

Arrived at Bombay, Mr. Frere devoted himself to the study of the languages, passing in Hindustani at the end of three months. He then worked at the Marâthi and Gujarâti languages, which he mastered with remarkable rapidity. In 1835, Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay, sent him to Poona, as Assistant Collector of the Revenue under Mr. Goldsmid, and the five years he spent there gave him the opportunity of acquiring a very thorough knowledge of the Marâthi people, as, during a considerable part of this period, he lived in the heart of the country, just as a native official might have done. On all matters connected with the Marâthi people, he was soon looked on as the first authority.

His Marâthi experiences, together with the preparing of similar revenue assessments in Kathiâwâr, where he nearly died of jungle fever, closed the first part of his Indian career, and most successfully too, as the results obtained by him and his associates laid the foundation of the revenue system at once adopted in the South Marâthi country, and eventually in Mysore, Sind, and Berar. The effect on the native population was remarkable: as Mr. Frere wrote, some years subsequently, "from being the most depressed wretched

set in the Deccan, they have become thriving independent fellows, thoroughly grateful for what has been done for them."

Shortly after this, Mr. Frere was appointed Private Secretary to General Sir George Arthur, then Governor of Bombay, a post of great interest and responsibility. The times were critical, and public opinion, especially in Bombay, was disturbed by the action of Lord Ellenborough, who, after Sir Charles Napier's victory over the Ameers of Sind, in 1843, had annexed their territory. Many deemed this act inexpedient, if not unjust, and the Civil Service, generally, were alarmed at the growing partiality for the employment of military men in civil capacities. When the heat of the controversy cooled down, Sir George Arthur had the double satisfaction of having retained the undiminished confidence of the Government, and the friendship and warm respect of both Napier and Outram and of their warmest supporters.

In 1847, Mr. Frere became Resident of Satâra, in succession to Col., afterwards Sir James Outram, at a most critical period for the affairs of that district. With a disputed succession, a conflict of opinion had arisen as to who was the best entitled to the rank of Rajah. Mr. Frere considered that the kinsman of the late Rajah, who had been adopted by him, ought to be recognized; but Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General, overruled this adoption by the dying Rajah, and formally annexed Satâra to the Company's dominions. This act Mr. Frere held to be so unjust that, when asked his opinion, he suggested to Lord Falkland, the Governor of Bombay, that Mr. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone and Capt. Grant Duff, who had signed the Treaty made with the Rajah in 1819, should be asked for their judgment on the matter. Both these gentlemen agreed with Mr. Frere's remonstrances, and held that the action of the Governor-General was in direct contravention of a solemn engagement. Their opinion was however overruled, Satâra ceased to be an independent

principality, and Mr. Frere became its Commissioner instead of its Resident. The first tunnel ever constructed in India was made at Satâra, on Mr. Frere's suggestion, the object being to connect a fertile valley with the town, the cost of it being raised by the natives as a memorial to their Rajah. Space does not admit of any detailed account of the successful municipal, educational, and other reforms carried out by Mr. Frere when Resident at Satâra. Among these may be named the suppression of Thugghee, and of other forms of lawless crime; the great increase in means of communication due to his instrumentality, the rescue of the valuable and historic library and temples of Bejapore from destruction and decay, and the solid material progress of the districts committed to his charge, a progress in effecting which he carried with him the sympathy alike of the natives and the Europeans among whom his lot was cast.

In 1850 Mr. Frere was transferred, as Chief Commissioner, in succession to its conqueror, Sir C. Napier, to Sind, a district comprising Belûchistan, Khelât, together with part of the Panjâb, with the port at Karâchi. This province he administered for nearly ten years, evincing therein the highest qualities of statesmanship, and obtaining a remarkable success, in that he converted the hitherto lawless marauders of these provinces into a peaceful and industrious peasantry. With this end in view, he threw all his energies into the work of improving old and constructing new roads and canals. The sea port at Karâchi, which he saw was the most convenient outlet for the productions of the adjacent provinces and for the trade of Central Asia, was mainly his creation. In his dealings with the border clans and frontier tribes he had the active support of that remarkable man, General John Jacob, whose strictness in carefully distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty was essentially in accordance with Mr. Frere's innate sense of justice. The fruits of the admirable system of government he carried out

during times of peace became evident when the day of trial came.

In 1856 Mr. Frere came to England on sick leave, and, immediately on his return to India, in the following spring, received the intelligence of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut. He did not hesitate for a moment. If mutiny could be successful at Meerut, he held, there was not a station in the length and breadth of India where it might not be tried with as reasonable a chance of success. He felt, therefore, at once, that all depended on the preservation of tranquillity in the Panjâb, and that to secure this the utmost promptitude was requisite. Without delay, therefore, he sent up his strongest English regiment to Multan, by this means securing this strong fortress during the worst days of the Mutiny; he likewise sent a steamer to intercept and order to Calcutta the 64th and 78th regiments, which were returning to Sind from the Persian War. A little later he sent the Balûchis to the Panjâb. This timely aid enabled Sir John Lawrence to put down the mutiny of the Bengal Light Cavalry, and to send aid to the besiegers of Dehli. Mr. Frere left himself only 178 European bayonets in Sind to face the mutiny which broke out at each of the principal stations, and to hold in check a Muhammadan population of a million and a half. The entire history of the Mutiny does not contain the record of a braver action than the sending away of the troops from Sind. It was, at this time, when writing to Lord Elphinstone, Mr. Frere used the famous words, "When the head and heart are threatened, the extremities must take care of themselves." Nor must we fail to add here, the judgment of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence on Sir Bartle's work at this critical period—a judgment the more valuable, as these two eminent men differed greatly in many of their views of "Indian Policy." In his "Mutiny Report" Sir John Lawrence writes: "From first to last, from the first com-

mencement of the Mutiny to the final trumpet, Mr. H. B. E. Frere has rendered assistance to the Punjâb Administration just as if he had been one of its own Commissioners. . . . . The Chief Commissioner believes that, probably, there is no civil officer in India who, for eminent exertions, deserves better of his Government than Mr. H. B. E. Frere."

Services rendered in a manner so thoroughly efficient deserved especial recognition. At the close of the Mutiny, Mr. Frere twice received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, was created a K.C.B., and, in the same year, was appointed the first ordinary Member of the Council of Lord Canning, Governor-General, in Calcutta; this being the first occasion in which that high post had been held by a Bombay civilian. As might have been expected, after so serious an outbreak, affairs at head quarters were greatly confused and disorganised. Perhaps, in no department, were things worse than in the financial. A Committee was formed, of which Sir George Balfour was the soul, to readjust the finances of India; and Mr. James Wilson, an experienced financier, was sent out from England to arrange the taxes and expenditure of India on a firm and equitable basis. Sir Bartle aided Mr. Wilson as much as possible, from the abundant stores of his own information, cordially approving the remedies he suggested, not as wholly above criticism, but because, as he said, "the risk involved is as nothing compared with the certain ruin of drifting into bankruptcy." On the death of Mr. Wilson, Sir Bartle, at the earnest request of the Governor-General, discharged the duties of his office as well as his own, as a Member of the Council of India, till the appointment of Mr. Samuel Laing, and, again, undertook the same labour for six months during Mr. Laing's illness. He presided, also, over the Council, during the absence of the Governor-General in 1860. Sir Bartle's residence in Calcutta will ever be memorable for the strenuous efforts made by him to heal up

the wounds the war had caused, and to restore, as far as he could, the social relations between the Europeans and the natives, which had been rudely broken down by the events of the Mutiny.

In 1862 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, an office he held for five years. It has been remarked that Sir Bartle always succeeded to a new post at a critical period. In this instance, the American Civil War was at its height, a cotton famine had set in among the manufactories of the north of England, and Bombay was, in consequence, for the time, visited with unparalleled prosperity, and, on the close of the American civil strife, with an equally crushing failure, owing to over-speculation. No Governor could have prevented this; but Sir Bartle used all his influence and authority to check the mania for speculation, alike among natives and Europeans. Besides this, he devoted himself to every object calculated to increase the permanent prosperity of the Bombay Presidency: he founded more public buildings and started more works of public utility than any of his predecessors: he gave Bombay a municipality, and, during his Governorship, reduced the death-rate in Bombay to one-half of what it had been previously. His government there is still remembered with feelings of lasting gratitude, and no Indian statesman was ever more beloved by every class of the European and native population.

On his return from India in 1867, after a service of thirty-three years, he was, at once, appointed a member of the Indian Council; and, in 1872, he undertook what must have been to him a mission of singular interest, that of Special Commissioner to the East Coast of Africa, with the view of negotiating with the Sultan of Zanzibar the means for putting an end to the Slave Trade, at least within that potentate's dominions. In this mission he was completely successful. On his return to England, he was nominated a member of H.M. Privy Council. In 1875, he was

selected by Her Majesty to accompany H.R.H the Prince of Wales, in his famous visit to India, and had, thereby, an opportunity of renewing many old friendships, and of reviving many familiar associations. On his return, he was created a Baronet, and not long after was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner of South Africa.

The Colonial Office of the day had set its heart on carrying out a scheme of South African Confederation; but the period had scarcely arrived for the completion of so hopeful an idea. On the Eastern frontier there was a Kaffir revolt, and Natal was in a state of perennial unrest under the menaces of the Zulu King Cetewayo. Sir Bartle Frere had thus to face in South Africa the threatened danger of a native rising, the more formidable owing to the lack of the means of meeting it, than even the Indian Mutiny. Under his auspices, however, the Kaffir war of 1878–9 (when the troops were commanded by General Sir Arthur Cunninghame, and Gen. the Hon. Sir F. Thesiger), and the Zulu war of 1879–80 (when Gen. the Hon. Sir F. Thesiger—afterwards Lord Chelmsford — Colonels Wood, Buller, and Pearson and subsequently Sir Garnet Wolseley were in command), were carried to a triumphant issue by the battle of Ulundi and the capture of Cetewayo, and terminated with less expenditure of men, money or time than any previous Kaffir war, although the area of military operations was considerably greater than in those of previous years. Sir Bartle Frere, also, at the risk of his own life, averted war with the Dutch, and persuaded the malcontent Boers of the Transvaal to return peaceably to their own homes, and to relinquish their project of invading Natal. The outset of the Zulu war was, indeed, marked by a great disaster, the total loss of the first battalion of H.M. 24th Regiment, who were surprised by the Zulus at Isandlhwana, when under the tempo-

rary command of Colonel Durnford. This catastrophe was made the subject of a party cry in England, and Sir Bartle was superseded as High Commissioner, first by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and afterwards by Sir George Colley. Soon after the accession to power of the present Government, he was recalled to England, though he was no more responsible for this disaster than the Prime Minister himself. The result of this was that the measures in progress for the bringing into unison various sections of South Africa, were abruptly terminated, as the directing genius who had worked most persistently to effect that union was removed. The history of South Africa, during the last five years, is a sad comment on the frustration of the great work undertaken by Sir Bartle Frere. It should be added that, shortly after his return to England, Sir Bartle Frere was elected Chancellor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

During his stay in Cape Town, Sir Bartle Frere endeavoured to get the position of the Grey Library, an institution in which he naturally took a great interest, placed on a sound basis; and encouraged Mrs. Bleek, the widow of one of the greatest of South African scholars, to offer to this Society the munificent gift of her late husband's collection of African grammars and dictionaries, which has at once placed our library foremost among collections of this class. Sir Bartle Frere, also, took an active part in the foundation of the Philosophical Society at Cape Town, and inaugurated and advised much directly bearing on the physical, material, and intellectual progress of the people.

In this Society, of which he was elected a member in 1867, he was three times its President, though, from the pressure of other business, on the two first occasions only for a short period, he took the utmost interest, and, indeed, during his last Presidency, which commenced on June 19, 1882, and only terminated one week before his

lamented death in May, 1884, he was scarcely ever absent from his seat as President. During his Presidency, the Society received a far larger accession of members than it has received during any former occasion ; those due to his direct nomination or to his personal influence having been no less than 34 out of a total of 72 elected during the session May 1882–3.

Sir Bartle wrote a memoir of his uncle, the Right Hon. J. Hookham Frere, British Minister in Spain, prefixed to his collected works, also prefaces to "Pandurang Hari," and "Old Deccan Days ;" he contributed also, from time to time, many interesting papers, historical, scientific, political, or religious, to different magazines. Such are "Christianity suited to all forms of Civilization," in the Christian Evidence Society, 1872. "Indian Missions" in the "Church and the Age," 1873. "On the impending Bengal Famine," J. Murray, 1871. "Eastern Africa as a field of Missionary Labour," "Four Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1874." "On the Opium Traffic," Church Congress, 1881, etc. Sir Bartle Frere was nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury a member of the Foreign Translation Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, and took his seat there on Monday, Jan. 14, 1884. This was, we believe, one of the last occasions on which he was able to come to London.

Sir Bartle Frere was in early manhood a keen sportsman, a daring rider, and a first-rate shot ; he was also a rapid and skilful draughtsman.

Possessed essentially of the genius and powers of a pioneer, and the initiator in India of many reforms, small as well as great, it may be worth noting that the first census ever taken in India was that taken by his order in Bombay (which proved it to be the second city in the British Empire in point of population), and that postage stamps were first introduced into India by him when Chief Commissioner in

Sind. The work done under his auspices for the furtherance of the cause of education, and for the promotion of the material prosperity of Western India, is a matter of history; as is also the earnest and unceasing personal support accorded by him throughout his life to the progress and furtherance of missions, and of all that contributes to the religious and moral elevation of those amid whom his lot was cast. The rebuilding of Bombay, the capital of Western India; the opening of Bhore Ghât, Thull Ghât and Ahmedabad lines of railway, and the inauguration of the great scheme of irrigation near Poona, which may be reckoned among the noblest triumphs of modern engineering; the development of the municipal system, the application of local taxation to local improvements, and the important results arising from the Annual Conferences of the Military and Civil Engineers first established by him when Governor of Bombay, may be quoted as among a few of the many great measures initiated by him, and by which he set the indelible stamp of his genius upon his Government, and gave to the progress of the Bombay Presidency an impetus that it has never since lost.

It is unnecessary in the case of one so familiar to our recollections, as he who was three times the President of this Society, to recall his striking aspect, his chivalrous manners, or his consistent courtesy, nor the rare combination of gentleness and firmness that was an essential part of his nature. Until the complete history of his life-work is in the hands of his countrymen, it would be premature to estimate his place among the men of this and other countries, or to gauge his character; suffice it to say that in him a rare prescience and self-reliance were united to a most complete simplicity and a logical strictness in his own opinions, to a toleration for those of others: that profound knowledge and high culture were, in him, joined to the highest qualities of practical statesmanship, and great warmth of feeling to

great coolness in judgment. Essentially English in all his sympathies, and patriotic to the heart's core, he was always deeply interested in the moral and material progress of other nations, holding that co-operation rather than competition ought to be the keynote of the world's progress. For party spirit he had a settled contempt, as opposed to the enlightened progress of all parties; and he never identified himself with any party in Church or State.

To say that he was foiled in much he would have accomplished, and frustrated in much he would have done for the service of those whom it was his lot to rule, is but to say that he experienced the fate of all who have preceded in thought the times in which they lived; yet the sum total of the work accomplished by him is extraordinary in its amount, and very remarkable in its results.

Singularly generous in his nature, and free from meaner passions, such as envy, avarice, or selfishness, he had this superiority to popularity, that those that knew him the best, loved him the most, and those that were most intimate with him most clearly saw how habitually his thoughts and actions were governed by the deepest sense of religious obligation.

To record, however slightly, his career, is to record that of a great and typical Englishman, of whom it has been truly said that his "heart ever sympathised with distress, and his natural characteristic always was to judge his fellow-men, not by their birth, their fortune, or their patents of nobility, but by the spirit which animated them in their pursuits, and by the earnestness, the energy and the fidelity they brought to bear in the performance of their duties."

Sir Bartle Frere married October 10th, 1844, Catherine, second daughter of Major-General the Right Honourable Sir George Arthur, Bart., K.H., by whom he has left one son and four daughters.

Mr. Charles Philip Brown was born in India in 1798, and had therefore, at his death, attained the great age of 85. He was son of the Rev. David Brown, well known as a Chaplain at Calcutta from 1786 to 1812.

At his father's death, after having had some instruction in Hebrew and Syriac, Arabic and Persian, Greek and Latin, he came to England, went to the then new College of the E.I.C. at Haileybury, and, in due course, was appointed to the Civil Service in Madras, where he landed in August, 1817. Two of his brothers, about the same time, entered the Bengal Civil Service. His first duty was to learn Telugu, for the acquiring of which, in those days, the means were very scant. Nothing, in fact, existed on the subject, but an insufficient grammar and two worthless native books of exercises; dictionary there was none. In 1820, Sir Thomas Munro, as Governor of Madras, presided over the final examinations held at the College of Fort St. George, and Mr. Brown was appointed to the Cuddapah district, in which business was chiefly conducted in Telugu. The district itself is larger than Wales, and the language in which its literature is preserved, now 800 years old, varies little from the modern and existing tongue. In 1822, Mr. Brown was appointed Assistant Judge at Masulipatam, where again Telugu was the language of the people, and, in 1824, by dint of hard study, he was recognized as a scholar of the first class in this language. In a brief autobiographical sketch of his career at this period, Mr. Brown gives an amusing account of his teachers. "They exhort us," he says, "to learn by rote long vocabularies framed in metre . . . . . One Pandit, who gloried in being a poet, urged me to learn Sanskrit and Tamil prosody. My next tutor gave me an equally potent dose of learning, by leading me, in 1825, to read and translate the Bhattyam, a crabbed treatise on Telugu grammar, of which Mr. A. Campbell had written a trans-

lation, tolerably correct ..... I made this grammar the basis on which I built for thirty years, extending it greatly, for the original is but a brief outline." Again, when reading the Telugu Mahâbhârat, with the view of what he subsequently accomplished, the construction of a Telugu Dictionary—he says, "When I came to a new word, my learned assistant gave me the meaning in colloquial Telugu, or Sanskrit or Hindi, and this I recorded in my Dictionary. But it occurred again and again, and each time I had to record a new meaning. At last I remonstrated, pointing out the contradictory solutions he had given. He replied, 'Sir, if you write down all we say, who can endure it? Perhaps the word in question is unknown to me, or I recollect no equivalent; I give a reply which you at once record, and then you require me to reconcile such interpretations.'"

Mr. Brown was evidently a man who liked to do his work thoroughly. Here is his account of dealing with one important Telugu work. "I first had a copy made," he says, "from any MS. of tolerable accuracy, the alternate pages being left blank and the verses duly numbered: then the volume was bound. I collected twelve or fifteen other MSS., few of them complete, lent to me by various natives. A clerk sat with the newly written copy ready, and before him were two others, each having charge of five or six MSS., the oldest I could discover. Three Professors sat by, masters of Grammar and Prosody, both Sanskrit and Telugu; but the others knew only their mother-tongue. Each assistant, in turn, read a stanza, which was thus recited ten or twelve times; the scribe recorded every deviation; the pandits formed their judgment on each line, and then one of them taking the blotted copy, selected the pure text, and dictated it to a reader." Again, "When any doubt arose about the meaning of a word or verse, I directed that the result of the consultation should be, at

once, recorded in Telugu, thus opening the way to a verbal commentary."

Mr. Brown remained for three years a Judge in the Court of Masulipatam, and, during this period, paid great attention to the collecting of Telugu and Sanskrit MSS. In 1827 he wrote an analysis of Telugu Prosody, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system, and, in 1828, he published the works of Vemana, a comparatively modern poet. He then devoted himself for some time to the translation of the English dictionary into Telugu, and completed the rough sketch in 1832, a work that rendered English literature accessible to all the Hindus in the Indian Peninsula. In the same year, he wrote his first Telugu translation of the Gospel of St. Luke and of the Acts of the Apostles, and attempted, though in vain, to set up a Telugu printing press at Masulipatam. In 1834, he took the then usual furlough of three years to England, being however by no means idle during his stay here. Thus, besides going on with his Telugu Dictionary, he wrote a Telugu Grammar, examined the Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, and Kannadi MSS. in the Library of the India Office—a collection chiefly made by Dr. Leyden—and made a catalogue of them. Subsequently, at his suggestion, these MSS., 2106 in number, were sent to Madras and are now in the College Library there, side by side with the Mackenzie collection, and with Mr. Brown's own large library of MSS., the richest of the three, which he presented in 1847; a donation to which he was continually making additions up to the date of his final departure for England in 1855.

The Telugu Grammar appeared in 1840, on his return from England in 1838. Mr. Brown about this time was appointed Persian translator to the Government, and took an energetic interest in the progress of the College, succeeding in making examinations, which had previously been conducted in private, for the future open. He then took up the study of Indian chronology, and, after spending

some five years in reading all the books in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Kannada, to which he could get access, published his well-known *Chronological Tables*, the most complete of this class for Southern India which has been as yet compiled. Few among the heap of documents, chiefly collected by Col. Mackenzie, ascended to an earlier period than 900 A.D. He also constructed Cyclic tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology for eight centuries. He then drew up for Government an Ephemeris, showing the corresponding dates according to the English, Hindu, and Musulman calendars, from A.D. 1751 to 1856: this volume consists of 600 pages, each page containing two months.

His Telugu translation of the Holy Scriptures went on still, but slowly: chiefly no doubt owing to the fact that none of the members of the committee of the Bible Society were acquainted with this language; in the end, how- it was accomplished, and, with a version of the Apocryphal books and a Telugu translation of the Book of Common Prayer, was, it is believed, presented by Mr. Brown to the Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, Madras. In preparing this important work, he says, "I continually used the translations printed in Sanskrit, Bengali, Tamil, Marata and Kannadi. . . . Many passages that in the English seem easy, are hard to translate correctly. In fact, to translate the Bible into any one of the Indian Peninsular languages, is a task resembling that of making bricks without straw. The words required in some important passages do not exist in Telugu. If the New Testament, written in prose, originally, suffers in a literal version, how much greater is the sacrifice of elegance, when the poetry of Isaiah or David has 'its carved work beaten to pieces with the hammers' of a prose translation!"

In the beginning of 1844 Mr. Brown received a proposal for the printing of his Telugu and English Dictionary, and this work was at once commenced, and the English and Telugu

followed in February, 1845, but took eight years before it was completed. Both books contain about 1300 pages.

A smaller work, which he brought out subsequently, a Dictionary of Mixed Telugu, explaining the modern phrases, chiefly Arabic, was subsequently incorporated in Prof. Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms published in 1855.

In the middle of 1846, the office of Postmaster-General became vacant, and, at the same time, Mr. Morris resigned his office of Telugu translator to the Government; both these duties were very properly undertaken by Mr. Brown. He became, at the same time, a Member of the Council of Education, a Government Director of the Madras Bank, and Curator of the MSS. in the Madras College Library.

The first edition of his Telugu Grammar was sold at once and a second larger edition was printed in 1857. A third edition, still further enlarged, is, we understand, ready for the press. The next thing Mr. Brown did was to prepare "The Reader," a volume of stories, letters and trials. "It contains," he remarks, "the character of the people as painted by themselves." The second volume has an English translation, the third a grammatical analysis with a small Lexicon, explaining each word in the case, tense, and person in which it occurs. Subsequently to this, he dealt with the Book of Psalms and the Book of Proverbs in Sanskrit metre; a life of St. Paul in Sanskrit metre, but in Telugu character; an edition of the Bhagavad-Gita; a volume of popular Telugu tales, and Telugu disputations on village business, with a translation.

In 1853, Mr. Brown had a paralytic seizure and was ordered to Ootacamund, where he ultimately recovered. In 1855, he finally retired to England, after finishing a second seventeen years in the service. Mr. Brown adds, in a short sketch of his life and labours, privately printed, that, in 1857–62, a "Catalogue Raisonné" of the Library and MSS. at Madras, was published. The preface by Mr. D. F. Carmicael, M.R.A.S., M.C.S., gives an interesting account of

Mr. Brown's labours, with a complete list of the works published by him either as author or editor, and much miscellaneous and valuable information regarding the Madras collection of MSS. generally.

On his return to England, Mr. Brown accepted the almost honorary office of Professor of Telugu in London University. He was, also, for some time, on the Council of this Society, and, as long as his health permitted, a constant attendant at our meetings.

Of separate papers Mr. Brown has contributed to the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," of which he was for many years Joint Editor with Mr. R. Cole.

1. Essay on the Language and Literature of the Telugus, vol. x. p. 43. 1839.
2. Essay on the Creed, Customs and Literature of the Jangams, vol. xi. p. 145. 1840. [See also J.R.A.S., Vol. V. N.S. pp. 141–148.]
3. Notices of some Roman Catholic books existing in the Telugu language, vol. xii. p. 5. 1840.
4. Translation of a Mahratta Document, "Account of the Tribes of Mahratta Brahmans," No. 851 of the Mackenzie Collection.
5. Notice regarding the names used in the Indian Zodiac.

To the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* he contributed a paper "On Malabar, Coromandel, Quilon, etc." N.S. Vol. V. N.S. p. 147, 1871.

Sir Harry Smith Parkes was born in 1828, and came out to China with other members of his family when he was about ten years of age. Circumstances placed him more or less under the charge of Dr. Gützlaff, then a missionary, and under his direction he commenced the study of Chinese, spoken and written. Dr. Gützlaff was subsequently employed on the Interpretorial staff, more especially under the Commander-in-Chief of the land forces during our first war with China; and, while so occupied his young *protégé* was

always near him, and his progress did ample justice to the efforts of his tutor. At Nankin, in 1842, when Sir Henry Pottinger signed his Treaty, Mr. Parkes attracted the attention of the Imperial Commissioner Kiying, and the following year when a Supplementary Treaty was signed, though not yet fifteen years of age, he was employed on an important occasion to interpret between our Minister and Kiying. In 1844, Consuls being now for the first time appointed under the Treaty, Mr. Parkes accompanied Mr. Alcock as his Interpreter to the port of Amoy, moving with his chief at a later date, first to Foochow and then to Shanghai. During his service at the last port, he possessed himself, so far as the use of books could enable him, of the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan languages. In 1848 he was employed on a very interesting mission. An outrage had been committed on some English subjects at Tsingpu, not far from Shanghai, and Mr. Alcock at once sent a mission to the Viceroy of the Prince, with Mr. Parkes as Interpreter. The object was completely attained, and Mr. Parkes was specially complimented on the skill and tact with which he had conducted the negotiations with the Viceroy. Subsequently, for eight years, he served in various capacities at the ports opened to Foreign Trade by the Treaty of Nankin, and, at length, in 1856, after having accompanied Sir John Bowring to Siam and brought the ratified Treaty home to England, he was appointed Consul at Canton, in succession to Mr. Alcock. The period of this appointment was one of great importance in the English relations with China, as the Nankin Treaty had left many matters unsettled, none the least of which was the right to enter Canton.

On the 8th October, 1856, Mr. Parkes reported to Sir John Bowring that Chinese officials had boarded the *Arrow Lorcha*, and captured the crew, at the same time writing to the Chinese Commissioner Yeh calling his attention to the gravity of the insult. The details of

the events that succeeded, of the taking of the Bogue forts by Sir Michael Seymour, and the capture of Canton, are still well remembered. In all the labours and dangers of that period Mr. Parkes took a prominent part, especially when assisting Captain, now Sir Astley Cooper Key, to capture, by passing through the very heart of the great city, the Commissioner himself. After these successes, the affairs of Canton were entrusted to a mixed Commission, of which Mr. Parkes was a member, an office in which he was identified with one great achievement in the interests of humanity, the emptying of the loathsome dens called prisons, the state of which were so terribly described at the time by Mr. Wingrove Cooke in the *Times* newspaper. What were the feelings of the Chinese towards Mr. Parkes at this time may be gathered from the fact that, while Commissioner at Canton, a reward of 30,000 dollars was offered for his head.

Having been so long recognized as a thorough Chinese scholar, Mr. Parkes was constantly employed in the events which followed on the refusal of the Chinese Government to ratify the treaty of Tientsin, and the repulse of Admiral Hope's squadron before the Taku Forts in 1869. He accompanied Sir Hope Grant's Expedition to the North, and was the discoverer of the fact that Peht'ang, where the Allied Forces landed, had been evacuated. After the capture of the Taku forts, Mr. Parkes crossed the Peiho river with a flag of truce to summon the Southern forts to surrender, a duty of great danger, which he, however, successfully accomplished without the shedding of any blood; and, on reaching Tientsin, was employed, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Wade, in protracted and useless negotiations with the Chinese Envoys, who, they both soon found, did not possess full powers.

A day or two later, having been sent into T'ung-chow to make arrangements in accordance with an understanding previously arrived at with the Prince of I, a cousin of

the Emperor, he became satisfied that some mischief was brewing, and at once desired all British officers and their followers to withdraw. The French, who had accompanied him into T'ung-chow, took a similar course. On approaching the position of the Allied troops, a small force intended merely as the escort of the Ambassadors found itself surrounded, and Mr. Parkes with Mr. (now Sir Henry) Loch, who had been at his own request despatched to communicate with him, when things looked threatening, were arrested in the presence of the Mongolian Prince, Sangolinsin, commander-in-chief of the Chinese army, thrown to the ground, and then corded and carried into Peking. The seizure took place on the 18th September, 1860, and Mr. Parkes and his comrade were not set at liberty until the 8th October. They were, however, happier than their companions in misfortune, above thirty in number, officers, soldiers, and others, who died in their respective prisons. As is well known, the destruction of the Summer Palace, when Lord Elgin entered Peking to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin, was intended as a punishment of this act of treachery and its consequences.

After the close of the Peking Campaign, Mr. Parkes accompanied Admiral Hope in his Expedition up the Yang-tze-Kiang, and, during the latter period of the Taeping insurrection, acted as Consul at Shanghai. In 1862, he was made K.C.B. and, three years later, was appointed Minister at Yedo, in succession to his old friend and chief, Sir Rutherford Alcock.

For the eighteen following years Sir Henry Parkes remained at the Japanese Court, a witness of the long internal struggle between the party of Progress, who were fighting for the restoration of the Mikado, as a constitutional sovereign, against the Damios or Great Barons. He took the chief part in negotiating the commercial treaties which regulate our trade, and, during the last few years, was actively engaged in an interchange of views between the Japanese Government and

our Foreign Office, with a view to their revision. The Japanese Government often profited by his advice, which was always in favour of moderate counsels and of avoiding foreign entanglements.

During his last visit to England, four years ago, he received the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George; and, in 1883 he was transferred from Yedo to Peking, thus crowning a service of more than forty years in the Far East with what was justly the highest object of his ambition. His tenure of this office was destined to be but too brief, and his sudden death, following so soon after that of his old friend General Gordon, leaves a sad void in the ranks of those whose names will be permanently identified with the great events of modern Chinese History from the Treaty of Nankin to the suppression of the Taeping Rebellion. Sir Harry Parkes was, for some time, President of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

General Sir J. E. Alexander, K.C.B., of Westerton, Bridge of Allan, who died recently at Ryde, Isle of Wight, one of the oldest members of this Society, having been elected in 1827, was born in 1803 and educated, primarily, at the Colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and, finally, on determining to follow a military profession, at the Military College, Sandhurst. He entered the Army in 1821, and, as his first appointment, was selected by Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, to be the adjutant of his body-guard. Subsequently he served with distinction in most parts of the world—in India, in Burma, at the Cape, in North America. In 1836–7 he was employed on an Expedition of Discovery into the interior of Africa, and was the first knight "created for services in Africa" by her present Majesty, in 1838. He was, also, engaged on a surveying party for Government in the Forests of New Brunswick. Later on, he was present at the Siege of Sebastopol, and, subsequently, in command in New Zealand.

Of recent years Sir James Alexander's name has been prominently brought before the public in connection with the transport from Egypt and the placing on the Thames Embankment of the Obelisk popularly called Cleopatra's Needle. Indeed, that it is there now, is mainly due to his early exertions. Curiously, too, he had what may be called a family interest in this matter, as, after the battle of Alexandria, his grand-uncle, Sir Alexander Bryce, R.E., with the aid and by the subscriptions of the English Army then in Egypt, endeavoured by means of a jetty, etc., to remove the prostrate obelisk; but a storm destroyed their work. Subsequently the Obelisk was presented to the nation by Muhammed Ali in 1821, but little or no notice was, apparently, taken of this gift.

In 1867, Sir James Alexander happened to hear, in Paris, that the owner of the land on which it was lying was proposing to break it up for building purposes. He, at once, applied to Lord Derby for an introduction to General Stanton, then the English Consul-General in Egypt, and proceeding to Egypt, obtained, at a special audience, full permission from the Khedive to remove it. The obelisk was, at the same time, uncovered, and was found to be in very fair preservation. From 1867 to 1877 Sir James Alexander worked incessantly with the Government, the British Association, learned societies and men of wealth, in the endeavour to obtain money enough to pay for its transport, besides himself making many plans, one of which he published in 1872 in *The Engineer*. At length, he chanced to meet his friend the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, and, on his explaining to him Mr. Dixon's plan of the Iron Cylindrical vessel, "The Cleopatra," he undertook the whole matter, and, as we know, brought it to a successful end.

Sir James Alexander was the writer of many books, some of which, in their day, before more minute observation had been applied to such matters, were of considerable value. Among these we may mention his "Travels from India to

England," 4to. 1827; his "Transatlantic Sketches," 2 vols. 8vo. 1833; and his "Voyage of Observation among the Colonies of West Africa," 2 vols. 8vo. 1837. Sir J. E. Alexander printed one paper in the Transactions of this Society, Vol. II. p. 362, 1829, being a notice of a "Visit to the Cavern Temples of Adjanta, in February, 1824."

Mr. E. T. Rogers, generally known of late years as Rogers Bey, first came prominently into notice as British Consul at Damascus, during the period of Lord Dufferin's mission to the East. Subsequently he acted as British Consul at Cairo, and, on retiring from the English service, became the Khedive's representative in London; somewhat later, he was employed as Under Minister of Education, Inspector of Prisons, and Director of the Sale of State Lands, under the Egyptian Government. He died of dysentery, after a brief illness, on Tuesday, June 10, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Mr. Rogers was a devoted student of Numismatics, and had formed a remarkably fine and complete collection of the Coins of the Khiláfat, and of other Arabian Dynasties. It is to be hoped that this monument to his zeal and learning will not be rudely dispersed by a sale at auction.

Mr. Rogers contributed to the Journal of this Society the following papers:

1. Notes on the Dînârs of the Abbasside Dynasty, Vol. VII. N.S. p. 262.
2. Unpublished Glass Weights and Measures, Vol. X. N.S. p. 65.
3. Arabic Amulets and Mottoes, Vol. XI. N.S. p. 122.
4. Dialects of Colloquial Arabic, *ibid.* p. 365.

To the Numismatic Chronicle:

1. Glass as a material for Standard Coin Weights, vol. xiii. N.S. p. 60.
2. Notes on some coins of the Dynasty of the Khalífahs of the Bani-Umeya, vol. xiv. N.S. p. 349.

He wrote also for the Bulletin of the Egyptian Institute, and for the Art Journal, a very interesting account of Cairo and its mosques.

Only a few weeks before his death he presented to the Khedive a valuable report on the monuments of Cairo, which will, we hope, be published sooner or later. Indeed, of the Commission for the preservation of the Arab Monuments in Cairo, Mr. Rogers was the guiding mind. In the *Academy* of May 19, 1883, will be found an important letter from him, announcing his discovery of the Mausoleum of the Abbasside Khalifs. Mr. Rogers was the first authority on all matters connected with Muhammadan Art in Egypt.

John Watson Laidlay, the son of John Laidlay, of Fleetwood, was born at Glasgow, March 27, 1808. His first education was at a private school at Blackheath, but, soon afterwards, he became a pupil of Faraday, with whom he studied practical chemistry, the enthusiastic pursuit of which had much influence on his after-life.

Under Dr. Gilchrist he studied Hindustani in London, and, through him, made the acquaintance of Bishop Heber, then on his way to Calcutta. When only 17, he went to India in 1825, and was first employed in the mercantile house of his uncles, Messrs. J. & R. Watson, at that period extensive indigo planters in Bengal, and the proprietors of some of the best silk factories of the East India Co. at Berhampore, Rampore, etc. From 1826 to 1841 he was, generally, in charge of either an indigo or a silk factory, but in 1844 he took up his residence in Calcutta. There his talent for languages, his love of deciphering inscriptions on ancient edifices or on coins, and his perseverance in chemical researches, brought him into correspondence with the leading men of science then in India, many of whom became his attached personal friends. In fact, there was scarcely any scientific matter to which he did not, at this period of his life, give attention.

His most numerous literary and scientific communications were made to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, of which he was, for a short time, one of the Secretaries, and show a remarkably wide and various range of knowledge. He was, also, one of the originators of the "Bibliotheca Indica," a publication which has proved of the highest value to Indian scholars, and which is still, perhaps, the most valuable of Oriental publications. For this work, he was able to obtain a grant in aid from the Indian Government.

He remained in India till 1849, when he retired from active life, and, on returning to England, resided, first in London, and, since then, for many years at Seacliff House, Berwick, where his remaining years were devoted to the study of Chemistry, Meteorology, Archæology, and Natural History. At North Berwick he investigated the supposed rise of the East Coast of Scotland, since Roman times, and showed, by the examination of a pre-historic habitation near that town, on a rock only 23 feet above high-water mark, that, had the land really sunken, it must have been swept away (see Geolog. Magaz. vol. vii. pp. 270-271, 1870). The following papers (and there may be others not yet discovered) show well the variety of subjects to which he gave his attention. Thus, in the Journ. R. Asiat. Soc. Vol. XVI. 1856, is one, "On the connexion between Indo-Chinese and Indo-European languages"; and, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, the following, "On Catu-dioptric Microscopes," vol. iii. 1834:—"Analysis of Raw Silk," vol. iv. 1835:—"On the rate of evaporation in the open Sea," vol. xiv. 1845:—"On the Coins of the Independent Muhammedan Sovereigns of Bengal," vol. xv. p. 18, 1846:—"On a Sanskrit Inscription from Behar," vol. xvii. 1848": "Daily Evaporation in Calcutta," *ibid.*:—"Note on Indo-Scythic Coins," *ibid.*:—"Note on Inscriptions found in the Province Wellesley," *ibid.*:—"Notice of a Chinese Geographical work," vol. xviii. 1849:—"Note on an Inscription

from Keddah, *ibid.*:—"On preparing facsimiles of Coins, etc.," *ibid.*

Mr. Laidlay, also, translated the "Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian."

Richard Lepsius was born at Naumbourg on December 23, 1810, and was educated at Pforta from 1823 to 1829, a public school, which, in many ways, is more like those in England, than is usually the case with great schools on the Continent. On leaving Pforta, he studied at Leipzig and Göttingen, and finally at Berlin under the illustrious Bopp. No better master could have been found for such a pupil. In 1833 he went to Paris, and, so thoroughly did he work there that, in the next year, 1834, the French Institute awarded him the Volney Prize for his Essay entitled "Paläographie als Mittel der Sprachforschung," subsequently printed at Leipzig in 1842. While still in Paris he wrote another essay, "Ueber die Ursprung und die Verwandschaft der Zahlwörter," an essay of value, as has been elsewhere remarked, as a warning to other scholars against making discoveries which have been made long ago. In 1837, he propounded the view "That all Sanskrit letters can be traced back to Semitic originals." In 1835, a paper was read by him before the Berlin Academy, "Ueber die Anordnung und Verwandschaft der Semit. Alt-Ind. Alt-Pers., Alt-Aegypt. und Alt-Athiop. Alphabete," and subsequently published in the Transactions of the Academy.

In 1835 he went to Italy, and, after staying for some time with Rosellini at Pisa, went on to Rome, where, having established a natural friendship with Bunsen, he joined the Archæological Institute, and for some time acted as its second secretary under Emil Braun. How far he was even then advanced in his Egyptian studies may be seen from his famous "Lettre à M. Rosellini sur l'Alphabet Hieroglyphique (1837)," which at once placed him in the foremost rank of the Egyptologists of that day, while the three following papers, Inscriptions Umbricae et Oscae (1841), Ueber d. Tyrrhen. Pelasgen in

Etruria (1842), and Ueber d. erbreitung d. Ital. Munz systems von Etruria aus," show that he had fully kept up his earlier classical studies. In 1838, he was sent by the Archæol. Institute at Rome to England, and during the two years he spent there, planned with Bunsen and others, the famous expedition to Egypt, in command of which he went out in the autumn of 1842.

Previously to this (in 1842) he had published his "Auswahl der wichtesten Urkunde d. Aegyptisch Alterthüme," with 23 plates, and "Todtenbuch," or Ritual of the Dead, with 79 plates. The former contains a selection (as the name implies) from those historical texts, which have the highest interest for Egyptian students, such as the Hieratic Canon of the Kings at Turin, the Tablet of Abydos, etc. The "Todtenbuch" was printed from a hieroglyphic Papyrus at Turin, which contained the text of this Ritual as arranged during the period of the Saite Dynasty (*i.e.* before B.C. 527). There is a later edition of this work, Berl. 1867, under the title "Aelteste Texte d. Todtenbuchs aus d. Aegyptische Reiche." This book has remained ever since the standard work on the subject, as it enabled the Ritualistic Papyri to be studied systematically.

The expedition to Egypt, in which he was accompanied by two Englishmen, Messrs. Bonomi and Wild, the late and present keeper of the Soane Museum, lasted four years, and was a complete success—if for no other reason that he was able to examine 50 tombs, nearly all of which have since disappeared. "Every student of Egyptology knows the fruits of that expedition as gathered partly in The Monuments of Egypt and Æthiopia, with 900 plates (1849–59) partly in the monuments themselves collected in the New Egyptian Museum at Berlin. The materials which Lepsius thus placed at the disposal of students inaugurated a new period in the study of Hieroglyphic literature, and still serve as a mine which it will take several generations to

utilize and exhaust." This work, as is well known, occupies twelve colossal volumes. In 1849 he published his Chronology of the Egyptians, vol. i. (no second was issued): in 1851, Ueber d. ersten Aegypten Gotterkreis, and in 1852, "Briefer aus Aegypt. Aethiopien in der Halb. Insel des Sinai," which were translated by L. and B. Horner. These letters give a good account of the people and the country.

In 1863 he published his Standard Alphabet, a new system of transliteration, applicable to all languages, the preparation of which, on which he was engaged for eight years, was a work of great labour, as he had to travel from place to place, to attend meetings, and to argue out all the points of his plan, some of which were warmly contested. He however succeeded better than he perhaps expected. His system, and Prof. F. Max Müller's Missionary Alphabet, were essentially the same, viz. in their physiological basis and in the analysis and classification of all sounds that require alphabetical symbols. For Missionary purposes, no doubt, Prof. Müller's was the simplest, as not needing new types not readily to be obtained at remote Missionary Stations. In 1864, he became Editor with Dr. Brugsch of the Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde, an office he has only recently given up.

In 1866 he went again to Egypt, on this occasion discovering the Trilingual Tablet of San, a worthy successor and companion to the world-known Rosetta stone. Like the latter, this, also, is a decree of the Priests of Canopus, B.C. 238. Lastly, in 1869, he was at the opening of the Suez Canal, and, subsequently, travelled with the Crown Prince of Prussia in Upper Egypt and Nubia.

In 1874 he attended the Oriental Congress in London. Many of the last years of his life were devoted to the working out of his Nubian Grammar, a work of great labour as requiring the study of a large number of African languages. For this important line of research, his "Eine Nuba über-

setzung des Marcus Evangeliums, Berl. 1860," may be considered as an Introduction.

Other papers he is known to have published are, De Tabulis Eugubinis, particula prima (no more published), Berlin, 1833 :—Reise von Theben nach der Halb-Insel des Sinai, Berlin, 1846, translated in the same year into English by C. H. Cotterell :—Abtheilung der Aegyptischen Aelterthümer. Die Wandgemälde der verschiedenen Räume, 37 Tafeln nebst erklärung, Berlin, 1855 :—Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus, Berlin, 1866 :—Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Egyptiennes [trad. par M. Berend].

There are probably, also, other papers or books by him which have escaped notice.

No scholar deserves a fuller recognition by this Society of his labours than *Dr. Ernest Trumpp*, who died on April 2, 1885, after a brief illness, the result of over intellectual work, which his friends but too truly knew admitted of no recovery. And such recognition is the more justified that his most valuable publications were the direct outcome of his various sojourns in India, made in the service of this country.

Ernest Trumpp was born at Ilsfeld, in Wurtemberg, on March 13, 1828, and, after passing some time in a school at Heilbronn, entered the University of Tubingen, where the famous Ewald became his first teacher. In 1848 he passed his Theological Examinations, but a restless desire of improving his linguistic acquirements, induced him to visit France, Italy, and ultimately, England, for this purpose, settling indeed here for some time, and earning his livelihood by teaching Latin and German in a private school near Ramsgate. When about to return to Germany, he made acquaintance with Mr. Venn, and soon after entered the service of the Church Missionary Society, and proceeded to Kârâchi, in Sind, in the summer of 1854, with the special, but somewhat unusual, orders to devote the best part of his time to linguistic research. After a year's hard work

in an unhealthy climate, he was compelled to seek change of air by a visit to Palestine, where he devoted himself to the study of spoken Arabic. Thence he returned to Kârâchi, where, however, a second year's labour so undermined his health, that he had to return to Europe. He settled at Stuttgard, and spent the following few years in arranging and working up the linguistic material he had previously collected.

In 1862 Dr. Trumpp went for a third time to India, being, on this occasion, commissioned to study at Peshâwar the languages of the Afghans, but he was not able to live there more than eighteen months. From 1864 to 1870 he lived at Pfallingen, in Wurtemberg; but having, in 1870, undertaken, at the request of the Secretary of State for India, to translate the Sacred Code of the Sikhs, another residence of two years in the East was necessary.

Some time after his return to Europe he began to lecture at Tübingen on Oriental languages, and on the death of Prof. Marcus Müller, was appointed by the University of Munich to the Chair of Semitic Languages and Literature. Here, besides his constant lectures, he had to contribute papers and Oriental texts to the Royal Society of Munich —contributions that bear ample testimony to the depth and extent of the Oriental scholarship of their author. Too soon partial, and, in 1883, total, blindness befell him; till, at length, last autumn, his mental powers entirely broke down, the result of over-work and of the over-straining of his nervous system.

Dr. Trumpp was an indefatigable student; and more than this, in several directions a pioneer whose lead all subsequent scholars had to follow. In this respect specially noteworthy are his various publications on the Sindhi language, viz. his "Sindhi Reading Book," Lond. 1858; two long articles in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1861 and 1862, on the position which Sindhi holds to Prakrit and the other Sanskritic vernaculars of India:—The Diwân of Abd-

allatif Shâh, Leipz. 1866; and his Grammar of the Sindhî Language compared with Sanskrit, Prâkrit, and the Cognate Indian Vernaculars, Lond. 1872. He also compiled an Etymological Sindhi Dictionary, which still remains unprinted.

To this Society he contributed an article on the Declensional features of the North Indian Vernaculars, printed in our Journal, vol. xix. o.s. In 1873 he printed at Leipzig a "Grammar of the Pushto or Language of the Afghans compared with the Iranian and North Indian Idioms," the practical outcome of two exhaustive essays in the Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. in 1867 and 1869. His translation of the Adi Granth, with introductory essays on the composition of that work, and the lives of the Sikh Gurus, appeared in 1877, but, unfortunately, his copious collections with reference to a comparative grammar of the archaic Hindi dialects, in which the Sikh Scriptures are composed, have not yet been put into shape. There is only one paper by him relating to this subject, "Die Aeltesten Hindigedichte," communicated to the Royal Society of Munich, on Jan. 7, 1879.

The following papers complete his Indian work:—In the Journal of this Society, Vol. XIX. o.s., "On the Language of the so-called Kafirs in the Indian Caucasus" (subsequently reproduced in an amended form in the Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc. 1866):—"Analysis and Comparison of the Dardu Languages" (Calc. Rev. 1872):—"Notes on the Indian Reformer Kabir" (Acts Flor. Orient. Congr.):—"Grammatical Inquiry into the Language of the Brahuis" (Bull. Roy. Acad. Munich, 1880), in which he most clearly traced the Dravidian character and affinities of that language;—and a dissertation on Persian Pronunciation and Accent, *ibid.* 1872.

During his residence at Munich his studies were chiefly confined to the Ethiopic and Arabic languages. He contributed a valuable paper "On the Accent in Ethiopic," to the Journ. Germ. Or. Society (1874): he also published, in

the Trans. Roy. Acad. Munich, critical editions of "The Baptismal Service of the Ethiopic Church" (1878); "The Book of Adam" (1880); and the "Hexameron of the Pseudo-Epiphanius" (1882). His publications on Arabic subjects show his predilection for grammatical inquiries, especially for interpretations of the subtle disquisitions of the native grammarians. His chief writings on this score in the "Sitzungsberichte" of the Roy. Acad. of Munich, are :—"Ueber den Zustandsausdruck in dem Semitischen Sprachen, speciell in Arabischen" (1876): "Die Ajrûmiyah des Muhammad bin Dâud" (1876): "Beiträge zur Arabischen Syntax" (1877): "Beiträge zur erklarung des Mufâssâl" (1878 and 1884): "Die Arabische Satzbau nach der Anschauung der Arab. Grammatiker" (1879): and "Der Bedingungssatz in Arabischen" (1882). His last contribution to the Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc. (1884) treats of the true import of the ix. and xi. conjugations in Arabic.

Among distinguished Orientalists, not members of this Society, may be mentioned *Mr. Thomas Robinson*, who is lamented by a large circle of scholars. Mr. Robinson was born at Manchester on March 23, 1794, and died Dec. 9, 1884, at Winslow. His career was in many ways a remarkable one. Educated in early life at Manchester New College (of which institution he was ultimately the President), he became a cotton manufacturer, first at Manchester, and then at Dukinfield. In these places he distinguished himself by the warm interest he took in the welfare of his work-people, providing for them sanitary and educational facilities, at that time far from common. He was, also, one of the founders of the Manchester Statistical Society, the first of the kind established in England. From an early period he gave much of his leisure time to the study of German and Oriental literature; translating Schiller's "William Tell," first in 1825, and subsequently in 1834, and the "Minor Poems" in 1867. In 1878, he published "Specimens

of the German Lyric Poems," and, in 1879, "Translations from various German Authors." The first fruits of his study of Persian was a life of Firdusi, published so long ago as 1823. But his cheap publications were not issued till long subsequently, when, in spite of the distractions of business, he was able to turn to good use his intimate acquaintance with the German language and literature. He was thus enabled to supplement his own Persian acquirements by the most recent acquirements of foreign scholarship. His charming little editions of the Persian poets, Firdusi, Jami, Sadi, Hafiz, Nizami, etc., were, indeed, almost the only means whereby the public could have become acquainted with a beautiful and unique literature. Few readers probably knew who was denoted by the S. R. (the modest signature of the prefaces of these Persian classics), and probably, but for the entreaties of his friends, the general public would never have known to whom they were indebted for the best collective rendering of the leaders of Persian literature. We owe, indeed, mainly to Mr. Clouston, that Mr. Robinson's volume, printed in 1883, under the title of "Persian Poetry for English Readers," was issued at all, and even then, Mr. Robinson so disliked publicity, that the volume was not printed for sale, but only for presentation to libraries and individuals known to be interested in Oriental studies. This volume contains sketches of Firdusi, Nizami, Sadi, Rumi, Hafiz and Jami, the biographical notice of the last having been translated by Mr. Robinson from a monograph by Dr. W. Bacher, with whom, as with other scholars, he maintained a constant correspondence. Mr. Robinson bequeathed his Oriental books and MSS. to the Library of Owens' College.

The Auditors submit the accompanying Account of the receipts and expenditure of the Society which will, they hope, be considered satisfactory.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1884.

Dec. 31, 1884. RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1884	239	7	11
166 Resident Members	522	18	0
132 Non-Resident Members	138	12	0
Arrears paid up	7	7	0
Compositions	77	14	0
Donation from the India Office	210	0	0
Dividend on Consols	24	4	6
Rents—			
British Association	117	0	0
University Extension Society	30	0	0
Hellenic Society	25	0	0
Aristotelian Society	14	14	0
Numismatic Society	5	0	0
Sale of Publications	70	11	11
Total Receipts	1482	9	4
Balance in Treasurer's hands	0	3	6
	£1482	12	10

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols £900.

Dec. 31, 1884. EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rents—House	300	0	0			
Water Rate (3 half years)	14	15	0			
Fire Insurance	5	0	0	323	18	4
Income Tax	4	3	4			
Salaries—Secretary	200	0	0			
Bedford (pension)	25	0	0	240	0	0
Errand Boy (and service)	15	0	0			
Allowances—Royal Asiatic Society	30	0	0			
British Association	17	0	0			
University Extension Society	5	0	0	63	15	0
Hellenic, Aristotelian, etc.	11	15	0			
Journal—Trübner for Vol. XVI. Part 1	55	18	9			
" " " Part 2	72	1	4			
" " " Part 3	81	4	8	292	4	5
" " " Part 4	72	9	8			
Illustrations (Griggs)	10	10	0			
Books purchased—Trübner, Quaritch, Williams and Norgate, Allen & Co., etc.	90	18	3	119	14	6
Bookbinding—Partridge & Cooper, etc.	28	16	3			
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing	39	2	7			
Advertisements	5	5	0	77	8	0
Postage and parcels	33	0	5			
House Expenses	25	11	3			
Repairs	28	5	0	53	16	3
Investment in Consols	76	0	6			
Grant to Rev. S. Beal	25	0	0	101	0	6
Total Expenditure				1271	17	0
Balance at Bankers'				210	9	0
				1482	6	0
In Treasurer's hands					6	10
				£1482	12	10

Examined and found correct, JAMES FERGUSSON.
THEODORE DUKA.

Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.—The following papers have been read at different meetings of the Society, since the last Anniversary of May 19 :—

1. Prof. Terrien de Lacoupiere, M. R. A. S., "On the Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom, and on the Trade-routes thither, 3,000 years ago." Read, June 16, 1884.

2. Dr. Theodore Duka, M.D., M.R.A.S., "On Csoma de Körös, and the MSS. given by him to the Rev. C. Malan, which Dr. Malan has recently presented to the Hungarian Academy of Science and Art." Read June 16, 1884.

3. Rev. T. W. Kolbe, "On the Bearings of the Study of the Bantu Languages on the Aryan Family of Languages." Read November 17, 1884.

4. Surgeon-Major T. H. Hendley, M.R.A.S., "On the Buddhist Remains near Sambhar." Read Nov. 17, 1884.

5. The Secretary, also, read a short note "On some specimens of Natural History and some Coins," presented by M. M. Bhownaggree, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read Nov. 17, 1884.

6. "On the Languages of the Caucasus." By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S. Read Dec. 15, 1884.

7. "On the Study of the South-Indian Vernaculars." By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., M.R.A.S. Read Jan. 26, 1885.

8. "On the Pallavas." By the Rev. T. Foulkes, M.R.A.S., of Coimbatore. Read Feb. 16, 1885.

9. "On the Northern Frontagers of China, Part VII. The Shato Turks." By H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. Read March 16, 1885.

10. "Notes on Prof. Tylor's Arabian Matriarchate, propounded by him, as President of the Anthropological Section, British Association, Montreal, 1884." By J. W. Redhouse, Esq., C.M.G., LL.D., Hon. M.R.A.S., Hon. F.R.S.L. Read March 16, 1885.

11. "On the Age and Writings of Nâgârjuna Boddhi-

sattva (from the Chinese)." By the Rev. Prof. Beal, M.R.A.S. Read April 20, 1885.

12. "On the Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjáb." By T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L. Read May 4, 1885.

Of these papers Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, have been already printed in the Journal of the Society, so that it is not necessary to say anything about them here; a brief abstract of the others is now given. Thus, in his paper, "On Three Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom," Prof. de Lacouperie stated that, during the first year of the reign of Tch'ing, the second King of the Tchen Dynasty (about B.C. 1100), three Embassies came to him from Indo-China, before his power was firmly established south of the Yang-tze-Kiang. These so-called embassies were really travelling parties of merchants, who had heard of the wealth of the New Dynasty from the Tribes of West and South China, who had helped the Tchen to overthrow the preceding Dynasty. The original record of these visits was probably destroyed in one or other of five great fires, in which most of the Historical Literature of China perished. Only a few fragments of information about these have survived, and these in a much altered state.

Curiously enough, these disastrous alterations have been caused, chiefly, through the conflict of the rival schools of Confucius and of Lao-tze, the general result being that the traditions were amended and completed by the addition of marvellous circumstances or by the attribution to the earliest period of happy or glorious events, similar to those of later times. One of these events would, naturally, be the arrival at Court of foreigners from distant regions.

The Three Embassies were those of (1) Merchants from the Nili or Norai country, north of Burma by the Bhamo Road; (2) of merchants from the Kudang country, in the S.W. of Yunnan, bringing monkeys, etc., the geographical

position and details of the story showing the existence of Karen tribes in N. Burma, and of Dravidians in the N.E. part of India; (3) of merchants from Yuh-chiang or Cochin-China, who are said to have been sent back.

At the close of his paper, the Professor passed in review six annual trade routes between India and Cochin-China, and China, previously to the Christian era. Of these, two are important: namely, the one through Assam to India, and the other to Tung King on the Red River. It was by the latter that the sea-traders of Kattigara (Hanoi) heard of the important trading state of Tsen (in Yunnan); this name being, in fact, the antecedent of that of China.

Professor Beal, in his paper, "On the Age and Writings of Nâgârjuna Bóddhisattva," stated that, in his judgment, there were two persons of some note, both writers, bearing the respective names of Nâgârjuna, and Nagarséna, though this has been denied by some writers. The lives of both, he said, have been written; and it appears that the former was an eminent Bóddhisattva, residing in the South of India; the latter merely a Bhikshu or beggar, in Northern India. The former lived, subsequently to the death of Kanishka, about the end of the second century of the Christian era; the latter was a contemporary of Menander, who flourished B.C. 140. The character of the two men greatly differed; the former was the founder of a new school, an ambitious innovator, and an adept in conjuration and magic; the latter was a skilful disputant, but a loyal follower of the primitive doctrine of Buddha.

Mr. Beal then noticed two Chinese works, the "Sutra of Bhikshu Nagarséna," from the contents of which he founded his argument as to the date of Nagarséna; discussed in detail the information with respect to Nâgârjuna, which is of a mixed character, and scattered throughout the Buddhist literature of China; the chief difficulty being to

connect the scattered notices into anything like a reliable whole. Mr. Beal refers to the Chinese Traveller, Hiouen Tsang, and to Chinese and Tibetan documents, and thus arrives at the presumed date of Nâgârjuna; further, on examining his writings, he finds (as he believes) internal evidence that he inaugurated a new era in the Buddhist development, and also that his information was derived from foreign (perhaps Persian) sources.

Mr. Beal points out that the new doctrine taught by Nâgârjuna is essentially alien from the early teaching of the Buddhist schools, and can only be accounted for by the introduction of foreign thoughts and words into the Buddhistic system.

Twenty-four books of the Chinese Tripitaka are ascribed to this writer, one of which has been translated by Dr. Edkins, and a second by Mr. Beal; a third is noticed in Prof. F. Max. Müller's "India." Of this book, Mr. Beal remarks that it is entirely in keeping with the original teaching of Buddha, as regards Moral Doctrines. Mr. Beal gives, also, a full translation of one hundred lines or one-fourth of the whole work and an abstract of the remainder. He adds that Nâgârjuna compiled the substance of the Vidhyakara-pitaka.

Mr. T. H. Thornton, in his paper "On the Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjâb," gave a valuable epitome of information, from books, periodicals, and official records, as well as many interesting details from the lips of native Indian princes. Much, too, he also obtained from the Report, recently published, by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, a work which is a monument of elaborate research, and a "mine of information" not only regarding mere census operations, but for the history, the languages and the literature of the Panjâb.

Mr. Thornton then gave a brief notice of the country, especially referring to the remarkable diversity of the races

now found inhabiting it. Of these, the chief are the *Jats*, a race of Scythic origin, its chief cultivators; *Rajputs*, of pure Aryan blood; *Arains*, a Panjâb race; *Gujars*, from East Tartary; *Ghakkars*, from Khorassán; *Tâjiks*, aboriginals from Iran; *Moghul* descendants of Bâber's soldiers; *Ahîrs*, from the West coast of Bombay; *Khaggas* and *Qureshis* from Arabia; *Tibetans*, from Central Asia; with nomads, etc., peculiar to the Province. On the South-Western Frontier are the Biluchis and the Patans, the nationality of whom is not yet satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Thornton then pointed out that the vessels which still ply on the River Sutlej may be considered as rude semblances of the triremes of Alexander's fleet, and briefly described the languages, ten in number, spoken in the Province, viz. The *Hindi*, *Urdu*, or *Hindustâni*; the *Bâgri*, *Pahâri*, *Panjâbi*, *Dogri*, *Jatki* and *Kashmiri*, which all belong to the Indic division of the Aryan family. Besides these are, the *Pashto* (the language of the Afghâns or Patâns), the Biluchi (Iranic) and the *Tibetan*, a Mongolian language.

Mr. Thornton then stated that the Panjâbi was really the vernacular of fourteen millions of souls—with a written literature that had been very unfairly treated with neglect. The Granth, or Sacred Book of the people, curiously enough, was not written in Panjâbi, but in an old form of Hindi.

Side by side with the written literature is a vast amount of Folk-lore, which is now attracting much attention, owing to the zeal of Capt. R. C. Temple and Mrs. Steel, who have published much on this subject in the *Indian Antiquary*. The former has also started "Panjab Notes and Queries." With regard to the present condition and prospects of the Panjâbi language and literature, Mr. Thornton added, that both Mr. Beames and Mr. Ibbetson were of opinion, that, with the extension of railways and the vast development and diffusion of printed Urdu literature, the Panjâbi language would be gradually extinguished. He thought, however, himself,

that this process, even if ultimately inevitable, would be a very slow one. Of the fourteen millions who spoke Panjâbi, the census showed that 937 in every thousand could neither read nor write, and that only 15 in a thousand were being taught. In conclusion, Mr. Thornton gave some interesting statistics, to show the enormous development of vernacular literature and educational establishments in the Panjâb. At the present time there were 28 vernacular newspapers, 24 periodicals, 26 societies for the diffusion of knowledge, with an University, several Colleges, 25 high schools and 2800 primary and indigenous schools.

Journals.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Since the last Anniversary of May 19, 1884, Parts III. and IV. of Vol. XVI. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XVII. have been published, containing the following papers :—

Thus, in *Vol. XVI. Part III.* are papers—On the Origin of the Indian Alphabet. By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

——— The Yi-King of the Chinese as a Book of Divination and Philosophy. By the Rev. Dr. Edkins, Hon. Memb. R.A.S.

——— On the Arrangement of the Hymns of the Rig-Veda. By Frederic Pincott, Esq., M.R.A.S.

And in *Vol. XVI. Part IV.*—Suka Sandeśaḥ. A Sanskrit Poem by Lakshmî-Dâsa. With Preface and Notes in English by H. H. Râma-Varmâ, Mahârâja of Travancore, G.C.S.I., M.R.A.S.; and a Commentary by Keraḷa Varmâ.

——— The Chinese Book of Odes for English Readers. By Clement F. R. Allen, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Note sur les mots Sanscrits composés avec पति. Par J. Van den Gheyn, S.J., M.R.A.S.

——— Remarks on the Life and Labours of Alexander Csoma de Körös, delivered on the occasion when his Tibetan books and MSS. were exhibited before the Royal Asiatic

Society on June 16, 1884. By Surgeon-Major Theodore Duka, M.D., M.R.A.S., late of the Bengal Army.

——— Arab Metrology. V. Ez-Zahrâwy. Translated and Annotated by M. H. Sauvaire, M.R.A.S., de l'Académie de Marseille, Consul de France.

In *Vol. XVII. Part I.* are—1. The Story of Shiúten Doji, from a Japanese "Makimono" in Six "Ken" or Rolls. By F. V. Dickins, Esq., M.R.A.S.

2. Buddhist Remains near Sambhar in Western Rajputana, India. By Surgeon-Major T. H. Hendley, M.R.A.S.

3. On the bearing of the Study of the Bantú Languages of South Africa on the Aryan Family of Languages. By the Rev. F. W. Kolbe, late Missionary of the German Society of Barmen in Damára Land, South Africa, Author of the English-Hereró Dictionary. Prepared at the request of R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

4. Gleanings from the Arabic. By H. W. Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S.

5. Notes on the Assyrian and Accadian Pronouns. By G. Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

6. Dialects of Tribes of the Hindu Khush, from Colonel Biddulph's work on the subject (corrected). II. The Shina Language. III. The Khowar Language.

Vol. XVII. Pt. II.—7. The Languages of the Caucasus. By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

8. On the Study of the South Indian Vernaculars. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., Fellow of the Madras University, M.R.A.S.

9. The Pallavas. By the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, M.R.A.S.

10. Translation of Books 81–93 of the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa. By Rev. B. Hale Wortham, M.R.A.S.

11. Notes on Professor Tylor's "Arabian Matriarchate," propounded by him as President of the Anthropological Section, British Association, Montreal, 1884. By J. W. Redhouse, Esq., C.M.G., LL.D., Hon. Fell. R.S.L., M.R.A.S.

12. The Northern Frontagers of China. Part VII. The Shato Turks. By H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A.

The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society has kept up its well-assured character. Thus, in vol. liii. pt. 1, No. 1, Captain Temple gives a very interesting account of the Trade dialect of the Naggásh or painters on *papier maché* in the Panjab and Kashmir, drawn mainly from linguistic fragments published by Dr. Leitner in the Records of the Panjab Government, sect. 1, 1882; the result of Capt. Temple's enquiries being that the words collected by him and by Dr. Leitner agree very nearly together. With regard to the origin of the peculiar words, Capt. Temple thinks, that the answer will eventually be, that the bulk of the words are really dialectic and traceable to surrounding idioms or to former stages of the modern Aryan languages. Capt. Temple then compares the numerals in eleven dialects with the Prakrit, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and with a further table of multiplicatives. He then gives four comparative tables of general nouns and verbs, the final result being that most of the words can be traced and are not, as has been suggested, slang inventions.

The late Mr. F. A. de Roepstorff supplies a Nicobar tale, called Tiomberombi, which gives a curious account of these strange savages, who have a strict rule, that no man's name must be mentioned after his death. As the writer remarks, such a rule "must effectually hinder the 'making of history,' or, at any rate, the transmission of historical narrative." He, further, suggests that Tiomberombi may very possibly be of Malay origin, but, if so, it must have been ages since imported into the islands; he thinks, too, that if, however, the tale be not indigenous, it is certainly not of Indian origin. Mr. E. T. Atkinson contributes a learned paper, entitled, "Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the North-West Provinces," Part I., containing

a valuable summary of the existing religion in Kumáon, Garhwal, etc., and pointing out the remarkable fact that the Vedas are practically unknown to, and uncared for by the majority of Hindus. They are in no sense a "Bible" to the masses, as there is no translation of them into the vulgar tongue of the people, while some sects, also, do not acknowledge their authority in matters of faith and practice. He adds that both Brahmanism and Buddhism (which was originally a protest against Sacerdotalism) had to admit the demons of the aborigines into the Pantheon: that both these systems, in the end, sought to obtain popular favour by pandering to the vulgar love of mystery, magical mummeries, superhuman power and the like, and that Brahmanism absorbed Buddhism rather than destroyed it. Mr. Atkinson then deals at some length with the Kumaon Calendar, and then with important local classes, as the Gosains, Jangamas, Kanphatas, with the sacrifices, as offered by the Vaishnavas or Saiva Saktas, the Holi, etc. He then gives some details of the domestic ritual and of the daily prayers, and of much more which cannot here be abstracted. Generally these ceremonies are interesting as showing the extraordinary amount of ceremonial worship required of the people by their Brahmanical rulers.

In vol. liii. pt. 1, No. 2, 1884, we find the following:—a "Classified and Detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India with an Introductory Essay," by V. A. Smith, Esq., M.R.A.S.:—"On Medals known as Ramtinkis," by the Hon. J. Gibbs, M.R.A.S.:—"On the Geography of India during the reign of Akbar, No. 1, Subat Avadh (Oudh)," by J. Beames, Esq., M.R.A.S.:—"Baiswari Folk Songs," collected by Babu Jogendra Nath Rae, contributed by W. Irvine, Esq.; and "Notes from Varáha Mihira's Panchasiddhantiká," by Prof. G. Thibaut. The first two of these will be noticed under Numismatics. Mr. Beames's paper, the first of a series, is an attempt to

reconstruct, as far as possible, the map of the Mughal Empire at the time of the first great settlement of the financial and political administration effected in A.D. 1582 by Rájá Todar Mal. The details of this important measure are, as is well known, preserved in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Persian text of which was settled and published by the late Prof. Blochmann, who, however, did not live long enough to translate more than the first volume of it. Mr. Beames commences his work with the Subah of Oude. Mr. Irvine's paper gives some amusing Folk-songs in the Baiswari Dialects, collected by Babu Jogendra Náth Rae of Ghazipur. The text has been edited by G. A. Grierson, Esq. Mr. Thibaut's paper on Varáha Mihira's Pañchasiddhantika is valuable as showing how much the study of Hindu astronomy has advanced of recent years, and, especially, since the discovery by Dr. Bühler of two complete MSS. of this writer in 1874. It is now quite certain, as had been long suspected, that all that has any claim to be called scientific in Hindú astronomy is derived from the Greeks. A special number has also been published, as a substitute for Nos. 3 and 4 of Pt. 1 of 1884, containing Mr. G. A. Grierson's translation of Mambodh's Haribans, and, by the same scholar, An Index to Mambodh's Haribans, Twenty-one Vaishnava Hymns, and the Song of Bijai Mal.

In the *Proceedings* are many brief and interesting papers, to some of which we shall now call attention. Thus Mr. V. A. Smith gives a note on the Nandinagari, or South Indian form of the Nagari character, which was derived from the North Indian about the eleventh century A.D., from the type then prevailing at Benares, not from the Gauri or Bengali. At p. 19 is a special notice of the publications of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, which will be recorded hereafter. Dr. Rajendra Mitra read a paper on the Psychological tenets of the Vaishnavas, to which the Rev. C. H. A. Dall gave some interesting additions, pointing out

that the Babu's rendering of "Ekamevâdvitî yam," as "One verily secondless," or, "God is one and without a Second," lies at the root of the teaching of the "Brahmo Somaj." According to Dr. Mitra the hitherto accepted rendering of the Sanskrit words is not their fair equivalent. Mr. Dall considered the movement of the Brahmo Somaj was clearly traceable to education and books derived from the West. In the May number is an important letter from Mr. Cecil Bendall, pointing out that the Palæographical Society had received so little support in England, that there would be no chance of their publishing facsimiles of old MSS. from India, as Babu Rajendra Mitra had supposed likely. It seems rather strange that there should be no establishment in Calcutta capable of providing Autotype facsimiles. For minute accuracy, no scholar can rely on lithographic copies of inscriptions, however praiseworthy may have been the intentions of the lithographers. We must have Sun-pictures. The French Heliographs are not pretty, but they are absolutely reliable, as any one can see who will look at the plates in the Corp. Inscr. Semiticarum, now in course of publication.

Mr. Beames has contributed a paper "On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar," in which he proposes ultimately to reconstruct, as far as possible, the map of the Mughal Empire at the time of the first great settlement of the financial and political administration of Rájá Todar Mal, in A.D. 1582. He commences with the Subah of Oudh.

Captain R. C. Temple has contributed an interesting note "On a Point of Panjabi Phonetics." In this paper he shows that "when aspirated sonants are *final*, the aspirate is transposed by Panjâbis thus; *samâhad* = *samâdh*, *lâhab* = *lâbh*. This is an almost invariable rule. Even when *not* final, the transposition takes place, *e.g.* *sâhaṃjî* = *sâṃjhî*. It is never true of surds, *e.g.* they never say *râhak* = *râkh* or *rahat* = *rath*." Dr. Hoernle has given a very interesting account of

the so-called "clay seals" discovered by Mr. Carr Stephens in or near the village of Sonait, and states that most of them, if not all, are distinctly Brahmanic; those previously found have been, as a rule, Buddhistic. The Rev. George Parker, of the China Inland Mission, Shanghai, has contributed some very important criticisms on General A. N. Kuropatkin's Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, which was translated from the Russian by Major W. E. Gowan, and printed at Calcutta in 1882. From this paper it is clear that General Kuropatkin is not much of a philologist. And Major C. R. Macgregor gives an interesting notice of some of the tribes on the N.E. Frontier of India, under the title "Notes on Akas and Akaland." The paper has, also, some brief vocabularies. Mr. W. F. Sinclair gives a brief, but important account of the Monsoon waves on the coast of Alibagh, south of Bombay Harbour.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Vol. xvii. No. 44, contains Prof. Peterson's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle, April, 1883—March, 1884, which has been published as an extra number of this Society's publications. In the present volume is his General Report, to which we can only refer; then follows an account of a visit to Alwar, to which his Jaipur friends had, in 1882, called his attention. The Mahârâja happened to be away, but the good offices of Dr. W. W. Hunter secured for him the despatch of telegraphic instructions to the State officials, granting him access to the library as often and for as long as might be necessary for a complete study of its contents. Added to this, Prof. Peterson was able to obtain from the Mahârâja's library the loan of several MSS., a second instance in which the officer appointed by the Government of India to search for Sanskrit MSS. has been permitted, not only to examine Palace Libraries, but to make a closer study in Bombay of MSS. selected from

them. In his former Report Prof. Peterson expressed the hope that the great Jaipur Collection he examined last year might be properly catalogued. We rejoice, therefore, to be able to state that the Jaipur Durbar have cordially acceded to this request, and that this Catalogue has already made considerable progress. The late Mr. Eastwick, in his Handbook of Western India, speaks in high terms of the way in which the Alwar Collection is kept; and Prof. Peterson adds that he has seen no library that can compare with it in that respect. "Each MS.," he states, "is in a separate cloth, and an outside label, placed where it can best catch the eye, gives the name of the book and of the author. The MSS. are arranged according to subjects in separate book cases, and bear numbers that tally exactly with the admirable catalogue compiled by the present excellent Librarian, Joshi Gangada." Prof. Peterson's work comprises: 1. Extracts from MSS. belonging to H.H. the Mahârâja of Alwar, etc.; 2. Extracts from MSS. purchased for Government; 3. A Digambara Paṭṭâvali; 4. List of Vedic books belonging to H.H. the Mahârâja of Alwar; 5. List of MSS. purchased for Government. "The collection," Prof. Peterson further remarks, "is not an old one, having been formed chiefly by the distinguished scholar Bani Singh, who died in 1857. It is, as most Rajput libraries are, rich in astrological books. But the chief interest in the library lies in the very valuable and complete collection of the Vedic books it includes. Pandit Durgaprasad, at my request, wrote out from the Catalogue the names of the books in this part of the Collection, and added, from an inspection of the books themselves, the author's name, wherever that could be ascertained."

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1883. — The Asiatic Society of Ceylon has issued "Translations from the

Pali of Jatakas Nos. 41–50," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo. In the Proceedings of the Society for 1883 is a letter from Mr. Burgess to Mr. D. W. Ferguson, "On the Images in Buddhist Temples," and somewhat later, a reply to Mr. Burgess by Mr. Witha Sinha:—A paper from Mr. J. F. Dickson gives some "Notes illustrative of Buddhism as the daily Religion of the Buddhists of Ceylon, and some account of their ceremonies before and after death," and one from Mr. J. P. Lewis, "On Ceylon Gipsies."—Portions of papers by Mr. C. Fowler on "The Elephant Catchers," and by Mr. W. K. James on "Sinhalese Bird-lore." The Society has, also, printed "Addenda to Prof. Rhys Davids's Translation of the Jatakas 1–40," to supply certain omissions. The translations have been made by J. B. Pânabokka, Raṭamahatmaya of Lower Dumbara.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—In No. xii. of this Journal are the following, all worth reading, but to a considerable extent scientific. Thus, Capt. H. R. Kelham treats of "Malayan Ornithology," continued from No. xi.:—and a very interesting letter is given from L. Wray, Esq., jun., "On Gutta-producing trees":—Mr. W. E. Maxwell writes "On Shamanism in Perak":—Mr. A. M. Ferguson writes "On Changes in Malayan Dialects":—Mr. Skinner gives a sketch of "Straits Meteorology":—Mr. W. E. Maxwell adds an "Occasional Note," in which he deals with M. Marcel Devic's supposed additions to the Abbé Favre's "Dictionnaire Malais-Français." In the "Miscellaneous Notes" is an interesting paper entitled "Malacca in the Eighteenth Century" (*i.e.* 1756); one, a "Tiger-hunt in Java," and two or three more or less important papers.

In the volume for June, 1884, Mr. J. Errington de la Croix continues his paper on "The Pigmies":—The Hon. D. F. A. Hervey gives notes from "Valentyn's Description of Malacca":—The Hon. W. E. Maxwell, writes on "The Law and Customs

of the Malays with reference to the tenure of land" :—The Rev. J. E. Tenison-Woods contributes a paper on "The Stream Tin Deposits of Perak" :—The Honble. D. F. A. Hervey writes "On the State of Rémbau" :—and S. Elphinstone Dalrymple "On the Tawaran and Putatan Rivers." Mr. De la Croix's paper is a valuable addition to what he has already published in this Journal, and is a translation of a well-known paper by M. A. de Quatrefages, in the Journal des Savants for 1883. It brings down the study to the most recent times, and to the researches of Mr. E. H. Man, M.R.A.S. Mr. Hervey's paper is valuable as the translation of a portion of Valentyn's Memoir, what has never before been translated, though referred to by Mr. Logan. This paper has not been quite completed. Mr. Maxwell's paper is, like all those he has contributed to this Journal, of much practical value, and he is doubtless right in stating that comparatively few Englishmen have mastered the principles on the possession of land, etc., in the provinces where they act as Governors. In this memoir he shows that the policy of Indian Administrators in Malacca is wholly different from that adopted in India Proper, and endeavours to trace out the actual native views on this subject. The paper is a long and important one and very interesting. At the end of it are extracts from the Malay code of Laws, with translations. Mr. Hervey's paper on "Rĕmblau" is of value, as but little has, up to this time, been recorded of this State.

Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xii. pt. 2. This part contains two papers, one by Mr. H. Poyer, "A Catalogue of the Lepidoptera of Japan." This paper is a continuation of one in vol. xii. pt. 2. The second, by Mr. W. Dening, is a very thoughtful account of "Modern Translation into Sinico-Japanese," in which he shows from abundant examples that the Chinese language is quite capable of dealing with the most abstruse subject for translation from other languages,

and is able to express the finest and most difficult thoughts, perhaps, more clearly than any other language. He confirms, indeed, very fully which has already been so well put by Prof. F. Max Müller, who states that "Every shade of thought that finds expression in the highly finished and nicely balanced system of Greek tenses, moods, and particles, can be expressed, and has been expressed, in that infant language by words that have neither prefix nor suffix, or terminations to indicate number, case, tense, mood, or person."

Journal Asiatique.—Série viii. tome iii. No. 3, Avril-Mai-Juin, contains papers by M. Pognon on the inscription of Merou Nerar I., King of Assyria, p. 293. Mr. Clermont-Ganneau writes on "Trois Monuments Pheniciens Apocryphes:" M. Sauvaire continues his researches, "Sur la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes," in a paper which is invaluable for the amount of study to which the author has given it, but which is scarcely readable by any one not an expert in these matters. M. Senart also continues his learned Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi. Chap. xiii. 2 Edits de Sahasaram, de Rupnath, et de Bairat. The late, grievously regretted, M. Guyard has given a paper with the title, "Études Vanniques, hypothéses, corrections, et suggestions nouvelles," which is chiefly concerned with the criticism of the interpretation by Mr. Sayce of certain words, as given by him in his famous paper in the Journal of the Society. Vol. XIV. M. Bergaigne continues his studies "Sur le lexique du Rig-Veda." In the "Nouvelles et Melanges," M. Rubens Duval deals with two doctrines of Syrian Monophysik. M. Halévy gives an account of the Nabathæan Inscriptions collected by Mr. Doughty. Lastly, M. Darmesteter writes "On the Zendiks."

Série viii. tome iv. No. 1, July, is, as usual, entirely occupied by the Annual Report to the Society, on this occasion

most happily entrusted to M. Darmesteter, who has well maintained the prestige so long attaching to the Reports of MM. Mohl and Renan. We may, perhaps, be permitted to congratulate him that his field vision has extended beyond the labours of French scholars only, and that the works of some German and a few Belgian writers have been included in his survey. This is something!

In tome iv. No. 2, Août, Septembre, Octobre, M. Bergaigne continues his studies, "Sur le Lexique du Rig-Veda, the greater part of this paper, as of the previous one, being devoted to a criticism of the theories adopted by M. Grassmann. M. Sauvaire adds a further paper "Sur la Numismatique et de la Metrologie Musulmanes, deuxième partie, Poids." MM. Joseph et Hartwig Derembourg give "Études sur Épigraphie de Yémen—le voyages de M. Ed. Glaser dans l'Arabie Meridionale." The voyage of M. Glaser appears to have been, in spite of incessant opposition on the part of the natives, a complete success, as he has brought back with him copies of 276 inscriptions, the majority of which are said to have been previously unknown. M. Glaser, also, found the Ismaelian theories still existing "dans la region de Yâm." He considers these Ismaelians to be descendants of the Ḳarnals.

M. Léon Feer has further pursued his valuable researches under the head of "Études Bouddhiques," this time dealing with "Les Avadânas Jâtakas."

In the "Nouvelles et Mélanges," M. Pavet de Courteille gives a very interesting review of the "Dictionnaire Djagatai-Turk-Osmanli," published by Sheikh-Suliman-Efendi-Bokhari. Of this great work only the first volume has at present appeared; but M. de Courteille points out, that the value of the work is immeasurably increased by the fact that the writer is himself a native of Bokhara, where the Jagatai dialect was his mother-tongue, and that he has been able to add to this advantage an intimate acquaintance with the

Turkish of Constantinople, together with the experience gained by long journeys in Central Asia and in the Eastern Oriental provinces of Europe; he has also examined a mass of material, to which no other student has had similar access. M. de Meynard adds a brief and sympathetic notice of the late M. Guyard.

In the number for November and December, 1884, are the following papers: Camille Imbault-Huart, "Le legende de premier Pape des Taouistes, et l'histoire de la Famille Pontificale de Tchang," a paper of much research and of great interest for other than merely Chinese scholars. M. de Bergaigne continues and concludes his "Etudes sur le Lexique du Rig Veda," M. Réné Basset continues his "Notes de Lexicographie Berbère." In the "Nouvelles et Melanges" M. Berbier de Meynard says a few more words about M. Guyard, M. Halévy gives a short note "Sur le nom du Patriarch Noé," and M. Meynard gives a brief notice of M. Regnier. We learn, further, that M. Renan has been elected president in his place, and M. James Darmesteter the secretary. The address of M. de Meynard at the funeral of M. Regnier is printed, and M. Halévy gives "Annexe au procés verbal du 12 Dec. 1884." "Arabe et Arabie" is a short but useful summary.

The part for January contains a paper by M. Dulac, under the title "Contes Arabes en dialecte de la Haute Egypte," tales collected by him at Luxor in March, 1884. As tales they have no particular merit, as he, indeed, points out; but they are useful as specimens of the present current Arabic of those parts:—M. Rubens Duval gives a notice of "Inscriptions Syriaques de Salamas en Perse":—In the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" M. Imbault-Huart deals with "Miscellaneous Chinoises," a continuation of former papers on the same subject:—M. Siouffi adds a "Notice sur Cheikh 'Adi et la secte des Yezidis," a subject M. de Meynard does not deem quite satisfactory, as too much reliance must not be placed

on the ideas or statements of a people who have no books or written traditions.

In No. 2, Fevr.-Mars-Avril, are papers by D. Houdas, Monographie de Méquinez:—M. René Basset, Notes de Lexicographie Berbère:—J. Darmesteter, La Flèche de Nemrod en Perse et en Chine:—C. Huart, Bibliographie Ottomane:—M. Sénart, Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi:—and, in the "Nouvelles et Mélanges," M. Rubens Duval writes on Two Papers by M. D. H. Müller read at the Leyden Congress, "Zur vergleichenden Semitischen Sprachforschung":—M. Marcel Devic shortly reviews M. E. J. Brill's "Sedjarat Malayon":—and M. Jules Preux reviews the three completed volumes of the "Minhadj-at-Talibîn," which has been edited at Batavia by C. Van den Berg.

German Oriental Society.—Since the last Report, vol. xxxviii. parts 2 and 3, have been published. The following is a complete list of the articles in them, some of which will be noted again under their special subjects.

Thus, in vol. xxxviii. parts 2 and 3, are papers by M. Adolph Holtzmann, "Brahman im Mahabharata":—Dr. Oldenberg, "Rig Veda Samhitâ und Sâma-vedârcika":—F. Spiegel, "Zur Geschichte des Awestâ Kalenders:—M. Hubschmann, "Iranica":—Prof. Rolt, "Der Ahuna Vairya":—Dr. F. Teufel (whose loss is justly deplored) "Quellen Studien zur neueren Geschichte der Chanate":—while M. de Goeje deals with "Al-Beladhori's Ansâb al Aschraf":—Prof. Noldeke writes "Untersuchungen zur Semitischen Grammatik":—and M. Prætorius, "Tigrina Sprache." At the end of the number are short notices by MM. A. Nestle, Prof. Robertson Smith, Dr. B. Moritz Bannack, and a notice by Prof. Spiegel of C. de Harlez, De l'Exegese et da correction les Textes Avestiques.

In xxxviii. pt. 4, are papers by A. v. Koemer, Philo-

sophische gedichte des Abu-l-ala Ma'arri :—By K. Vollers, Mittheilung über einige handschriftliche Erwerbungen d. Kön. Bibl. zu Berlin :—Dr. E. Trumpp, Eine Korrektur für eine unsichtige auffassang der ix. u. xi. Form des Arabischen Verbums :—By H. Jacobi, Ueber die Entwicklung d. Indischen Metrik in Nach Vedischer Zeit :—W. Bacher, Besichtigungen zur Neubaurschen Ausgabe des Kitâb ulusûl :—By C. de Harlez, Le Manju gisuni bulika bithe :—Th. Noldeke, a short notice :—By Gustav Röseht, Das Synkretistische Weihnachsts fest zu Petra :—and papers on inscriptions of various classes, by MM. Schroeder, Sachau, Bastian, Hultszch, Bühler, and Mordtmann, which will be noticed under "Epigraphy." Under "Anzeigen," *i.e.* brief miscellaneous notices, are reviews by F. Liebricht, of L'Algerie traditionelle, by MM. Certeux and Carnoy :—By the same, of D. Brauns Japanische Märchen u. Sagen :—By H. Thorbecke, of Dr. Jahn's Ibn Jais, tom. 2, part 1 :—and by Ign. Goldziher, Zur literatur des Ichtilaf Al Madâhib.

In vol. xxxix. pt. 1, are the following papers : By M. J. de Goeje, Zur historischen Geographie Babyloniens :—D. Stickel, Erganzungen und Berichtigungen zur Omajjadischen Numismatik :—J. H. Mordtmann, Mythologische Miscellen :—M. Schultze, 1st Ezra iv. 13, אפתם oder אפתם zu lesen ? :—H. Oldenberg, Akhyâna Hymnen in Rig-Veda : —Pischel, R., Der Dichter Panini :—A. Fuhrer, Sanskrit Rathsel :—H. Lindner, Ueber eine handschrift des ersten buchs des Maitrâyani Saṃhita :—J. Wellhausen, Zu den Hudailiten-liedern. There are, also, notices by Prof. Hillebrandt of K. T. Telang's Mudrârâkṣasa :—by Dr. Guthe, of Dr. P. Wolff's "Arabischer Dragoman—Handbuch für Reisende in Agypten, Palästine u. Syrien" :—by Dr. Pietschmann, of A. Wiedemann's "Aegyptische Geschichte. 1. Abtheilung von d. ältesten Zeiten bis zum Tode Tutmes' III. :"—and by J. Barth, of J. Wellhausen's "Letzter Theil der Lieder der Hudhailiten." There is, also, the commence-

ment of an article by Dr. Fritz Hommel, entitled, "Arabian und der Islam."

Archæology.—Since his last Report, vol. xvi. giving an "Account of Two Tours in North and South Behar," Major-General Cunningham has issued vols. xvii. and xviii., the first containing a "Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881–1882"; the second a "Report of a Tour in the Gorakhpur District in 1875–6 and 1876–7, by A. C. L. Carlleyle, Esq." In the eighteenth volume he has given an account of his exploration of the old cities of Râjim, Arang, and Sirpur, the two former of which are situated on the east or right bank of the river Mahanadi, while Arang, on the opposite or western bank of the river, stands about half-way between them. The result seems to be that the oldest remains yet found at Mahâ-Kosale (or Chattisgarh as it is now called) belong to these three sites. Major-General Cunningham, therefore, thinks that the ancient capital of this district was at Sirpur (Sripura).

The remains of these three ancient sites show material differences from all the other temples of Northern India, not only in their plans, but, also, in their decorations. They have no grand entrance to the front, which is open to the full breadth of the nave or hall, the only access being by small flights of steps from the sides: their external ornamentation resembles that of the temple of Buddha Gaya. The subjects of the sculptures of the internal pilasters are all Brahmanical, only one piece of Buddhist sculpture having been met with at Sirpur. Major-General Cunningham also visited the great temple of Boram Deo, in a secluded valley at the foot of the Mekhala hills, near Kamarda, thinking that it was possibly a Gond temple. It is, however, really a temple of Vishnu, and one of the finest structures in the Central Provinces, both in size and richness of ornament.

He concluded his tour at Mathura, where he was so fortunate as to discover a half-life-size statue of Heracles strangling the Nemæan lion, which, after having been for years employed as the side of a trough for watering cattle, is now safe in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Going further into details, Maj.-Gen. Cunningham gives some interesting details of the Temples at Râjim, and of the inscriptions, the oldest of which, engraved on three copper plates, has been published by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. (see also pl. v. of this volume). The characters are of the Gupta period, with square box-heads. The record is dated in the ninth year of Yayâti, and the inscription must have been engraved in A.D. 482. The other inscriptions are later, but there are in them some interesting notices of pilgrims to the temple. Some of the other places he notices have already been described by Mr. Beglar (Arch. Surv. vol. vii.). At Ramnagar, many details, some additional, are given of the long inscription originally translated by Captain Fell, and published by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. Its value is that it gives the dates of certain Gond Rajas. Sir W. Sleeman published the same lists, but with suggestions which it does not seem to be advisable to repeat here.

Under the head of Arvi, Maj.-Gen. Cunningham gives a very interesting account of two copper-plate inscriptions, of very early date, now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The characters of these inscriptions are similar to those on the Râgini plates of Tivara Deva. The Udayagiri inscription of Chandra Gupta, the date of which is A.D. 248, is engraved in precisely similar characters. A somewhat similar inscription, discovered by Lieutenant Bowie in 1864, has been described by Rajendra Mitra in the Bengal Asiat. Journal, vol. xxxv. p. 166. For notices of Samlai, Gadi, Patna, etc., Nos. 19–25, Maj.-Gen. Cunningham relies on notes given to him by Colonel Lucie Smith.

An interesting and somewhat detailed account of Maha-Kosale or Chattisgarh is given by him, p. 68, and he suggests, with some probability, that this is the region called by Ptolemy "the country of the Adisattri," the Adisathron Mons of the Greek geographer being the present Suktimali range.

The universal belief of the people is that the plain country of Chattisgarh belongs to the Haihayu princes, while the hilly districts of Bâlâghat and Bhandâra were occupied by the Gonds. It may be added that, when, in A.D. 639, Maha Kosale was visited by Hiouen Tsang, its king was a Buddhist, though but few traces of Buddhism can now be found in this spot.

Under Mathura, Maj.-Gen. Cunningham gives an interesting account of the Museum there, where about thirty bases of Indo-Scythian pillars have been brought together and preserved; these are, no doubt, with those in the Museum at Calcutta, and a few still lying at Agra and Allahabad, remains of the great Monastery of the Indo-Scythian king, Huviska, built by him at Mathura.

It was here Maj.-Gen. Cunningham found the Greek sculptures, previously alluded to. "On removing the bricks and mud," he says, "and washing the stone, I found to my surprise and delight that the figure was Heracles strangling the Nemæan lion. As this figure could not have been made for the use of the Hindus, whether Brahmans or Buddhists, I conclude, with great probability, that it must have been sculptured by some foreign artists for the use of the Greeks resident at Mathura. . . . . The group of Heracles strangling the Nemæan lion appears to be a direct copy of some Greek original." Major-Gen. Cunningham concludes his Report by a valuable notice of the different castes and races of people he had met with in Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwâlior, with an especial reference to the Sauras or Savaras. Being non-Aryans, he thinks their

name may be connected with the Scythian word for axe, Sagaris, which we find recorded in Herodotus. It is, at least, remarkable, that the present people are rarely met with without an axe in their hands, their chief occupation being the supply of the iron furnaces at Narwar with charcoal, and of the city of Gwâlior with timber and firewood. He adds that the Kurkus, a cognate race who still preserve their own dialect, have many words the same as the Eastern Sauras, such as *bel*, the sun, *jung*, the moon, and *jeo*, fire. Some isolated groups of the same race are found north of the Ganges in Eastern Oudh (Mr. Oldham calls them "Seoris," Mr. Garrick "Swiris"), and they are said by Mr. Reade to be "an inferior but good class, who take to various trades as sawyers, boatmen, Syces." Ptolemy had already stated, "In the interior behind these (the Palibothri) are the Monedes and the Suari." Major-Gen. Cunningham is of opinion that these Savaras are among the oldest of the aboriginal tribes of India, with whom the advancing Aryans had to contend, and that they may have been established in India 2000 years before the Gonds. The whole account of these Savaras is very full and interesting.

To the Report just noticed Maj.-Gen. Cunningham adds a special notice of "Demon Worship in Northern India." In this paper he points out the strong probability, confirmed as this is by many of the examples he adduces, that the Aryan conquerors would adopt indigenous names for trees and animals and other things, peculiar to their new country. "When the Aryans," he urges, "were on the banks of the Oxus, they may have heard of, and perhaps may have seen, an Elephant; but they could not possibly have seen a banian tree, nor a mango tree, nor a teak tree, nor a sisam tree, nor a sandal tree; and it is more than probable that they knew nothing of cotton, and sugar, and indigo, except as articles of commerce." What is true of names holds equally good with the customs and superstitious beliefs of the people.

Demon worship is the propitiation of the spirit or ghost of any one who has met with a violent or untimely death, whether by design or by accident, including poison and disease. All these ghosts or spirits are believed to be malicious, and the only way of opposing their rancour is to build shrines for them and to make to them occasional offerings of a fowl, goat, etc. Maj.-Gen. Cunningham adds a selection from a large number of *mantras* or charms which he has collected at various places. It is curious to notice how completely the Muhammadans have, in some cases, adopted this demon worship; one of the most terrible being obviously the composition of one of this faith. A notice of a similar system of charms will be found in Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana. On the whole this volume, enriched as it is by a map and thirty-three plates, has much varied interest.

In vol. xviii. (Calcutta, 1883) Major Cunningham gives a "further report" by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, in which he describes his identification of various other interesting sites, such as Râmagrama and Anomâ river. General Cunningham adds that the latter river is still known as the Kûdawâ or "Leap River," and that he has no doubt it represents the Anomâ river, over which Sakya Sinha took his great leap on his famous horse Chandika. To the eastward of this river, Mr. Carleylle believes he has identified certain brick mounds as the stûpas of "Chandika's return," of the "Cut hair" and of the "Changed garments."

Still further to the east, lay the city of the Moriyas and the Nyagrodha Forest, and the Stupâ which was built over the ashes from Buddha's funeral pyre. The forest exists still around Râjdhâni, and Mr. Carlleyle believes one of the brick mounds he has discovered is the famous "Ashes Stûpa."

In General Cunningham's opinion, however, his assistant's most important work has been the complete exploration of the

ruins of Kasin, which he (Gen. Cunningham) had, already, identified with the ancient city of Kusinagara, where Buddha died. Kusinagara, for this reason, was, naturally, one of the four great sites which are famous in the history of Buddhism, the others being Kapilavastu, the scene of his birth; Uraviwa (or Buddha Gaya), that of his asceticism; and the Deer Park at Benares, that of his teaching. Gen. Cunningham adds a just tribute to Mr. Carlleyle's exertions, which will be read with pleasure, even by those who may not accept the "identifications." "By his patient and methodical explorations at Kasin, Mr. Carlleyle has fixed its identification beyond all doubt. On the west side of the great Stûpa, he discovered the famous Nirvâna statue of Buddha, just as it is described by the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiouen-Thsang. It is quite certain that this statue is the same as that seen by the pilgrim, as there is an inscription on the pedestal of the mourning figure, beside the couch, of two lines in characters of the Gupta period. The figure is colossal, twenty feet in length, and is represented lying on the right side, with the right hand under the head, and facing to the west, precisely as described by Hiouen-Thsang. The statue was enshrined in a vaulted temple, the vault being constructed in the old Hindu fashion, such as is found in the great temple of Mahâbodhi at Buddha Gaya. In this construction, the radiating voussoirs are placed edge to edge, instead of face to face. Altogether, the identifications made in this report mutually support each other, and their positions are well sustained by the two fixed points of Kapilavastu on the west and Kusinagara on the East." The volume is illustrated by fifteen maps or plans.

The *Indian Antiquary* (which has recently changed proprietors, and is now managed by Mr. Fleet and Captain R. C. Temple) continues quite up to its former mark, most of the contributors of former years continuing to issue valuable papers, with the aid of some new writers. Omitting for the

present what is in fact the largest series—the notices of inscriptions, which will be recorded under the head of Epigraphy—attention may be called to various papers by Messrs. Rice, Ball, Sinclair, Burgess, McCrindle, Hultzsch and General Cunningham.

Mr. Rice (p. 87), under the head of the "Ganga and Bâna Dynasties," notices a paper by the Rev. T. Foulkes, in an Appendix to his "Manual of the Salem District," in which he has given an account of several inscriptions, four of these containing grants of Bâna kings. This publication he considers a sufficient answer to the objections raised by Mr. Fleet to some of the genealogies in Mr. Rice's "Mysore Dynasties." What we may generally learn from these grants is that the Bâna kings ruled over a territory to the west of the Andhra country; that they were subdued by the Gangas in the reign of Kongani, but that a succession of Bâna kings continued to rule, of whom we have the names of eight. The district they ruled over must have been the Kolar district in the east of Maisur (Mysore).

Mr. Burgess gives, p. 190, an interesting account of a "Door-way of a Temple," with a native drawing once belonging to Sir Walter Elliot, and now in the Museum at Madras. Many fine specimens of this class of work still exist at Gadak and Lakkhundi; many more have been torn from the temples they once adorned, and built into modern clumsy erections. Nothing can exceed the richness of detail of the sculptures round these doorways. In this respect they far surpass those of most of the old Jaina temples of Gujarat or southern Rajputana. It seems not unlikely that they may have formed models for the splendidly sculptured *mihrâbs* of the early Muhammadan mosques at Ahmadâbâd.

To Dr. Burgess we, also, owe further "Papers on Satrunjaya and the Jainas," giving a detailed account of "the Jaina Ritual." Mr. Rehatsek contributes a careful paper,

entitled, "Did the Arabs burn the Alexandrian Library?" in which he shows that all the evidence we have leads us to doubt the crime so often imputed to Amrú, the conqueror of Alexandria, and, therefore, that Gibbon and Humboldt were right in treating this story as a legend. Mr. Rehatsek's general conclusion is, that it is probable that by the time of the Arab conquest nothing at all, or but a very scanty remnant of the once famous library was still *in situ*; and that, though the adherents of the Prophet have undoubtedly destroyed many valuable relics of antiquity, there is no evidence to show that they are answerable for the destruction of the Alexandrian Library.

Mr. Ball's paper, entitled "A Geologist's Contribution to the History of Ancient India" (commenced in the August and completed in the September number) will be read with great interest by all who desire to know what is on record, or can be traced by the light of modern science, with reference to the material resources of Ancient India. Mr. Ball deals with the records of the earliest traders in Indian commodities, the Egyptians, Phœnicians, etc., showing the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest periods of the annals of humanity, and reviewing, with much skill, the various legends which have come down to us, with reference to the collection of gold, and other metals, and of the precious stones, etc., from different parts of the Indian peninsula. *Inter alia*, he mentions that the emerald is not, as is generally supposed, a product of India, but of Egypt. "Mount Zalora in Upper Egypt," he says, "still produces emeralds, and was probably the only locality for them known by the Ancients" (p. 233). He adds his belief, that the elektron or amber of Ktesias was certainly shell-lac; the insects found in it, which yielded a red dye, being unquestionably lac insects. In the same way he shows that the Greek Σάπφειρος is not what is usually termed sapphire, but lapis lazuli, as is,

indeed, clearly described by Pliny, "Sappherios cœrulius est cum purpura, habens aureos sparsos"—the "aureos" being "small crystalline particles of golden-coloured iron-pyrites."

One interesting fact he brings out clearly, that the Chryse or Aurea Chersonesus is almost certainly a misnomer. In Ptolemy's Argyre, proved by Colonel Yule to be Arakan, there are no silver mines, and "considering the geological structure of the country, it is almost certain there never were any"; while Sir Arthur Phayre suggests that Argyre is, itself, not improbably a transliteration of an ancient Burmese name for Arakan. There is, therefore, little ground for supposing that Argyre and Chrysé were countries which supplied India with large quantities of silver and gold. The whole of Mr. Ball's paper is well worth perusing.

Mr. W. F. Sinclair, to whom we are indebted for many happy illustrations on all sorts of subjects, gives (p. 271) an apposite illustration of the "Story of Zerka, the linx-eyed watchman of Nur," as related by Mr. H. H. Howorth in p. 206.—Mr. Burgess continues (from vol. xi. p. 357) his paper "On Satrunjaya and the Jainas," which are chiefly of interest as showing the very minute details these sectaries consider themselves bound to work out, and how entirely the ceremonial rites have blotted out anything that can be called spiritual, in at least the modern form of the Jaina religion. *Inter alia*, Mr. Burgess gives a copy of a Chinese copper medal, with a central four-sided figure, and four symbols, with Sanskrit writing around it. Its meaning is by no means clear, but Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji suggests that it is a *yantra* of the Tantric Bauddha system. Clearly it is Buddhistic, whatever may be its true interpretation.

To Mr. McCrindle, who is well known for the valuable work which he has done in the case of Arrian, etc., we owe the commencement of a translation of "Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia," with a Commentary. In an introductory chapter he gives a succinct

account of the general nature of Ptolemy's geographical system, with a translation of several chapters of his first book. The object of the notes in Mr. McCrindle's commentary is to show (1) how each place named by Ptolemy has been identified; (2) to trace as far as possible the etymology of each name; and (3) to notice, as concisely as possible, the most prominent facts in the ancient history of the principal places. It is unnecessary to say more here of Mr. McCrindle's work, than that what he has proposed to do has been very carefully worked out. His notes are of especial interest, as he seems to have read everything bearing on his subject, and to have quoted widely differing views with singular fairness and want of prejudice.

In the December Number of the Indian Antiquary Mr. McCrindle has continued his valuable researches, and brought them down as far as chap. xxi. The Position of Gedrosia. In the same Number Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî gives a valuable paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Nepâl," containing a list of the kings of Nepâl according to the Bauddha Pârvatîyâ Vamsâvalî, with a long and able dissertation on the value, more or less, of this writer. Mr. Burgess adds some notes on the well-discussed question of "Who Burnt the Alexandrian Library?"—and, also, an interesting paper "On Some Bronze Masks from Maisúr (Mysore)." Similar masks (but in gold) have been found in Assyria, and may be seen in the British Museum. These bronze masks are, however, quite modern.

In the first Number for the present year Major-General Cunningham puts forth his views "On the Probable Indian Origin of the Names of the Week-days," of which it may be fairly said, that it is more ingenious than convincing. At page 75 (March, 1885) Dr. Hultzsch, of Vienna, gives a good notice of "An Earthenware Fragment of Guhasena of Valabhi," the broken remains of a huge earthenware pot, with all that is legible of the inscription. It appears from what

remains of it, and by a reference to Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî's table, that its date must have been about 240 A.D.

In the No. for April Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle has a paper, "On the Gaharwar and Rathor":—Mr. K. B. Pathak gives an "Explanation of the term Palidhvaja," which frequently occurs in inscriptions, and in the Jaina books:—Mr. Keshav H. Dhruva writes "On the Malaya of the Múdraraksha and the dominions of King Parvatisvara," in which, comparing the statements of Hiouen Tsang, he gives a probable reason for identifying the Moloso of the Chinese traveller with Malayavâsa, the "habitation of the Malaya," and this, again, with the northern frontier of India, somewhere on the eastern limits of the Kâsmîra of the seventh century A.D.:—Mr. S. M. Nateśa Saśtri Pandit continues his essays on "Folklore in Southern India," Mr. K. Ragunáthji gives notes on "Omens from the Falling of House Lizards," and Mr. H. H. Howorth adds a further chapter on "Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors." There is, also, a translation of E. Kuhn's paper, "On the Descent and Speech of the Trans-Gangetic People," reprinted from the "American Journal of Philology."

In the No. for May, 1885, Prof. Avery, of Bowdoin College, U.S., gives a very interesting paper, "On the Religion of the Aboriginal Tribes of India," which is worthy of study, alongside that of Mr. Atkinson, already referred to. From his statements it will be seen that these tribes have "some vague notion of Power throned far above the world," the contemplation of this highest God having, however, but little effect in regulating their conduct:—Pandit S. M. Nateśa Saśtri continues his paper, "On the Folklore of Southern India":—Mr. Howorth gives his thirtieth paper "On Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors," which we learn is likely to close his narrative of Early Central Asian history, of which he has been so long the able exponent. Messrs. Fleet and Hultzsch deal as usual with inscriptions, which will

be noticed hereafter. We are glad, also, to see an appreciative notice of Mr. W. A. Clouston's "Book of Sindibad." Mr. Clouston has rendered very good service in making known, to those who cannot study the originals, how much and varied is the mass of interesting matter preserved in the early tales and poems of the East.

From miscellaneous sources we learn that a magnificent gold armlet (part of the famous Oxus find), and once apparently richly adorned with enamels, few of which, however, now remain, has been placed in the South Kensington Museum; and that Mr. Burgess, to whom Indian Archæology owes so much, has been appointed Archæological Surveyor of Southern as well as of Western India, an appointment which will, we feel, give unqualified satisfaction to all who are interested in the study of Indian Archæology and History. We understand, further, that Mr. Burgess has in progress a volume on the Amraváti Stúpa, illustrated by a large number of plates; another, with numerous drawings from the great temple of Rameśvaram, etc., at Mádura, in S. India; and, further, a complete account, with many drawings and photographs of the remains at Hampi, the ancient Vijayanágara. Mr. Burgess has, also, in hand a volume of over 200 pages of inscriptions, and a second one to contain inscriptions from Tanjore and Kanchi. Lastly, he is preparing a very large volume, with a series of drawings and photographs, of the Musalmân architecture of Gujarat.

Mr. W. M. Ramsay has, we rejoice to hear, been appointed Lincoln Professor of Archæology in the University of Oxford. Mr. Ramsay's archæological researches in Asia Minor are well known; we hope that this appointment will enable him to extend these. All archæologists want to know more of the interior of Asia Minor, and of the great ancient routes of commerce, which crossed that land from the Ægæan to Assyria, some of which Mr. Ramsay has already partially described. We want to know more, also, of

those curious semi-Assyrian semi-barbarous carved monuments which Prof. Sayce and others attribute to the influence of a presumed great Hittite empire, once dominant (according to them) from Carchemish to Sardes. The second volume of the valuable work by MM. Perrot and Chipiez has been published, and well sustains the reputation of its predecessor. It deals with "Chaldée et Assyrie," and has been translated by Mr. W. Armstrong. The subject of this volume is scarcely less vast than that of "L'Egypte," while it is much more complex. In spite of the researches of Cuneiform scholars, less is really known of Assyria and Chaldæa than of Egypt; and, for the archæology of the country, we have still to refer chiefly to the discoveries of Loftus and J. Taylor. One of the most interesting chapters in the volume is the "Comparison de l'Égypte et de la Chaldée"; in which the authors point out the remarkable analogies between the histories of these countries and of China, and show that while Egypt, Assyria, and Chaldæa are but memories, the Empire about the Yellow River still remains. Theories of the spread of Egyptian, Chaldæan, and Assyrian artistic influences are applicable to the art of China, which, of yore, spread her art far and wide. If Japan be, in this sense, her eldest daughter, it is no less certain that Persia, Corea, and Hither India were once deeply affected by the odd æstheticism of the Middle Kingdom. In the *Academy* for Aug. 2 Professor Sayce gives a notice of this important volume, in which he points out that while architecture comes in for its fair share of consideration, no exaggerated position is assigned to it. "The volume," he adds, "is a complete history, so far as we know it at present, of the ancient civilization of the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and appeals as much to the eye as it does to the mind." Great use has been made of M. de Sarzec's discoveries at Tello, which have enabled us to trace the development of Babylonian art before it had been handed on to an alien Semitic

race. The similarity between the Tello statues and the sitting statue of King Khephren in the Bulák Museum is remarkable; but, as Mr. Petrie has shown that the Babylonian unit of measurement of Tello is the same as that of Egypt in the time of the Old Empire, it seems certain that so far back as the days of the Pyramid builders, a school of statuary existed in the Sinaitic Peninsula (the Maga of Professors Oppert and Sayce) which worked alike for Egypt and for Chaldæa. Naram Sin of Akkad marched as far as Maga, and claims to have conquered the country, and Naram Sin, according to Nabonidos, lived 3200 years before his time, or in B.C. 3750.

The Indian Government has just published, under the careful editing of Mr. J. B. N. Hennessy, F.R.S., a "Report of the Explorations in Great Tibet and Mongolia," made by A. K. in 1879–82 in connection with the Trigonometrical Survey of India. The exploration was designed by General J. T. Walker, C.B., R.E., Surv.-General of India and Superintendent of the Trigonometrical Survey, who despatched the party from India in April, 1878, and, when near the close of his own official career, welcomed its return towards the end of 1882. The route, as actually followed, began at Lhása, and proceeded along the western flank to Chákángnamága, whence it was continued to Sachu; retracing his steps to Chákángnamága, the explorer now came down the eastern flank to Dárchendo, and then travelled along the southern flank, with the intention first of crossing into British Assam from Sámá, and, when foiled in this endeavour, of closing on his origin at Lhása; but, being hindered also in this latter purpose, he avoided revisiting Lhása, and equally secured his object by closing on another place, some forty-seven miles south-east of the latter town, *i.e.* Chétang, on the river Sángpo; thence he continued his course along the river for about sixty-eight miles to Khambu-barji. More than this cannot be stated here,

as there is no map at hand to consult [an excellent one will be found in the Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. Feb. 1885]; but it should be stated, that, for linear measurements, the explorer trusted entirely to his own pace or step, persisting, as far as possible, in walking, instead of following the universal Mongolian custom of riding on horseback. When, at length, he was compelled by the Lhâma, in whose service he was, to ride, he counted the beast's paces as indicated by his stepping with the right fore-leg. In this way he reckoned his distances for nearly 230 miles. The results he obtained do credit alike to the explorer's ingenuity and to the horse's equability of pace. The whole report is worthy of close study.

Mr. William Simpson, who has been recently with Sir Peter Lumsden and the Afghan Boundary Commission, writes from Bakú, on the Caspian, under date April 9th:—"At Bala Murghâb, where the Afghan Boundary Commission wintered, Capt. the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E., who is on the Survey Department with the Commission, surveyed two caves on the left bank of the Murghâb. I have drawings of these caves with Talbot's measurements. Capt. De Lassoe, on the Political Department of the Commission, discovered at Penjdeh, a very remarkable cave or cluster of caves, for there are about twenty in number, all leading from a long corridor. In it he found a bag containing one gold coin, and about 100 silver coins, dating from the eighth to the ninth centuries A.D. Capt. De Lassoe has sent me a very careful plan of these caves, and promises to let me know of further discoveries. He has, also, written out a description, all of which I am bringing home; and with Talbot's cave, also, I hope to put them in shape for the R.A.S. on my return. I am authorized to do so by both of these officers. You will see, from the date of this, that I am at the great oil sources of Eternal Fire. To-morrow I am going with young Mr. Nobel, the son of the great Oil King here, to visit

Surakháni, where the celebrated Fire Temple is, and which I have learned is a Hindu Temple, and not a Gabr place of worship. There are a number of Sanskrit or Devanágari inscriptions, and I hope to copy or take squeezes of them. By to-morrow night the whole of that temple will be in my portfolio, in one form or another. If the inscriptions will not do to be squeezed, I will copy them by hand, or, at least, some of them."

Semitic Literature.—Hebrew and Chaldee.—The papers that have appeared in various periodicals since our last Anniversary, more or less bearing on this subject, are not inferior to those we have had previously the pleasure of recording.

Thus, in the Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society, the Rev. J. Marshall writes (p. 222) a paper confirming the views of Dr. Chotzner, "On the Life and Social Position of Hebrew Women in Biblical Times" (see Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc. April 1, 1884), and cites Philo and the Pirqe Aboth (translated by the Rev. C. Taylor) in corroboration of his views. St. Paul bears the same testimony as Philo. It may be noted that, to the present day, the Hebrew Synagogue and the Christian Church bear independent, but consenting, witness to the habits of women two to three thousand years ago; the Synagogue, in that it screens them off from the men; the Church, in its prescription that women should be covered, but men uncovered, during public worship. A matter of considerable interest is the report recently published by Dr. Harkavy to the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, on some curious fragments of the Old Testament lately discovered in the possession of certain Russian Jews. Full details will be found in the *Times* of Aug. 15, and in the *Athenæum* and *Academy* of Aug. 23. In the latter paper, Mr. Sayce sums up clearly all that is worth knowing about them. "We may accept the MSS.," he says, "as genuine, in spite of the strange story of the sailor from

whom they were originally obtained. But they are merely a palæographical curiosity. They exhibit a cursive Hebrew script, of which we had no knowledge before. For questions affecting the reading of the text they are worthless, even supposing they are older than the twelfth century, to which we provisionally assign them." The title of Prof. Harkavy's work is "Neu-angefunden Bibel handschriften: bericht an die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften zur St. Petersburg." From the *Athenæum* of Sept. 27, we learn that at the Russian Archæological Congress at Odessa, on Aug. 31, Dr. Harkavy gave an account of these MSS., but did not succeed in convincing his hearers of their genuineness.

From the *Athenæum*, Sept. 20, we also learn that Rabbi Samuel Rosenfeld, of Vitebsk, has brought out a useful book for students of the Old Testament, viz. all the variations (about 1400 in number) found in the quotations of the two Talmuds and the various Midrashim, as well as those that can be made out from the Aramæan translations of the Bible. The introduction contains a brief history of the Massorah. The work is written in unpointed Hebrew, and printed at Wilna under the title *Sepher Mishpahath Seferim*—the "Book of the Family of the Scribes." In Oct. 11 is a very interesting notice of Dr. A. Berliner's edition of the Targum Onkelos, where the writer states that the Aramæan translation of the Pentateuch, called Onkelos, deserves as much attention as the Septuagint; for if the latter was the guide of the Jews in Egypt and of the early Christians and Jews in Asia Minor, Onkelos was the chief authority for the Jews in Palestine and Babylonia. This Targum is read every Sabbath with the Hebrew section. The most correct edition is believed to be that of 1557, and this text Dr. Berliner has selected for the first part of his work—to this he has added a critical apparatus according to other editions and the MSS. of various libraries. Among the latter, one of the

most important was procured from Yemen by the late M. Shapira. Dr. Berliner thinks that the Targum was not written down for general use before the beginning of the second century. He adds that the name Onkelos is either a corruption or a Babylonian pronunciation of Aquilas. Onkelos is not the author of the Targum which bears his name; but the passages of the Jerusalem Talmud concerning the proselyte Aquilas were transferred by the Babylonian Talmud to the translator of the Aramæan Targum, which had more importance in Babylonia than in Palestine. The literature on the Targum Dr. Berliner brings down to a yet uncompleted essay by Dr. Landauer, of Strassburg. From Jan. 3, 1885, we hear that a German translation of the Babylonian Talmud is coming out at Innspruck in thirty to thirty-six fasciculi. If this undertaking succeeds, we shall have the greater part of the Talmudic and Midrashite literature translated into the chief modern languages of Europe, the Jerusalem Talmud into French, by M. Schwab; the Midraschim into German, by Dr. Wünsche; and the Babylonian Talmud, by translators whose names have not as yet been published. It may be added that the Rev. Dr. Phillips, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, is going to publish, shortly, the Longer Commentary of R. David Qimchi on the First Book of Psalms (Oct. 25). In March 21, 1885, is a notice of Dr. Oscar von Lemm's Bruckstücke der Sahidischen Bibel: Uebersetzung, from which we gather that these fragments are, probably, the last we shall obtain of this class. They were acquired by the late Dr. Tischendorf, and are now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. They contain certain verses from Joshua, and of the Four Gospels, and some other matters of less importance, as, for instance, an apocryphal book, in which the Archangel Michael plays the chief part, the Martyrdom of St. Victor, etc., and a history of the Alexandrian Church (under Athanasius and Arius), some

fragments of which have been long preserved in the Borgian Library.

In the *Academy* (June 21) we have a brief but good notice of the "Lehrbuch der Neu-Hebräischen Sprache und Literatur," by L. Strack and Carl Siegfried, a work consisting of two parts, 1. A Grammar, by Siegfried; and 2. A Bibliographical Appendix, by Strack. In the grammar we have an analysis of the language of the Mishna—the Hebrew perpetuated in the schools after it had been supplanted by the Aramæan in the mouths of the people—and which continued to be used much later by Rabbinical authors and commentators. The work incorporates the results of much patient and careful research. In the Appendix the principal editions of the Mishna, Talmud, etc., and many of the more important works of the mediæval Jews on grammar, etc., are specified. In the same number is a brief note of Dr. Lotz's interesting tract, entitled "Quæstiones de Historia Sabbati," which, from the fullness of its learning and critical acumen, has excited, and deservedly, much attention. Dr. Lotz holds that the belief of the Israelites about the nature and obligation of the Sabbath Rest was uniform from the days of Moses downwards.

In the *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 407, Prof. Nöldeke writes "Untersuchungen zur Semit-Grammatik." In vol. xxxix. pt. 1, M. J. de Goeje writes, "Zur historische Geographie Babyloniens": — M. Mordtmann on "Mythologische Miscellen," a very interesting paper:—Dr. Marten Schultze communicates one, entitled "1st Ezra iv. 13, אפתם oder אפתם zu lesen?":—and J. Wellhausen, "Zu den Hudailitenliedern":—Dr. H. Guthe notices, briefly, Wolff's "Arabische Dragoman":—and Mr. Barth reviews Wellhausen's "Letzter Theil du Lieder der Hudhailiten."

In the *Revue Critique* (Aug. 4) is a notice of Mandelkern's Neubearbeite Heb. Chald. Bibel Concordance:—in Aug. 11 a review, by M. Duval, of S. Preiswerk's Gramm. Hebraique:

—Sept. 29, one by M. Vernes, of Wellhausen's Prolegomena zu Geschichte Israels.

In the *Journal des Savants* M. Dareste, under the head of a Code Rabbinique, reviews Ebn Aben Haeser, which has been translated into French by MM. Santayra et Charleville.

At the meeting of the *American Oriental Society*, at Baltimore, in October last, Mr. Cyrus Adler, of the Johns Hopkins University, read a paper "On the Use of the Word *'asah* in the Bible":—and Mr. A. L. Frothingham, "On the Meaning of Baalim and Ashtaroth in the Old Testament."

In the *Muséon*, p. 324, M. Eugène Wilhelm writes on "La Langue et Littérature Neo-Hebraiques."

In the *Literatur-blatt für Orientalische Philologie*, Dr. Fränkel reviews (p. 410) the earlier portion of J. Levy's Neu-Hebraisches und Chaldaisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim:—M. C. F. Seybold notices (vol. ii. p. 51) W. Bacher's Die Hebräisch-Arabische Sprach vergleichung des Abu'l Walîd Merwân ibn Ganah:—and (vol. ii. p. 88) the same writer's "Die Agada der Tannaiten."

In connexion with Hebrew literature may be noticed a volume of Essays presented to the veteran scholar Dr. Zunz, of Berlin, on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday. Six of these came from Germany, four from the Austrian Provinces, two from Italy, and one from England, France and Russia respectively. The subjects are, naturally, very varied, but are, as a whole, deserving of commemoration here. Thus, Dr. Steinschneider, of Berlin, writes on the Metaphysics of Aristotle among the Jews; Dr. Rosin contributes an exegesis of the Old Testament; Signor Mortara, a Rabbi of Mantua, writes, "La Genesi e la Scienza; note sull' Origine e sull' Età dell' Uomo." Drs. Brüll, Gudemann, Schorr and J. Derenbourg contribute to Talmudical literature, the last giving a specimen of Maimonides' Arabic text of the commentary on the Mishnah. Drs. Frankl and Egers of Berlin gives sketches of the hymnologist Eleazar Kalir (eleventh century), and

of the famous poet Solomon bin Gabirol. Dr. Jellinek, of Vienna, contributes a bibliography of Jewish eulogical sermons. Dr. D. Cassel, of Berlin, contributes a biographical sketch of Abraham ben Nathan of Lunel; Dr. Kaufmann of Buda-Pesth publishes the letters of En Duran (Simeon ben Joseph) of Lunel, from an unique MS. in the Bodleian Library; A. Neubauer edits Jedaiah of Bèziers's treatise in defence of women, against Judah ben Shabbethai's treatise "Woman-hater," from a similar unique Bodleian MS. Baron David de Gunzburg of St. Petersburg publishes a treatise on the Plague, from a MS. in his own Library. Lastly, the Abbate P. Perreau, Chief Librarian of Parma, edits a philosophico-mystical treatise on Paradise by Hayyim ben Israel, from MSS. at Parma and in the Bodleian.

Among books or essays published during the last year may be mentioned: Schiffer, S., Das Buch Kohelet, vol. i., Von der Mischna bis zum Abschuss der Babylon. Talmud. Schwab, M., Talmud de Jerusalem, vol. vii.; Wünsche, Bibliotheca Rabbinica, pts. 33–4.—Bacher, W., Die Agada der Tannaiten, vol. i. Berliner, A., Targum Onkelos, two vols.—Wünsche, A., Midrash Bemidbur Rabba, translated in German. —Dr. Mischle, Allegorische Auslegung der Sprache Salomonis, Perles, J., Beiträge zur geschichte der Hebr. u. Aramaische Studien.—Darmesteter, James, Die Philosophie der Geschichte des Judischen volkes.—Hirsch, S. R., Ueber die beziehung des Talmuds.—Collins, G. W., The Sefer Hassoham, a Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, by Rabbi Moseh ben Vishak.—Giles, Mrs. H. A., Hebrew Principia, an introduction to the Hebrew Language (Soc. Prom. Chr. Knowledge).—Horovitz, M., Der Talmud: Drei Reden. Wellhausen, Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten.—Phillips, Rev. Dr., Longer Commentary of R. D. Kimchi on the first book of the Psalms.—Marx, G. H., Traditio Rabbin. Vater. de librorum Vet. Testament.—Wünsche, Pesikta des Rab. Kahana, das ist die älteste in Palästina redigirte Haggada. Brüll, Jahr-

bücher für Judische Geschichte u. Literatur, vii. Jahrg. Rabbinowicz, Variæ lectiones in Talmud, etc., part xiv. Bloch, J. S., Einleitung in d. Talmud-Literatur.

We understand that various papers read at Canon Driver's house at Oxford are about to be printed at the Clarendon Press. Mr. Neubauer has been appointed "Reader in Rabbinical Hebrew" at Oxford, and has also gained the prize from the Acad. des Inscriptions for a Classification of the Geographical Names of Western Europe which occur in Rabbinical works from the tenth to the fifteenth century.

Assyrian. — Before the Royal Asiatic Society only one paper has been read, that by Mr. G. Bertin, M.R.A.S., "Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns," which has been printed in Vol. XVII. N.S. Part I. p. 65. Before the Society of Biblical Archæology several valuable papers have been read, some of which have been printed in the "Proceedings" or in the "Transactions" of the Society. Thus in their "Proceedings," April 1, is a paper by Messrs. Pinches and Budge which was read on March 4, 1884. On May 6, 1884, p. 179, is a joint paper by Messrs. Pinches and Budge on "Some new Texts in the Babylonian Character, relating principally to restoration of Temples"; and in the same month is a paper by Mr. Pinches on a tablet containing a list of Babylonian kings from about 1938 B.C. to 647 B.C. The tablet seems to have been copied in the twenty-second year of the reign of a king whose name is broken off. Mr. Pinches thinks that he was Darius. Mr. Rylands, also, briefly notices an engraved gem from Nineveh. In Nov. 4, Mr. Pinches gives, in continuation of former papers, documents relating to slave-dealing in Babylonia in ancient times, the text and its translation recording the making of a claim, the giving back of the slaves, and the refunding of the money paid for them. In January 13, 1885, Mr. Pinches gives the continuation of a previous paper by him on "The Early Babylonian

King lists," which was published in vol. vi. p. 204; in March 3 he adds a further paper "On the Name of the City and Country over which Tarkû-Timme ruled."

In the *Athenæum*, Aug. 2, is an ingenious paper by Mr. C. O. Durnford, suggesting a method which might have been, and, as he thinks, was probably adopted for the war chariots of the Assyrians. In Sept. 6 is a full notice of the second part of the fifth volume of the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. These five volumes form a splendid *Thesaurus*, the like of which no other country has published. Among the various contents of this fifth and most remarkable book, may be noticed plates 36 and 37, containing a perfect Babylonian Syllabary; plate 43, which gives an important list of the months, and a list of the Babylonian kings, in Babylonian and Akkadian; plates 48 and 49, a nearly complete calendar of the lucky and unlucky days of the year, a tablet, on the study of which we understand that Mr. Boscawen is specially occupying himself: and plates 67 and 68 containing copies of the "Contract Tablets," of special interest, as indicating the character and the extent of Babylonian commerce. For the history of Babylonia and Assyria we have a long historical inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I., B.C. 1120, an English translation of which has been given by Messrs. Pinches and Budge in the Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., April, 1884. On plate 62 we find inscriptions of Assurbanipal, and of his brother, Samas-samukim, the latter of which is bilingual and difficult of decipherment. Three other plates, 63–65, are occupied by Inscriptions of Nabonidus, the second being the one which fixes the date of Naram-sin, the son of Sargon of Agade, at about 3800 B.C. Most of the monuments in this valuable volume were procured by Mr. Rassam during his recent excavations in Mesopotamia. A very full review in the *Times* of Oct. 17 has pointed out the chief value of this important work, and to this we must refer our readers for details.

The Syllabaries published in this volume show that the study of the sacred texts, legends and poems, was carried out with great activity during the period of the Persian kings, and, further, that the cumbrous Cuneiform mode of writing was not replaced (as some have thought) by the Aramæan. The tablets, also, show that distinct schools existed in the various temples, and that, during the period of the Jewish captivity, literature was in no sense behind its former position in the golden age of Assyria. The most important historical document discovered is the three-column terra-cotta Cylinder of Nabonidus, in which we have the record of a valuable series of historical events. Among these may be noted, the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-God in B.C. 3750, by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon I., the destruction of the Temple of the Moon-God at Harra in B.C. 625, its restoration by Nabonidus in B.C. 550, and its capture by Cyrus in the same year. The occurrence of these dates, verified as they are by other Inscriptions, show clearly that the scribes had before them a regular Chronological Canon of the Kings. This new volume affords a very perfect example of the varied character of Assyrian literature, and its publication reflects the highest credit on our Director, whom we justly maintain to be the true Father of Assyriology. In Sept. 20 is a brief review of Mr. Budge's "Babylonian Life and History," a publication of the Religious Tract Society, and one of a series of small volumes issued by them, under the title of "By-Paths of Bible Knowledge." Mr. Budge has produced a readable book, with sufficient specimens of Cuneiform writing to explain the general principles of decipherment, and the difference or modification existing between the Babylonian and the Assyrian forms of the characters. He has added translations of various inscriptions made by different Assyrian scholars.

In the *Academy* (July 26) is a brief notice of M. Delitzsch's "Die Sprache der Kossaer," mainly founded on tablets which

give the meanings in Assyrian of some of the names of the kings herein recorded, together with another tablet, on which is a list of Kossæan words with their Assyrian equivalents. By the help of these materials, M. Delitzsch has endeavoured to fix the linguistic position of the Kossæan dialect, at the same time bringing together all that is discoverable of their religion, ethnology and history. It may be further noted here that, in reviewing Dr. Delitzsch's book for the *Andover Review*, Mass., Prof. Haupt suggests that the Egyptian Hyksos were the Kassi or Kossæans of the Babylonian monuments, who inhabited the Western frontier of Elam. Dr. Brugsch has already endeavoured to trace the Hyksos to Susiana. In the same number is a notice of a paper by Dr. Hommel in "*Ausland*," in which he attempts to prove that the Akkadians were an Altaic people. His idea seems to be that it is to the Turkish branch of the Ural-Altaic family that this old agglutinative language ought to be assigned.

In the same month we have also a notice of a proposed American Expedition to Babylonia, the cost of which is to be defrayed by Miss Wolfe, and is, therefore, to be called after her name. It is to be hoped that Messrs. Sterret and Clark, who did such good work in the Assos Expedition, will be able to take part in this also. The object of the expedition is not so much excavation or the discovery of inscriptions, as the securing a topographical examination of the ground, with a view to determining the best sites for future diggings. In Aug. 2 we have a brief account of the Inscriptions of Western Asia, above noticed, and an excellent review by Prof. Sayce of MM. Perrot and Chipiez's great work. In Oct. 11 is a short review of Prof. Lepsius's last work, "Die Längenmasse der Alten," which arose from a controversy between the writer and Prof. Jules Oppert on the subject of Babylonian measures. Prof. Lepsius, in this small book, surveys the whole system of

Egyptian and Babylonian measures, together with the Persian, Greek, and Roman ones, which were to a great extent derived from them. Prof. Lepsius's book will, probably, be long the standard authority on the subject with which it deals.

At the various meetings of the *Académie des Inscriptions* many interesting papers have been read and discussed during the last year. Thus, at the meeting of April 25, 1884, M. Oppert read a note, entitled "La vraie assimilation de la Divinité de Tello," in which he endeavoured to show that the Divinity honoured at Tello was Ninip, not Papsukat. May 16 and 23, M. Heuzey read a paper with the title "La Stêle des vautours, étude d'Archéologie Chaldéenne." This monument, in calcareous stone, found at Tello by M. de Sarzec and now in the Louvre, apparently contains references to a victory of the king of that place. MM. Oppert and Derenbourg are further of opinion that the monument represented a pyramid composed of the bodies of the vanquished. May 30, M. Halévy made some remarks on a Tablet in the British Museum, lately studied by M. Delitzsch, who has published his views of it under the title "Die Sprache d. Cossaer." It need scarcely be added that M. Halévy does not accept M. Delitzsch's theory. On July 11 M. Oppert read a memoir, "On the Language of the Elamites," in which he claimed to have discovered, so long ago as 1862, this particular idiom of the Semitic family. He opposed the views of M. Delitzsch, the so-called Cossæan language being, in his judgment, that of the Elamites. Four different languages, to which he gave, respectively, the names of Sumerian, Elamite, Suso-Medic, and Assyrian, were, in his belief, spoken in the basin of the Tigris. On Sept. 5 M. Oppert gives a translation of a Babylonian Inscription of the Seleucide King Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, which is preserved in the British Museum. This inscription bears a date of the Seleucide era, viz. 43=B.C. 269, and on it

the names Antiochus, Seleucus, and Stratonike are written Antikus, Selukhu, Astartanikku. The inscription speaks of a King Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who seems to have died before his father, and is only mentioned in Trogus Pompeius. On Sept. 12 M. Oppert dealt with an Assyrian Inscription referring to the Lunar cycles, and stated that twenty years ago he had found in the Inscriptions of Sargon the mention of a great lunar cycle, one of the revolutions of which terminated 712 B.C. On Sept. 19 he read a further memoir, "Sur la Non-identité de Phul et de Tiglathphalásar," in which he contended that these two kings were distinct personages, the first being a Chaldæan, the second an Assyrian.

In the *Revue Critique* are many excellent notices bearing on this subject. Thus, in No. 25, June, M. Halévy reviews, at considerable length, M. Delitzsch's "Die Sprache d. Cossäer," propounding, we believe, a new view that the nine Arab Kings mentioned by Berosus were really Kings of the Cossæi. At the same time, M. Halévy bears high testimony to M. Delitzsch's Essay, as an "exposée lumineux de tous les renseignements que les Inscriptions Cunéiformes fournissent sur ce peuple jadis presque inconnu." On July 14 and 21, the same scholar deals with M. Schrader's Origin of Babylonian Civilization, published in the Abh. d. Kön. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, 1884. The gist of his review is to reinforce his many previous statements about the pretended Sumero-Accadian language, which have not been accepted generally by the leading Assyrian scholars, and to point out that M. Schrader has not studied as fully as he ought to have done all the papers written by M. Halévy, since his first "counter-blast" against his brother-Assyrian students, in the year 1874. In No. 52, Dec. 22, is an interesting review by M. Decharme of the 2nd vol. of MM. Perrott and Chiepiez's "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.

In the Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung, the following papers have appeared :—By J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., Funf Babylonische Verträge aus der zeit von Nebukadnezzar :—by the late Stanislas Guyard, "Questions Suméro-Accadiennes": —Delitzsch, F., Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testament. I. Das Land Uz. II. Der name Benhadad:—R. Dvorak, Ueber "Tinûrus" des Assyrisch-Babylonische und die derselben entsprechen den Formen der übrigen semitischen sprachen :—A. Amiaud, Quelques observations sur les Inscriptions des statues de Tell-Loh:—F. Hommel, Die Sumero-Akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschafts verhaltnisse, and on L'Inscription A. de Gudea :—Eberh. Schrader, Nachträg zu seinem aufsatz ueber die Ausspr. d. Zischl. im Bab. Assyr., and by the same Kineladen und Asurbanipal:— A. H. Sayce, The Literary Works of Ancient Babylonia, and On an ancient Babylonian work on Medicine :—Theod. G. Pinches, Additions and Corrections to the Fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia—three Essays, and Archaic Forms of Babylonian characters, I. :—P. Jensen, De incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum serie quæ dicitur "Jarbu" tabula—two essays:—Bezold, Ein fragment zu S^a :— and, H. Hyvernat, Sur un vase Judéo-Babylonien du Musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence). In the "Sprachsaal" of this Journal are many interesting brief papers, such as J. Halévy, "Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne" :—By A. H. Sayce, "Kihkisu Gab. ri":—J. Oppert, Le Dieu de Sirtella :—F. Hommel, Das neu aufgefundene Original der Dynastienliste der Berosus : —F. Hommel, Die Könige und Patîsi von Sir-gul-la und ihre Inschriften. There are, also, good reviews by Prof. D. H. Müller of Dr. Delitzsch's "Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian Research," and by Dr. Bezold of H. Hilprecht's "Freibrief Nebuchadnezzar's, I." There are, also, several short letters and "miscellen" from various eminent scholars, two of which are more than usually curious. In one of these Dr. E. Nestle calls attention to a work

recently published (1883) by the Abbé J. P. Martin, in which this writer, speaking of an unique MS. in the Vatican of Isú-dad, a Syrian Bishop of Hadeth, of the eighth or ninth century, says, "Il y a là des passages extremement curieux sur un genre d'écriture qui, d'après la description qu'en fait cet écrivain pourrait bien être le caractèr e cuneiform." In another, it is stated, that Prof. Pizzi, who has been for some years engaged on a translation into Italian of Firdusi's Shahnameh, considers that he has found a clear allusion to the Assyrian or Babylonian monuments, in the account of Jemshid's Treasure discovered by Behram Gor (Shahnameh, Calcutta ed. pp. 1507–10). This matter is certainly curious.

Of miscellaneous papers from various other sources may be noted: In the *Builder*, vols. xlv., xlvi., Babylonian Architecture and Art:—Auris, A., Essai sur le Système Métrique Assyrien (Rec. d. Travaux rel. à la Phil. et l'Arch. Eg. et Assyr. iv. p. 157):—Boscawen, W. St. C., Babylonian and Assyrian Art, Amer. Antiquarian, v. 322:—Budge, E. A., Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, Victoria Institute, 1884:—Delitzsch, F., a very large number of articles in Calwer's Bibel-Lexicon, C. to M., Lief. 2–5:—The Assyrian Department of the British Museum:—Haupt, P., Das Babylonische Nimrod-Epos, Assyriol. Bibl. iii. 1:—Hommel, F., Die Sumero-Akkadier, ein Altaisches Volk, Ausland, 1884, No. 2:—D. H. Müller, Vorläufige Mittheilungen über von Prof. J. Wünsch in der Nahe von Van entdeckte Keilinschrift. Phil. Class. Acad. d. Wiss. Wien, No. xvi., and Ueber satzverbindende Partikel *ma* in Assyr., *ibid*:—P. Haupt, The Language of Nimrod, the Cushite, Andover Review, July, 1884:—Heuzey, Léon, La Stèle des Vautours, Étude d'Archéologie, Gaz. Archéol., 1884:—Regno e caduta di Nabonid, Civiltà Catolica, vol. iv:—Lenormant, (the late), Les Origines d'Histoire d'après la Bible, tome 2me, 2de partie:—Oppert, J., Ausfuhrliche Kritik über J. Flemming's

Die grosse Steinplatten Inschr., und Nebukadnezar's, Gott. Gelehrt. Anz., Sept:—Do. Ausfuhrliche Kritik über F. Delitzsch's Die Sprache der Kossaer, Oester. Monatschr. f. d. Orient, No. 9:—C. Bezold, Ausführliche Kritik über P. Haupt's Das Babylonische Nimrod-Epos, *ibid*, No. 1, 1885:—M. Delattre, S.J., L'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes, Rev. d. Quest. Scient., Oct., 1884:—Müller, Dr. H., Eine neue Keil Inschrift. von Van, Oesterr. Monats. f. d. Orient, 1885, 1:—Strassmaier, J. N., Alphabatisches Verzeichniss d. Assyr. u. Akkad. wörter in zweiter B. den Cuneiform Inscriptions of W. A., etc., etc.:—H. Zimmern, Babylonische Buss-Psalmen, Inaug. Dissert. 1885.

At the *Meeting of the American Oriental Society* at Boston, on May 7, 1884, M. Carl F. Lehmann, of Hamburg, read a paper "On the Dialectic Equivalence of *sh* and *n* in Proto-Babylonian"; and by Prof. D. G. Lyon, "On some recent Assyrian Publications"; and at the meeting held at Baltimore on Oct. 29 and 30, Prof. Lyon read a paper "On the Second Part of the Fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia."

In the *Muséon* or *Revue Internationale* (iii. 2) Prof. A. H. Sayce writes on "Deux Nouvelles Inscriptions Vanniques." M. Delattre, S.J., writes "Medica," which is simply an answer to some of Mr. Sayce's recent views:—In iii. 3, M. Massaroli continues his paper, entitled Les Rois Phul et Tuklatpalasar II., and M. Strassmaier reviews M. Delattre's Le Peuple et l'Empire des Médes.

Among books that have been recently issued may be noted, M. Ernest de Sarzec, Découverts en Chaldée, 1re livr.:—Brüll's Herodots Babylonische Nachrichten:—Schrader, E., Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, transl. by the Rev. O. C. Whitehouse:—Hilprecht, H., Freibrief Nebuchadnezzar's I. Königs von Babylonien:—Selections from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, edited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., and T. G. Pinches,

vol. v. pl. 36–70:—Bonnet, E., Les Découvertes Assyriennes et le livre de la Genése:—Sayce, A. H., Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments, 2nd ed:—Schrader, E., Zur frage nach dem Ursprunge der Alt-Babylonischen Cultur:—Budge, E. A., Babylonian Life and History:—O'Conor, J. F. X., Cuneiform Text of Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar in the Museum of New York.

At the *Sixth Oriental Congress* held at Leyden in Sept. 1883, Section A was devoted to Semitic work generally. At its various meetings the following papers were read:—

M. Goldziher, "Sur extraits d'un travaille sur l'École Théologique des Zahirites:"—M. Éthe spoke of the life of Nâciri Khosrau, a well-known Persian poet of the fifth century of the Hejra:—M. Land read the result of his researches "Sur l'histoire de la Gamme Arabe":—M. A. Müller communicated an "Étude sur Ibn ali Oçaibiya et sur son histoire des Medecins écrite en Arabe":—M. de Goeje read extracts from a posthumous work of the late Prof. Dozy, interesting "pour l'étude de la Religion des Harrâniens," which he had hoped to have read himself to the Congress:—M. Nöldeke made some observations on the true Sabæans, who had been often wrongly identified with the Mendaites:—M. Houtsma spoke of a Turkish Chronicle, which gave some account of the Seljuks of Asia Minor:—M. Ethé spoke of some Turkish translations of the fables Kalila and Dimna which had not been previously known:—M. D. H. Müller read a paper communicated by M. Hommel on an Arabic work entitled "Djankaral-al-Arab, or a collection of poems," which he was preparing for the press; as well as a Dictionary of Præ-Islamite poets:—M. Landberg spoke of the importance of the study of the Bedouin Dialects for the profound study of Literary Arabic:—M. Barbier de Meynard presented, on the part of M. Alric, an essay entitled "Les Pelerins Musul-

mans au tombeau de Moïse" :—M. Oort spoke "Sur la meilleure manière de s'y prendre pour éditer le texte de l'Ancient Testament" :—M. D. H. Müller read a "Mémoire sur l'usage des suffixes caractéristiques du pluriel masculin dans les langues Sémitiques Méridionales, notamment dans le Dialecte Sabéen" :—M. Strassmaier added a notice of the Cuneiform Texts of certain Tablets in the Museum at Liverpool, chiefly contracts and receipts :—M. Tiele read a Memoir "Sur la grande Déesse Babylonienne, Istar, prototype de l'Astarté Syrienne" :—M. Schlottmann read one "Sur la construction de la Strophe dans la poesie Hébraique" :—Prof. A. H. Sayce read a paper "On the Inscriptions of Mal Amir, and on the origin of the Texts usually called Median," which he would prefer calling Amardian, in that they come from the country of Amardi as accepted by ancient classical writers :—the President of the Section, M. Schrader, presented, on the part of M. Clermont-Ganneau, "Epigraphes Hébraiques et Grecs des ossauires Juifs inédits"—"Secaux et cachets inédites, Phéniciens et Syriens, suivis d'Epigraphies Phéniciennes inédites" :—M. Oort read a further paper entitled "Étude sur les causes probables qui ont fait accusé les Juifs de meurtres rituels" :—M. McCurdy read a memoir "On perfect inflexions in Assyrian" :—M. D. H. Müller read a paper "On the Divine Names אל and אלה in the Sabæan Inscriptions" :—M. Oppert communicated the result of his study of the Babylonian Monuments procured by M. de Sarzec from Lower Babylonia :—M. Haupt gave an outline of "Edition de l'Épopée, Babylonienne dite de Nemrod," which he had nearly completed :—lastly, M. Halévy gave a very important statement on the decipherment of the Thamudite Inscriptions. With this paper the labours of the Semitic Section of the Congress were brought to a conclusion.

Arabic.—There is probably about as much to note on this

branch of Oriental studies for this year as for those which preceded it. Thus, in the *Athenæum*, for Aug. 16, is a long and able account of the contents of the first vol. of M. H. Derenbourg's Manuscripts Arabes de l'Escurial. The codices, which amount to as many as 2000 in number, were catalogued, though incorrectly, by Casiri, 120 years ago, and M. Derenbourg has wisely retained the *arrangement* of the old catalogue. M. Derenbourg's second volume will be devoted to the geographical and historical departments. From the same number we learn, that in the Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine, M. René Basset has published, in its last fasciculus, a catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Regency of Tunis. We learn, further, that Prof. A. Müller, of Königsberg, has completed his edition of an important biographical work in Arabic by Ibn Abi Useibia, from MSS. in the Museum, Bodleian, Paris, and many other libraries. The text has been printed at Bulaq, and the German preface, etc., at Göttingen. Ibn Abi Useibia contains, mostly, biographies of medical men. Prof. Müller is engaged on a second biographical work by Al Kifti, which is older than the former, and contains biographies of philosophers, Arabian as well as Greek. In Oct. 18 is a good notice of Sir W. Muir's Mahomet and Islam (printed for the Religious Tract Society), an abridgment, no doubt, of his former work on the same subject, but valuable for the woodcuts given of the Kaaba, the Black Stone, etc. The book is a plain straightforward narrative of the Prophet's life, and is based on original authorities. From the same number we learn that the large collection of Arabic MSS. (comprising more than 1000 volumes) brought together by the Swedish Orientalist, Dr. Landberg, has been purchased from the house of Brill & Co., of Leyden, for the Royal Library at Berlin. In Nov. 29, Sir George Airy has started a query as to the meaning of a sentence in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Korân, "The hour [of judgment] approacheth, and the moon has been split

asunder," and, referring to these words, as indicating either a miracle or a prophecy, Sir George suggests that it may be "chronological, in the sense of an astronomical definition of time." To this view, Mr. W. T. Lynn replies, in Dec. 6, and Mr. S. L. Poole in Dec. 13. Neither of these writers agree with Sir George, yet each of their letters are worthy of perusal, especially that of Mr. S. L. Poole. From Dec. 27 we learn that the British Museum has recently acquired a hitherto unknown Arabic work, the Kitab-al-Mohabbir, which contains many historical notices and traditions of the Arabs of the time of Muhammad, and of his immediate successors. The writer seems to have been alive in A.H. 290 =A.D. 903. The Museum Library has, also, secured the earliest extant history of the Moslem conquest of Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by Ibn Abd-al-Hakim, who died A.H. 257=A.D. 871; a history of the Seljuk Dynasty, written shortly after its extinction, A.H. 620=A.D. 1223, and Kitab-al-Osul, a hitherto unknown work on Arabic Grammar, by Ibn As-Sarraj, who died A.H. 316=A.D. 928.

In Jan. 3, 1885, is a notice of a proposed work by that learned scholar, Prof. Wellhausen, of Halle, entitled "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," of which one part is out. His plan is to publish from year to year preparatory studies to more extensive literary plans, embracing the history of Israel, the antiquities of ancient Arabia, and the history of the Arabs to the fall of the Omayyad Dynasty. This first part contains a revised edition of the article "Israel" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and that part of the Diwân of the Hodhail poets which was not published by Kosegarten.

From Feb. 21 we learn that the Cambridge University Press have decided to print Mr. C. N. Doughty's account of his travels in Central Arabia. A notice of what M. Renan has done for the inscriptions he has collected will be found under "Epigraphy."

In the *Academy* (June 28) is a useful notice of Prof.

Dieterici's "Die Sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles," translations from various Arabic MSS., valuable as showing what was the influence of Greek philosophy on the great intellectual movements of the Arabs and Persians during the ninth and tenth centuries. This "Theology" appears to have been translated into Arabic about A.D. 834–43, and was of the Neo-Platonic cast. A paraphrase was published at Rome in 1519, and, subsequently, at Paris in 1572. There is, also, a notice by Dr. A. Müller of the late Dr. Loth's "Leben und Werke des 'Abdallah ibn-ul-Mu'tazz." It was originally in the "Acts" of the Philosophical Faculty, but well deserved to be more widely known. In August 23 is a good and full review by Mr. C. J. Lyall of Dr. Ludolf Krehl's "Das Leben des Muhammed." In Nov. 15 is a brief notice of the third volume of the Minhâdj at-Tâlibîn, or "Guide of Zealous Believers," edited and translated for the Netherlands Government of Batavia by M. L. C. M. Van der Berg; and, in Nov. 22, is a very interesting account of the lecture given by Mr. R. S. Poole, LL.D., at the "College for Men and Women" in Bloomsbury, On the Domestic Architecture of Cairo, illustrated by Mr. Frank Dillon's water-colour drawings. In Dec. 27 Dr. Badger gives a full notice of part i. fasc. i. of Mr. M. S. Howell's Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, the bulk of which is devoted to an elaborate disquisition on the Noun in General, the Generic Noun, the Proper Name, etc. Dr. Badger praises highly the laborious accuracy of the writer, though he thinks some of his English definitions might have been more intelligible. In Jan. 24, 1885, p. 66, is a notice of a pamphlet by Mr. G. A. Wilken, of Leiden, entitled "Das Matriarchat (Mutter-recht) bei den Alten Arabern," which, accepted partially by Prof. E. Tylor, has been very completely answered in the Journal of this Society (Vol. XVII. Part 2) by Mr. J. W. Redhouse. In the same Journal, and under the same date, is a notice of J. Wellhausen's "Skizzen

und Vorarbeiten," a rather incongruous collection, yet not for this reason the less valuable, for the German version of his article in the Encyclopædia Britannica "On Israel," and for an edition of that portion of the Leiden MS. of the "Diwân of the Huzalîs" which had been left unpublished by Kosegarten. The portion published by Kosegarten was translated by R. Abicht in 1879, and we, thus, have two renderings and a commentary on a probably unique collection of ancient Arabic poetry. There is, also, a notice of Al-Hamdani's Geography of the Arabian Peninsula, edited by D. H. Müller in a volume of which we have, at present, the text only. It has been printed in the same form and with the same type as the new edition of Tabari. A good map would be of the highest value to the work, and might well be added to the second volume. From March 21, p. 210, we learn that Señor Almagro has recently published at Granada, "Descripcion y usos del Astrolabio," a lithographed Arabic text with a Spanish translation. The volume forms part of the "Bibliotéca Hispano-Maurica—Codices Arabes."

In the *Journal des Savants* M. Rénan reviews M. H. Derenbourg's "Livre de Sibawaiki" (June); and M. B. de Meynard notices M. Louis Rinn's "Marabouts et Khouan, étude sur l'Islam en Algérie" (Dec.).

From the *Revue Critique* for Jan. 19 we gather that, in the last number of the Revue Orientale, by M. Ganneau, now attached to the Journal Officiel, is a notice of the Chrestomathie élémentaire de l'Arabe litteral by MM. Derenbourg and Spiro. In Feb. 19 is a brief notice of M. de Meynard's "Leçon d'ouverture" on taking the Chair of Arabic in the College of France, instead of that of Persian he had previously occupied; and in Mar. 9 is a portion of M. Hartwig Derenbourg's "Allocution" on the commencement of his course of Arabic in the École des Hautes-Études.

In the *Trans. Germ. Oriental Society*, M. de Goeje deals with Al-Bilâdhori's Ansâb al Ashraf (p. 382): Professor

Nöldeke has an article entitled "Untersuchungen zur Semitisch. Grammatik," chiefly with reference to Æthiopic and the South-Semitic dialects (p. 407): A. von Kremer gives the "Philosophische gedichte des Abu-l-ala Ma'arri" (p. 499): M. Völlers a paper entitled "Mittheilung über einige handschriftliche Erwerbungen d. Konigl. Bible zu Berlin" (p. 567): Dr. Trumpp (the last paper he printed), "Eine Karakter fur eine unrichtige auffassung der ix. und xi. Form des Arabischen Verbums" (p. 581): W. Bacher, Berichtigungen zur Neubauer'schen Ausgabe des Kitâb ulusul (p. 620): M. Thorbecke gives a brief notice of Dr. Jahn's Ibn Ja'is (p. 666): and M. Ign. Goldziher writes "Zur Literature des Ichtilaf al Madâhib (p. 669). In the xxxix. vol. heft 1 (the first for the present year) M. J. Wellhausen wites a paper on the "Hudailitenliedern" (p. 104): M. H. Guthe reviews Wolff's "Arabischer Dragoman": and M. J. Barth notices Wellhausen's Litzter Theil der Lieder Hudailiten" (p. 107).

In the *Journ. Asiatique*, Nov.–Dec. is a short paper by M. Halévy entitled "Arabe et Arabie," p. 568. In Jan. of the present year, M. Dulac writes Contes Arabes en dialecte de la Haute Égypte, p. 5, and M. Siouffi continues his "Notice sur le Cheikh Adi et la secte des Yézidis," p. 78.

In the *Muséon* (p. 383) M. A. F. Mehrer notices the views of Avicenna on Astrology, etc.

In the *Literat. Blatt für Orient. Philologie* Mr. C. S. Hungronje notices (p. 417) Goldziher's Die Zahiriten:—J. H. Mordtmann (p. 429), S. Langer's Reisberichte aus Syrien und Arabien:—C. Seybold deals (vol. ii. p. 18) with P. Wolff's Arabischer Dragoman, Dritte Auflage:—W. Pertsch (p. 24) with Landberg's Catalogue des MSS. Arabes:—C. Seybold (p. 27) with R. E. Brunnow's Die Charidschiten unter der ersten Omaiyyaden: — and K. Völlers reviews (p. 56) Wilken's Das Matriarchat (Das Mutterrecht) bei den alten Arabern.

Among Arabic books issued during the last year, the

following may be noted:—P. L. Tailhan, Chronique rimée des derniers Rois de Tolède et de la conquête de l'Espagne par les Arabes:—Derenbourg and Spiro, Chrestomathie Elem. de l'Arabe litteraire:—Lane, E. W., Arabic-English Dictionary, edited by S. L. Poole, vol. vii. pt. 4:—Brunnow, R. E., Die Charidschiten unter den Ersten Omayyaden:—Kremer, A., Beiträge zur Arabischen Lexicographie, ii.:—Dieterici, Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân-es-Safâ in Auswahl, heft 2:—Saadia Al-fajûmî, Arabische Psalmen übersetzung von Dr. S. H. Margulies, 1. Theil:—Al-Hamdâni, Geogr. d. Arab. Halb-Insel, curâ D. H. Müller:—Wilken, D., Das Matriarchat (Das Mutterrecht) bei den Alten Arabern:—Al-Chazarî, aus dem Arabischen des Abu'l-Hasan Jehuda Hallewi übers. v. Dr. H. Hirschfeld:—Encyclopedie Arabe, by Butrus al Bustani, vol. viii.:—Lerchundi y Simonet, Chrestomathia Arabigo-Espagnola:—Miftah-ut-Uruz (treatise on Arabic prosody), by Abu Ya'qub Sakkaki:—Rosen, V., Remarques sur les MSS. Orientaux de la Collection Marsighi à Bologna, from Lincei, viii. 2. p. 240:—Ibn Abi-Useibia, Text. m. Glossar. curâ A. Müller:—Minhadj-at-Talibin, by L. W. C. Van den Berg, vol. iii.:—Krehl, Die Lehre d. Muhammed:—Muir, Sir W., Mahomet and Islam:—Darmesteter, J., Conferences sur le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam:—Sauvaire, H., "Voyage en Espagne d'un Ambassadeur Marocain":—Amari, M., "Estratti del Tarih Mansuri":—Basset, René, Les Manuscrits Arabes du Bach-Agha de Djelfa.

Syriac.—In the *Athenæum* (July 26, p. 106) is a very interesting review of Dr. Wright's translation, from Arabic into Syriac, of the book of Kalilah wa Dimnah, which has been recently printed by the Clarendon Press at Oxford. It may be added that in the *Revue Critique* for Jan. 12, M. Rubens Duval has spoken highly of the same work, at the same time offering many ingenious conjectural emenda-

tions of the unique Syriac text. From Dec. 27 (p. 860) we learn that Mr. Budge is editing for the "Anecdota Oxoniensia" (Semitic Series), the Syriac Text (with an English translation) of the Book of the Bee, written by Solomon, Metropolitan of Bosrah, in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. This edition is based on MSS. in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Royal Asiatic Society.

In the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society at Baltimore, Oct. 1884, p. v. Mr. A. L. Frothingham, jun., gives a paper "On the Book of Hierotheus," by a Syrian mystic of the fifth century:—and Prof. I. H. Hall writes "On a Syriac Manuscript of the Acts and Epistles." The MS. consists of the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles in this order, with a few tables of Feasts and Lessons at the beginning, and a poem in honour of the Trinity at the end. Its date is July 4, 1471. In the *Bullettino Communale di Roma*, p. 218, M. Giudi has published an interesting paper, entitled "Il Testo Siriaco della descrizione di Roma."

Aramæan.—In the *Athenæum* for Sept. 27 is a very full review of M. Rubens Duval's "Les Dialectes Néo-Araméens de Salames: Textes sur l'Etat Actuel de la Perse et contes populaires," from which it is clear how much has been done within the last twenty years to disclose to Syriac scholars nearly the whole of the literature that belongs to the small remnant of a Semitic family known by the name of the Syrian Christians.

Abroad the chief work has been done by Professors Lagarde, Nöldeke, Bickell, Sachau in Germany; by the Abbé Marten, M. Duval, and M. Zotenberg at Paris; and by MM. Lamy and Abeloos at Louvain. In England Dr. W. Wright has been the most prominent and effective worker.

Ethiopic or Himyaritic.—From the *Academy* of Dec. 27, we learn that a collection of Ethiopic and Egyptian MSS. has been presented to the Public Library at Frankfürt:—In the *Z. D. M. G.* vol. xxxviii. p. 481, Dr. Prætorius continues (from vol. xxxvii. p. 443) his paper on "Tigriña-Sprächwörter"—In the *Muséon* (iii. 2, April), M. Ed. Drouin writes on "Deux Chroniques Ethiopiennes:"—and (*ibid.*) M. L. C. Casartelli describes "Un MS. Karshuni du Musée de Liverpool":—M. Reinisch has published "Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien," vol. 2.

Samaritan.—In the *Academy* for Dec. 20 is a notice of Dr. Heidenheim's Die Genesis in der Hebraischer quadratschrift, etc., the first part of a "Bibliotheca Samaritana," on which this distinguished Semitic scholar has been long at work. In 1874, Mr. J. W. Nutt published some fragments of the Samaritan Targum, from a MS. in the Bodleian. Dr. Heidenheim aims at an emended text, turning to account the previous labours of Frankel, Kirchheim, Köhn, Nöldeke, Brüll, etc. An important portion of the Introduction deals with the palæographical proof of the emendations. Older readings, rejected by the present writer, are retained in the foot-notes. See, also, *Athenæum*, Jan. 3, for a brief but appreciative notice of Dr. Heidenheim's work; and an article by K. Völlers in Libr. Blatt. f. Or. Philologie, Dec., p. 91. B. Moritz has, also, published Bar-Hebræi, in duodecim prophetas minores Scholia.

Hittite.—Quite a literature has sprung up during the last year on the subject of the Hittite Inscriptions or of the Hittite Empire. Nearly all of this has been due to the publication, by the Rev. Dr. Wright, on Oct. 1, of his "Empire of the Hittites." It is not advisable here to enter into this controversy, but, in fairness to Dr. Wright, it should be said that his work is a complete résumé of all that

was known, or presumably known, up to the date of its publication, on Oct. 1, 1884. Those who care to follow the subsequent discussions can refer to the *Academy*, 1884, Dec. 6, p. 378; Dec. 13, p. 397; Dec. 20, p. 415; Dec. 27, p. 435; and, in 1885, Jan. 3, p. 14; Jan. 10, p. 31; Jan. 17, p. 48; April 14, p. 246; April 18, p. 278; April 25, p. 298; and *Athenæum*, April 4, p. 435. In the *Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc.* May, 1884, p. 226, Mr. W. H. Rylands has published a gem from Nineveh bearing what he conceives to be Hittite characters.

Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.—Many valuable papers, letters, etc., more or less bearing on this general subject, have been published during the last year, of which the following may be noticed.

Thus, in the *Journal of this Society*, Vol. XVI. p. 381, is a paper by Mr. Pincott "On the Arrangement of the Hymns of the Rig-veda"; at p. 453, "Suka-Sandesah, a Sanskrit Poem by Lakshmidâsa, with preface and notes in English by H. H. Rama Varma, Maharaja of Travancore, G.C.S.I., M.R.A.S., with selections from a commentary by Keralavarma, drawn up by Shyâmaji Krishnavarmâ, B.A., of Ball. Coll. Oxford;" at p. 479 is a paper by M. Van den Gheyn, S.J., M.R.A.S., entitled, "Note sur les mots Sanscrits composée avec पति," and, in Vol. XVII. p. 221, is a translation of Books 81-93 of the Mârkandeya Purâna, by the Rev. B. Hale Wortham.

In the Proceedings of the *Bengal Asiatic Society* (June), Prof. Thibaut publishes notes from the Varâha Pancha Siddhântika of Varâha Mihira, to which allusion has already been made.

In the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society* is a second Report of Operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle (which includes not only Bombay, but Rajputana, Central India, and the Central Provinces).

This volume contains Prof. Peterson's general Report; Extracts from MSS. belonging to H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar; Extracts from MSS. published by Government; a Digambara Paṭṭavali, and a list of the Vedic books belonging to H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar. The Report gives high, and, no doubt, just praise, to the native gentlemen, who have been associated with Prof. Peterson in his work.

In the Z. D. M. G., vol. xxxviii. pts. 2, 3, 4, M. Jacobi writes "Ueber die Entstehung d. Çvetâmbara und Digambara Sekten," pt. 1:—M. Adolf Holtzmann, Brahma in Mahâbhârata:—H. Oldenberg, Rig-Veda Samhitâ und Sâmavedârcika:—M. Jacobi, Ueber die Entwickelung der Indischen Metrik in Nach-Vedischer Zeit; and lastly, R. Roth, Wo wächst der Sôma:—vol. xxxix. pt. 1, M. Oldenberg writes on "Âkhyâna Hymnen im Rig-Veda":—M. Pischel on "Der Dichter Pâṇini":—Dr. A. Führer, on Sanskrit-Räthsel:—B. Lindner, "Ueber eine Handschrift des Ersten buchs den Maitrâyanî-Samhitâ," and Dr. A. Hillebrandt reviews at considerable length K. T. Telang's Mudrârâkshasa.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, Feb. Mar. M. Léon Feer continues his paper "Comment ou devient Préta," and in Aug., Sept., and Oct., gives a further paper entitled "Les Avadânas Jâtâkas":—and in Feb., Mar., April, May, and June, and in Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec., M. A. Bergaigne has continued his valuable "Etudes sur le Lexique de Rig-Veda."

In the *Journal des Savants*, M. Barthelemy de St.-Hilaire has two reviews (August and Sep., 1884) of M. Hauvette-Besnault's Bhâgavata Purâna, tome iv.:—and (March and April, 1885) two notices of Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler's History of India from the Earliest Ages.

In the *Revue Critique*, No. 37, it is stated that M. Michel, Professor of Sanskrit at Liége, has commenced printing "Le Panchatantra, texte Sanscrite de la rédaction méridionale,

publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'un commentaire critique." The text has been fixed from four MSS., one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a second in the India Office, and two others lent to M. Michel by Profs. M. Müller and G. Bühler respectively.

In the *Gött. Gelerhte Anz.*, M. Garbe reviews with praise L. von Schroeder's Maitrâyanî Sanhitâ, as does also M. Zachariae, Mr. Bendall's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the University of Cambridge.

In the *Literarische Central-Blatt* are good notices of Denssen, Das system des Vedânta; of R. Garbe's Śrauta Sûtras of Âpastamba published in the Bibliotheca Indica :—of Bergaigne's Méthode pour étudier la langage Sanscrite :— and of Sörensen om Mahabharatas Stilling in den Indiske Literatur; Forsog pa at udskille de aeldste Bestanddele.

The *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* reviews approvingly Schoenberg's Hitopadesa, and there are, also, notices of Fritze's Panchatantra by R. Garbe; of Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata; by Prof. Weber of the Benares Sanskrit Series, a collection of Sanskrit works edited by the Pandits of the Benares Sanskrit College, under the superintendence of Profs. Griffith and Thibaut; and, by the same, of Kielhorn's edition of Pantajali.

In the *Muséon*, p. 496, M. Nève notices, briefly, M. Foucaux's translation of the Lalita Vistara, 1st in 1844, and, recently, in tome vi. of the Annales du Musée Guimet; and, p. 500, M. Victor Henry reviews M. A. Bergaigne's "Manuel pour étudier la langue Sanscrite."

In the *Literaturblatt für Orient. Philologie*, Dr. H. Führer writes, p. 386, "Kurze notizen über Sanskrit Neu-drucke in Indien." The Abhijnâna-Sakuntala, by MM. Godabole and Paraba, and the Dasa-Kumâra-Charitra of Daṇḍin, by the same. C. Cappeller notices L. Fritze's Panchatantra, and J. Schoenberg's Hitopadescha. Dr. A. Hillebrandt reviews Band 2, pt. 1, E. D. Perry's "Indra in the Rig-Veda,"

Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. xi. 1. E. Kuhn notices (p. 35) F. Nève's "Les Epoches littéraires de l'Inde." L. v. Schroeder (p. 37), C. R. Lanman's "Sanskrit Reader." Th. Zacharaie (p. 40) Kirtikaumudi, edited by Abaje Vishnu Kachâvate; and H. Jacobi (p. 46), Dr. E. Leumann's Das Aupapâtika Sûtra, erstes Upânga der Jaina. Lastly, A. Holtzmann deals with parts iv.-xi. of Pratap Chandra Roy's Mahabharata translated into English prose.

At the meeting of the *American Oriental Society*, Boston, May, 1884, papers were read by Prof. C. R. Lanman of Cambridge, Mass., "On the Stanza Rig-Veda x. 18. 14, in illustration of various cumulative evidence that may be used in the criticism of the Veda"; by the same scholar "On the Dâtavya Bhârata Kâryâlaya; by Prof. Avery, "On the Unaugmented Verb-forms in the Rig and Atharva-Vedas; by Prof. W. D. Whitney, "On the Study of Sanskrit, and on the Study of the Hindu Grammarians"; and, at the meeting at Baltimore in October, Prof. Whitney contributed a paper "On the classification of certain Aorist forms in Sanskrit;" Prof. M. Bloomfield, also, contributed a paper "On the position of the Vâitâna-Sûtra in the literature of the Atharva-Veda;" Prof. C. R. Lanman, "On the typographical requirements for printing Sanskrit transliteration;" and, lastly, Prof. W. D. Whitney deals with "The Etymology of the Sanskrit noun *Vratâ*."

In the *Athenæum* (April 4, 1885) we have an interesting account of the progress of Pratap Chandra Roy's translation of the Mahabharata, which is now being well supported, as it deserves to be, by some of the leading natives of India, as the Maharaja of Kashmír, the Guicowar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Travancore, etc. Recently the learned translator has received a somewhat unusual donation. The Babu Govinda Lal Roy, a wealthy zemindar of Rungpore, has, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, undertaken to bear all the expenses of the translation of one of the largest books

of the Mahâbhârata, the "Vana Parva" or "Forest Book." In No. 14, recently published, is a translation of the well-known episode of Nala and Damayanti.

In the *Academy* for June 14, we have a brief notice of Prof. Lamman's "Sanskrit Reader," which promises well, but will be most useful when the author shall have been able to print his notes. The work contains extracts from the best known Sanskrit texts with a carefully prepared glossary. From July 5, we learn that Prof. Bühler has written an essay on the Alphabet of the ancient Palm-leaves of Horinzi, in which he shows that the discovery of this Alphabet supplies a new starting-point for Palæographical researches into the History of the Indian Alphabet. This work has since been published as an appendix to the "Ancient Palm-leaves containing the Prajnâ pâramitâ-bridaya-Sûtra, etc., by Prof. F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio," in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," vol. i. pt. 3. It has been very fully and carefully reviewed in the *Athenæum* of Oct. 4. *Inter alia*, it comprises the age of the Palm-leaf MSS., recently found in Nepal and Western India. In the *Academy* for August 2 is a long letter from Prof. Peterson, giving an interesting account of what has been recently done in India for Sanskrit literature, etc., with especial reference to the labours of Prof. Bhandarkar. It may be added that some interesting details are given as to the materials for writing on. Prof. Bhandarkar has under his charge 4482 MS., about one-third of which bear dates. The dated ones on Palm-leaves range between A.D. 1082–1394, while the earliest dated paper MS. is of A.D. 1320. From this we may conclude that paper superseded palm-leaves at least in Gujârat and the Marathi country, in the fourteenth century.

In Aug. 30 is a full review by Mr. Rhys Davids of Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka; of Mr. Cecil Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge; and

of Babu Rajendralala's Sanskrit-Buddhist Literature of Nepal; all works of the highest value, as showing what Buddhism really meant, and how little the genuine article is in accordance with the popular views generally entertained on this subject. Where all are well done, it is hard to say which is the best, but every one will agree with Mr. Davids in the high praise he gives to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio.

In Jan. 3 is a long letter from Prof. Max Müller "On the Ordinances of Manu," translated from the Sanskrit by the late A. C. Burnell, completed and edited by E. W. Hopkins. He points out gracefully how much Oriental scholarship is indebted to the late Dr. Burnell, and how great has been his loss. Few men could have been more competent to give us a really good translation of this well-known law-book, as he was not only an independent Sanskrit scholar, but, also, an experienced lawyer. Burnell was, as we know, originally selected by Dr. Müller to translate Manu for the "Sacred Books of the East," but had to give up this congenial task, owing to increasing ill-health. Prof. Bühler is now engaged on a critical edition for the "New Series" of the "Sacred Books of the East."

In connection with this subject we may mention the publication of Prof. J. Jolly's Tagore Lectures, entitled, "Outlines of a History of the Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance and Adoption," which contains in the Appendices numerous Sanskrit texts from unpublished works. And further, an addition and translation of the Law Code (in Burmese) of King Wagaru, to which is prefixed a valuable essay—the Jardine Prize—by Dr. Forchhammer, on the sources and development of Burmese Law.

In Jan. 17, Prof. Max Müller, writes, "On the original meaning of Mâtri 'mother,' Bhrâtri 'brother,' and Svasri 'sister;' with reference to an essay by a young student of Sanskrit, Mr. Dwijendra Nath Tagore, entitled "Prititattva or the Nature of Love," published in the Tattvabodhinî

pathikâ. In Jan. 31, Mr. E. V. Arnold deals further with the same subject, in which he suggests that Indians had begun to speculate on the subject of the original meaning of Mâtri, etc., when the Vedic hymns were written, and, therefore, that it is important to notice what interpretations are to be found in them. From Feb. 28 we learn that Dr. Gustav Oppert has been recently busily engaged in exploring the Sanskrit libraries of the South of India, and has succeeded in obtaining the support of the Rajas of Mysore, Travancore and Vizianagram towards the starting of a Madras Sanskrit Text Publication Society. It is understood that he has nearly ready for publication, the second volume of his lists of Sanskrit MSS. from the private libraries of Southern India. He has further in hand, English translations of the Sukranîtasâra and of the Nîtiprakârî, as well as an edition of the Vaijayanti Sanskrit Dictionary.

Among books recently published on Sanskrit or as nearly connected with this language, the following may be noticed :—Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus d. Mahabharata :—Burckard, Die Kaçmirer Sakuntala Handschrift :—Halmlandt, M., Zur Geschichte d. Pancatantra :—Knauer, T., Das Gobhilagrhya sutra, part 1 :—Hauvette-Besnault, Bhâgavata Purana, Histoire Poetique de Krichna, tome iv. :—Jacobi, L., Çunika, Ein Gedicht aus Indien :—Böhtlingk, Sanskrit Wörterbuch in Kürzerer fassung, Th. 5, Lief. 2 :—Manu, The Ordinances of, ed. by Burnell and Hopkins :—Edgren, H., Compendious Sanskrit Grammar :—Arnold, Edwin, C.S.I., The Secret of Death (from the Sanskrit) :—Regnaud, La Rhetorique Sanscrite exposé dans le développement historique :—Bergaigne, A., Manuel pour étudier la langue Sanscrite :—Colinet, La Theologie de la Bhagavadgita :—Victor, H., Trente Stances du Bhaminî Vitâsa :—Story of Nala and Damayanti, trans. by Pandita Jaganatha :—Apte, V. S., The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary :—Balaramayana, a

Drama by Rajusekhara, edited by Pandit Jibananda Vidyasagara:—Sâhityaparichaya, an Introduction to Sanskrit Literature, by N. M. Nyâyâlankâra:—Bourgoin, M., Brahmakarma, ou rites Sacrés des Brahmanes:—Schönberg, J., Kshemendra's Kavi-Kanthâbharana:—Pandit Rajendra Lala Mitra has issued Notices of Sanskrit MSS. No. 19, vol. vii. pt. 2:—Mudrârâkshasa by Visakhadatta, edited by K. T. Telang:—Donati, G., Mangalavâda, ossia ragionamento sulla Felicitá:—Regnaud, P., Les Origines de la Sifflante Palatane en Sanscrit:—Parshad Munshi Gargu, Indian Rustic Scenes; also a short course of Popular Scientific Lectures:—Atharva Veda Sanhita, edited by Séwaklâl Karsandâs:—Chanda Kousika, a Drama by Arya Kshemishwara:—Mahanirbana Tantram, Purva Kandam:—Sâhitya Darpana, a treatise on Literary Composition, by Vishwantha Kaviraja:—Sithupala Badham, a Poem, by Migha, with a commentary by Mallinatha:—Ballantyne, J. R. (the late), First Lessons in Sanskrit Grammar, with an introduction to the Hitopadesa, 4th ed:—Do., The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, 3rd ed.:—Ashtâwagritâ Sanskrit and Hindi:—Prabodha Chandrodaya Nâtakan, by Srikrishna Misrakavi:—Shukta Yajurveda Sanhita, Sanskrit Text:—Srimat Gita Bháshyam, by S. Tiruvengada Charlu:—Wishwanat Daiwadnyakrit Wratarâg:—M. Seshagiri Sastri, M.A., Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, vol. i. pt. 1.

In the second, or *Aryan* section, of the Oriental Congress at Leyden, the following papers or Memoirs were read: By Mr. Kern, "On a Sanskrit-Kawi MS. Dictionary given by the Raden Saleh to the Oriental Society at Batavia":—by Mr. R. N. Cust, "On the Inscriptions of the Indian King Asoka, and on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet":—Dr. Bühler read a letter from Prof. F. Max Müller enclosing Photographs of ancient Palm-leaf MSS. discovered in Japan:—M. de Milloué spoke of the Transcription and Translation of the text of a Sanskrit-Japanese MS. of the

Prajṇaparamita, hridaya Sûtra, by MM. Regnaud and Y. Ymaizoumé:—M. Speyer gave a résumé of a Memoir "On the Myth of Nahusha in the Mahâbhârata:—M. Lignana read a "Memoir on Pompeii," in which he endeavoured to show that the paintings in the eighth region of that town were of Indian origin:—Dr. Leitner gave very full details as to the University of the Panjab:—M. van den Gheyn, S.J., presented an Essay from M. de Harlez, "Sur l'age de l'Avesta et la valeur de la Tradition Parse":—M. Bourquin called attention to "Diverses indications Astronomiques du Calendrier Vedique et du Texte même du Rig-Veda":—M. Feer spoke on the advantage of the adoption of a regular system of transcription for Sanskrit, and suggested one based on what is, generally, used for Pali:—Pandit Shyâmajî Krishnavarma read for Prof. Monier Williams a paper "On the Application of the Roman Alphabet to Sanskrit," in continuation of one read by Prof. Williams at the Berlin Congress:—M. Leumann pointed out the close relations that exist between the literature of the Jains and that of the Buddhists and Brahmans:—M. de Milloué read for M. Regnaud a Memoir, "Sur les Etudes Sanskrites et la philologie Indo-Européenne à propos du Rapport de M. James Darmesteter," in the Journ. Asiat. for 1882–3:—M. Senâthi Râja pointed out the difference between the Vedantin and Sivaite Philosophies:—M. O. Beauregard wrote on the value of the ethnological title "Singalese":—The President of the Section, M. de Roth, laid before it a Memoir by Dastour Jamaspjî Minocheherjî "On the Avestic terms Mazda, Ahura, and Ahura-mazda:"—M. Peterson gave an account of a collection of Indian poetry found by him at Jaipur by a writer named Vallabhadeva:—M. Peterson also presented a Memoir by the Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indraji "On the great Inscription of Udayagiri":—Mr. Karlowicz read a paper "Sur l'influence des langues Orientales sur la langue Polonaise":—lastly, the President presented (through M.

van den Gheyn) a memoir by M. Tomaschek, of Gratz, "Zur ältesten Völker-geschichte Mittel-Asiens."

Gujarati.—Gujarati Pancho pákhyâm, or the five Collections of Stories in Gujarati:—Wishaya Dukhadarshak Natak-Dwianki; a drama, by Ishwarlal Lalubhai Majmudár.

Marathi.—Atha Wiweka Sindhur; the Ocean of Discrimination, by Mukundraj:—Chatrangada Natak, or the Dream of Prince Chitrangada:—Nála Damayanti Charitra, or the Story of King Nala and of his Queen Damayanti, by Gowind Shastri Bhapat:—Tukârâm (a celebrated Márâthi poet), the text of, pt. 1.

Kashmir.—Dr. Karl Burkard has published Die Kaçmirer Cakuntalâ-Handschrift.

Hindi.—Laoni Brahm Gyán, Songs on the Brahm's Religion, by Banarsi Gir:—Prabodh Chandra Natak, an allegorical drama.

Hindustani.—"Khan Bahadur," Muhammad Ali, The Hindustani Teacher:—Hall, Tarkib-i-Bostan; first chapter of the Bostan, translated into idiomatic by Urdu by Munshi Muhammad Bishal.

Tibetan.—In the Journal of this Society, Vol. XVI. Pt. 4, has been published "Some remarks on the life and labours of Alexander Csoma de Körös," by Surg.-Major Theodore Duka, M.D., M.R.A.S. Dr. Duka has also recently published, as one of Trübner's Oriental Series, The Life and Travels of Alexander Csoma de Körös between 1819 and 1842; and a simplified grammar of Tibetan has been issued. This work was originally drawn up by the late M. H. A.

Jäschke, but was not quite finished at the period of his lamented death.

Lushai. — Assistant-Surgeon Brojo Nath Shaha, Civil Medical Officer of the Chittagong hill-tracts in the Province of Bengal, has compiled a grammar of this language, and in a very creditable manner. In his Preface, he says that he considers it but a continuation of the "Exercises in the Lushai Dialect, published by Lieut.-Col. Lewin, when Deputy-Commissioner of the Chittagong Hills. Lushai is a dialect of the Dzo or Kuki Language, spoken by tribes who inhabit the Hilly country to the East of Chittagong. They are a Non-Aryan race.

Tamil.—Nalachakravarti Kadhai ; tale of King Nala's adventures in Tamil prose : — Prayoga Vivékam, with commentary by N. Arumukunâvalar ; an attempt to compare Tamil and Sanskrit Grammar :—Uttarárámaya Vai, by T. E. Srinivasarâgava Cheri, a prose account of the last book of the Ramayana :—Vira Kumâra Nátakam, a drama.

Telugu.—Bhashyam, C., English-Telugu Dialogues :—Sri Méghasandésam, a translation of Kalidasa's Meghaduta, or Cloud Messenger, into Telugu, by V. Subráyudu.

Pali.—Simplified Grammar of, by E. Müller, Ph.D.

Malayalim.—The Ramayana, translated into Malayalim by T. Eschutuchan; a poem containing the six Khandama ending with Rama's return to Ayodhya and his coronation.

Egyptology.—The work done in this branch of Oriental Research has not been less than that of former years, and we have to record the steady progress alike of excavations and of the books or essays that illustrate them.

Thus in the *Proceedings* of the *Biblical Archæological Society*, May 6th, Dr. Birch concludes his valuable notes on "The Hypocephali in the British Museum":—Mr. Page Renouf contributes a paper "On the name of an Egyptian God," which he thinks may be read Uṭeb or Utéb; also one on "The Egyptian word for 'Battle'":—Miss Giovanna Gonino gives an account of a "Bronze Statuette of Osorken I." procured some time since in Egypt, by Prof. Lanzone:—Mr. Renouf has also contributed an unsigned paper entitled "Is the Hebrew word 'Cherub' of Egyptian Origin?":—On Nov. 4 Mr. Renouf read a paper "On some Religious Texts of the early Egyptian period preserved in the Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum," and "On the Horse in the Book of the Dead":—Dr. Birch described four fragments of Papyrus belonging to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, and Mr. Budge read some "Notes on Egyptian Stelæ, principally of the Eighteenth Dynasty":—Dec. 2, Dr. Birch read a paper "On Egyptian Belief concerning the Shade or Shadow of the Dead";—"On some Egyptian Rituals of the Roman period":—and "On two Egyptian Sepulchral Inscriptions in the British Museum":—Feb. 3, a paper entitled "Notes on the Collection of Antiquities from Bubastis, in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.," was read:—March 3, M. Naville communicated a paper "On the Inscriptions relating to the Destruction of Mankind in the Tomb of Rameses III.":—Mr. Budge read "Notes on the Martyrdom of the Coptic Martyr, Isaac of Tiphre":—Dr. Lieblein communicated a paper "On a portion of the 54th chapter of Book of the Dead":—Mr. Renouf one "On the Egyptian Silurus Fish, and its functions in Hieroglyphics":—Dr. R. Wiedemann writes "Sur deux Temples batis par les Rois de la 29e Dynastie à Karnak":—Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse contributes a paper entitled "Mar-Moeris west of Oxyrhincus-Behnesa":—Dr. Birch a "Note on an Inscription at the top of the Cataract of Tangur":—and Mr. Budge a letter to Mr.

Rylands "On a stêle in the Library of Queens' College, Oxford":—On May 6, Mr. R. N. Cust gave some notes "On the Excavations in progress or lately completed in Egypt," which he had himself observed during a recent visit to that country:—and a paper was read from M. Revillout entitled "Notes on some Demotic documents in the British Museum":—lastly, Mr. Renouf gives a note "On Seb, the great Cackler," with reference to Dr. Lieblein's paper already noticed.

From the *Athenæum* (Aug. 23) we learn that the Faiyum papyri are yielding further treasure; and that much information has been procured from the Greek ones, especially with reference to the Chronology of the Roman Emperors. In Sept. 20 is an interesting account by Mr. W. J. Loftie of Mr. Flinders Petrie's discoveries among the ruins of San. Many of these, Mr. Petrie believes, comes from a house coeval with the thirtieth Dynasty. The oldest remains go up to the twelfth Dynasty. From another site, Tel el Maskhuta (M. Naville's Pithom), Mr. Petrie brought a very curious object, a bronze lattice with the nails, of the date of Nectanebo. The portion of this collection picked up by Dr. Birch is, we are glad to say, in the British Museum, having been given to the nation by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. In March 14, 1885, is a long review of M. E. Naville's "Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus." M. Naville commenced his work at Tel el Maskhutah, which the French have called Ramses, and Lepsius, Maspèro, and other Egyptian scholars have considered to occupy the site of Raamses. M. Naville, on the other hand, concluded from what he found there that the original name of these ruins was Pi-tmu (the house of Tmu) or Pithom,—the Pithom which the Israelites built. The reviewer, for no very strong apparent reason, doubts the satisfactoriness of the evidence adduced by M. Naville. In March 21, is an excellent summary by Mr. R. S. Poole of the progress of the

Commission for the preservation of the Monuments of Arab Art in Cairo, and it will be learned, with great satisfaction, that the loss of Rogers Bey, which seemed at the time to be irreparable, had been greatly compensated for by the appointment of Colonel Scott Moncrieff, the virtual chief of the Department of Works. We learn further from the same periodical (Jan. 17), that Mr. Budge is preparing a work on the black marble sarcophagus of the Egyptian Queen Annesrâneferab, wife of Aames King of Egypt of the twenty-sixth Dynasty.

In the *Academy* we find, as usual, especial attention paid to Egyptian matters, and the same energetic support of the cause of Egyptian antiquities on the part of Miss Edwards, that we have had the pleasure of recording in former years. Thus, in June 21, July 12 and 26, Miss Edwards gives in three letters or reports, a very full account of Mr. Petrie's "Twenty Weeks of Work" at San, the details of which, however, are far beyond our space; indeed, much has already been known from earlier notices in the same Journal. In Sept. 27, Miss Edwards gives a masterly summary of recent works on Egyptian subjects by MM. Pleyte, Schiaparelli, Chabas, Eisenlohr, etc., and points out the great loss Egyptology has received by the death within three years of Mariette, Chabas, and Lepsius. She, also, calls attention to the "Discours de l'ouverture" of the first session of the new Archæological School of the Louvre, containing important Egyptological lectures by MM. Revillout and Pierret. A very important pamphlet, she also says, is that by M. Naville, "Inscription historique de Pinodjem III.," which was discovered and excavated by him at Karnak. In October 18, she gives a very clear account of what M. Maspéro has accomplished, and what he is about to do, pointing out that Maspéro is really "living two lives," that of the man of action and that of the man of science. He is, at present, engaged chiefly on the second edition of his "Guide au

Musée de Boulaq," on the correction of two sets of proofs, the one relating to his own recent discoveries in the burial fields and Thebes and Memphis; the other to a new edition of his "Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient." The first work will bear the title of "Trois années de Fouilles dans les Tombeaux de Thèbes et Memphis." In Jan. 10, she reviews with unsparing severity Prince Rudolf's "Travels in the East," under the guidance of Brugsch Pasha, who might have been better employed, though a part of an inscribed column in black granite of the time of Amenhotep II. rewarded, we are told, one of the Prince's cruel sporting expeditions. On Feb. 14 Miss Edwards writes that M. Naville's "Critical Edition of the Book of the Dead" is at last in the hands of the lithographer and printer, the Prussian Government having undertaken the entire cost of its publication. The publication of this work was originally suggested at the Oriental Congress of 1874 by the late Professor Lepsius. In March 21, Miss Edwards gives from the Journal des Debats of March 12 a very long and interesting Report of the excavations or, rather, clearing out, of the Great Temple of Luxor, the result being that the great roofed Sanctuary of Amenhotep I. is now completely visible; and a small portico, the existence of which had not been suspected, has been discovered together with several *Colossi*, some prostrate, but some, also, erect on their pedestals.

Besides the letters and reports of Miss Edwards which we have just mentioned, there is much other matter in the *Academy*, which must be noticed. Thus in June 14, Mr. Flinders Petrie gives very full details of his own discoveries. In June 28 is a valuable note (from the *New York Nation*) of the high literary and philosophical interest attaching to the collection of papyri procured by the Arch-Duke Rénier and presented by him to the Imperial Austrian Museum. In Sept. 20 Mr. R. S. Poole gives a very clear notice of the Exhibition at the rooms of the Royal Archæological Institute,

of the smaller antiquities collected by Mr. Petrie during his recent researches at Sân and elsewhere. A speciality of this exhibition was that the contents of each house excavated were kept together. There were, also, many valuable objects from tombs, and a large number of miscellaneous specimens of early and late Egyptian work. In Oct. 25 Mr. Poole mentions that the Egyptian Exploration Society has been offered the services of a student of Egyptology, who has recently graduated at Oxford, and is willing to accompany MM. Naville and Petrie to Egypt. As suggested, the best, as so far a permanent plan, would be to raise a sufficient sum to endow a scholarship of £250 per annum for three years. From Nov. 8 we learn that the second Annual General Meeting of the Egyptian Exploration Fund was held at the Royal Institute on Oct. 29, Mr. C. T. Newton in the chair, on which occasion Mr. Flinders Petrie laid before the members a very complete report on past discoveries and projected excavations at Sân (Zoan). In Jan. 17, 1885, Mr. Poole gives a further brief letter on M. Naville's proposed work for the season, adding that Mr. Petrie is steadily working at the *Jemenos* of Nebireh (the presumed site of Naucratis); and in Jan. 31 the same writer communicates the welcome intelligence that the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies have granted £50 towards Mr. Petrie's excavations at Nebireh, justly considering that the present enterprise of the Egyptian Exploration Fund deserves the sympathy and the support of all who are concerned with Hellenic research. In Feb. 21 is an excellent letter from Prof. Sayce (dated Assiout, Feb. 2), in which, *inter alia*, he narrates the discovery of a new tomb. At or near the vast mounds of Antinoe—now called Antsina—he observed some limestone blocks with the cartouche of Rameses II., showing that Hadrian selected an old site whereon to build his new city. In Feb. 28 Mr. R. S. Poole reviews at great length M. Naville's "Store City of Pithom," maintains strenuously the

views of the discoverer, and states how Dr. Brugsch and Miss Edwards, both originally firm believers in Lepsius's identification of the site with that of Rameses, had fairly given in to the logic of M. Naville, supported as this seems to be by the actual results of his excavations. Mr. Poole also maintains that the interchange of the Egyptian *Th* and the Hebrew ת is perfectly regular, and that *Thuku*, therefore, represents *Succouth*. Lastly, we may notice a second letter from Prof. Sayce (dated Siût, March 13), in which he gives an account of M. Maspero's work at Luxor and elsewhere, and states that he has been himself able to settle the site of This.

In the *Académie des Inscriptions*, July 11, Dr. Hamy read a memoir on the paintings in an Egyptian tomb of the eighteenth Dynasty, in which he thought he could recognize four distinct Ethnical groups. August 8 M. Maspero gives a very full and interesting account of his recent work in Egypt, one of the most curious of his discoveries being that of a large Necropolis to the east of the town of Akhmim, containing from 8 to 10,000 mummies. In Jan. 23 M. Gaston Paris read a letter from M. Maspéro from Luxor, giving an account of what is likely to prove a valuable acquisition, namely, a Coptic *palimpsest*, and of his work on the clearing out of the monuments there. To March M. Maspéro contributes a letter from Luxor. In April 25 is a report from M. Renan of further researches of M. Maspéro, the chief being the finding of an uninjured tomb of the sixth Dynasty at Saqqarah.

In the *Z. D. M. G.* M. Pietschmann examines at some length Wiedemann's "Aegyptische Geschichte."

In the *Révue Archéologique* (Nov., Dec., 1884) is a letter from M. Mariette to M. Des Jardins, Sur l'identification des Dieux d' Herodote avec les Dieux Egyptiens.

In the *Révue de l'Assyriologie et d'Archéol. Orientale* there is a very interesting paper by M. Ledrain entitled

"Mots Egyptiens contenues dans quelques stèles Araméennes d'Egypte," and by the same scholar one on the Papyrus Egypto-Araméen du Vatican, and on that of the Propaganda.

In the *Révue Egyptologique*, ann. iii. No. 3, are the following papers by E. Revillout:—"La Caste Militaire organisée par Ramses II. d'après Diodore de Sicile et le Poéme de Pentaour," "Le Budget des Cultes sous Ptolemée Philadelphe," "Un registre Budgétaire sur le rendiment des impôts en Egypte," "Le Papyrus Sakkakini," "La requête d'un esclave," "Leçon sur la location in Egypte," and "Comptes du Serapeum," by E. and V. Revillout.

In the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Phil. et à l'Archéol. Egypt. et Assyr.* vi. 1, 2, Bouriani, U., La Stêle 5576 d. Mus. d. Boulaq. et l'Inscription de Rosette:—Maspéro, G., Découverte d'un petit temple à Karnak:—and, by the same, Fragments des Actes d. Apôtres et d. Epîtres de St. Paul et de St. Pierre aux Romains, en dialecte Thébain:—Vassalli, L., Rapport sur les fouilles du Fayoum adressé à A. Mariette:—Krall, J., Neue Koptische u. griechische Papyrus:—and, by the same, Ueber einige demotischen gruppe. In the *Lit. Centralblatt*, No. 24, a good notice of M. von Bergmann's Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis.—In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Jan. 3, is a notice by M. Erman of E. Meyer's Gesch. d. Alterthums, i. Der Orient bis zur begründung des Perser. reichs; M. Erman states that the account in it of Egypt is the best that has as yet been written: and, in Feb. 21, of Landwehr. Papyrum Berolinensem, No. 163, Mus. Ægyptiaci, commentario critico adjecto:—and, in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 4, is a good review of Brugsch's Religion u. Mythologie d. Alten Aegypten. In the *Literatur-Blatt für Orient Philol.* (Oct.) is a brief notice by M. Pietschmann of Dr. Karl Piehl's Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris, No. 1: and (in Nov.) a further review of Dr. Wiedemann's "Aegyptische Geschichte."—In M.

Clermont-Ganneau's *Revue Orientale*, Dec. 30, 1884, is a good notice of Brugsch's Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypten. In the *Revue Scientifique* of Jan. 17, 1885, is a very interesting article by M. Berthelot, "Sur les papyrus Alchimiques de Leyde," confirmatory of the view he had previously expressed that Alchemy is of Egyptian origin. Before the American Oriental Society, at their meeting at Baltimore, Mr. Cope Whitehouse read a paper "On the Hieroglyphic Evidence that Lake Moeris extended to the West of Behnesa:"—and, also, "On the thesis, Zoanis Tanis Magna, a suburb of Memphis, and not San-el-Hajar or Tanis parva in the Delta."

In *the Third* or *African Section* of the *Congress at Leyden*, under the Presidency of M. Lieblein, M. Pleyte spoke "Du consonnement des Momies":—M. Eisenlohr read a note "On the application of Photography for the reproduction of monuments and of Papyri":—M. Lieblein dealt in this séance with the "Myth of Osiris":—M. Golénischeff read a mémoire "Sur l'origine de la valeur Alphabète que de certains Hieroglyphes":—M. von Lemm gave "Un aperçu des MSS. Coptes de Bibliothèque Impériale de St. Petersbourg":—M. Wiedemann called attention to the numberless cones found at the entrances of Egyptian tombs:—M. Lieblein read a mémoire "Sur le developpement historique de la Religion Egyptienne":—M. Leemans contributed a paper "On a Hypocephalus—an amulet in the form of a disk which is placed on the heads of Mummies":—Professor Sayce read, on the part of Miss Edwards, a paper giving an account of a fragment of a mummy case, bearing a cartouche of a king unknown in history:—and M. Pleyte presented, in the name of the said lady, "A note on the dispersion of Egyptian antiquities":—M. Milloué read a paper by Mr. Lefébure, of Cairo, "Sur l'utilite et l'urgence de deblayer les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois":—M. Wiedemann spoke "Sur les ampoules de terre cuite dites de St. Menas":—M. Lieblein

communicated "Une étude sur les quatres races dans la Deva ou Enfér 'Egyptien" :—M. Eisenlohr made some preliminary remarks on the Hieroglyphical texts from Edfou he is about to publish :—M. Delgeur said a few words on a Colossal Statue which had been found some years since in the neighbourhood of Zawiet-el-Meytîn, near Minié :—lastly, the President presented to the Section a memoire by M. Piehl, "Sur l'origines des colonnes de la salle der Caryatides du Grand Temple de Karnak."

The following books may be mentioned as having been issued during the last year :—Corring, H. H., On Obelisks : —Revillout and Eisenlohr, Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti :— Revillout, E., Papyrus Démotiques du Louvre :—Mariette, Identification des Dieux d'Herodote avec les Dieux Egyptiens (Extr. de la Revue Archéol.) :—Walker, Rev. Dr., Nine Hundred Miles up the Nile :—Erman, A., Egypten u. Egyptisches leben in Alterthum, pt. 1 :—Lemm, O., Bruchstücke d. Sahidischen Bibel-übersetzung :—Reclus, E., Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, vol. x. Bassin du Nil :—Krall, J., Studien zur Geschichte des Alten Aegypten II. :— Brugsch, H., Mythologische Inschriften Alt Aegypt. Denkmäler :—Wiedemann, A., Aegyptische Geschichte, Th. ü. Von dem Tod Tutmes III. bis auf, Alexander :—Naville, E., The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus :— Whitehouse, F. Cope, Moeris, the Wonder of the World :— Abel, C., Einleitung in ein Aeg.-Semit.—Indo-Europ. Wurzel-Wörterbuch :—Memoires publiée par la Mission Archéologique du Caire, fasc. 1 :—Lanzone, Dizion. di Mitologia Egiziana, 4th part :—Butler, A. J., Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, 2 vols. :—Wilson, Erasmus, The Egypt of the Past, 3rd edition :—Van Gelder, Mrs., The Store Houses of the Kings or the Pyramids of Egypt :—Whitehouse, C., Pyramid Hill of Gizeh :—Andreoli, E., Storia della Scrittura dai geroglyphici fino ai nostri giorni.

China.—In the *Athenæum* of July 26 is an amusing review of Colonel Tcheng-ki-tong's "Les Chinois peints par Eux-mêmes." The writer has been living for ten years in Paris, and though of little depth, is not without value as containing the views of a Chinaman on the social and political aspects of European society. In Aug. 23 is a review of the three volumes in which Mr. Boulger has been able to give an excellent summary of the history of China—more than a summary the vast range of his subject forbad it to be—but, within the limits he was compelled to prescribe for himself, the work is clearly written, and, though necessarily much compressed, readable. In his first volume he deals with the period from the earliest times to A.D. 1368, the close of Mughal dynasty founded by Chingiz Khan; in his second, he traces the rise and fall of the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368–1644); with the leading events of the present Manchu Dynasty to the close of the last century; in the third, he writes the history of the Empire from the abdication of Kien-lung in 1795 to the year 1881. The story of the last eighty-five years, which is naturally the most interesting, is very well told.

In Sept. 13 is a notice of Mr. H. A. Giles's "Gems of Chinese Literature," which seems to be useful as a sketch; but it can scarcely be denied, that he is remarkably positive in his assertions; it would seem, also, that he has "*not* kept verbal accuracy" in translation steadily in view, as he professes to have done. In Feb. 28 is a pleasant notice of Mr. Colquhoun's valuable and interesting work, peculiar in this sense, that it is really a triple compilation, dealing with travels and engineering matters, Prof. Lacouperie providing an introduction of great ethnological importance, and Mr. Holt-Hallett an historical sketch. This plan has answered admirably, in that it has enabled each portion of the whole subject to be dealt with by the writer who knew the most about it.—In March 21 is a good review of Prof. Beal's "Si-yu-ki; Buddhist Records of the Western World,"—prac-

tically a re-translation of M. Stanilas Julien's Travels of Hiouen Tsang, pointing out in what Prof. Beal's work is superior to that of his predecessor. The reviewer considers that Prof. Beal has for the first time introduced to the English public a work of great scientific and religious importance as well as of much general interest.

In the *Academy*, June 14, Prof. Douglas reviews, with a just recognition of its merits, the third volume of Mr. Boulger's History of China. As a history, in an Oriental sense, he claims for it, that it is truthful and accurate; and as a literary production, worthy of much praise. In July 5, Mr. Thomas W. Kingsmill gives an account of a paper read on April 4 to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. F. Hirth, "On the relations of China with the Roman Empire in Classical and Mediæval Times." It it a matter of regret that this paper, if already printed, has not yet reached the Society. Dr. Kingsmill's full abstract is very interesting, but we should like to know much more of the *data*, on which both these gentlemen rely. The completeness of the story produced, in itself, suggests grave doubts. On July 12, Dr. Edkins writes on "Chinese Mythology and Art," whence it appears that China 2500 to 3000 years ago was a quiet agricultural country with no myths of any consequence. Confucius's writings well represent the China of this period. The chief mythological element of the succeeding period, is, Dr. Edkins asserts, due to the second great Tauist, Lie-tsi. The foundation of the Persian Empire led, he thinks, to the importation into China of Babylonian romance and cosmography. The grotesque shapes and fabulous animals are reproductions of originals of the date of the Han Dynasty. In a second latter, Jan. 3, 1885, Dr. Edkins urges that the sea more than the land has been the principal medium for the transmission of mythological ideas and of useful inventions. No chronicles of the old navigation of the Indian Ocean, before the time of Alexander,

has been preserved; but "we know" (to use Dr. Edkins's own words) that "Necho's mariners circumnavigated Africa in the 6th century B.C., and that the ships of Ur went to sea from that city about B.C. 2300."

In April 25 Prof. Douglas deals with the work of F. H. Balfour entitled "Taoist Texts," in which he points out that the so-called "Taoist" doctrines are averse from the order and course of Chinese religions, and imply a connection with something foreign. Possibly the teacher may have had some connection with Further India, and was acquainted with the outlines of Brahmanism, the result being that Taouism is rather the development of a foreign system than an independent faith. The reviewer does not estimate Mr. Balfour's performance of the task he set himself very highly.

Lastly, in May 2, Prof. Lacouperie gives an article entitled "Tîn-yût—not India," in which he points out that Mr. Kingsmill's paper (J.R.A.S., 1882) on the "Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan" is not, in his judgment, a reliable one, and that scholars, who quote from this paper without verification, are likely to repeat egregious blunders.

From the same periodical we learn that the first part of the Baron v. Richthofen's Geological Atlas of China has just been issued, the first portion being devoted to Northern China; and, further, that a new society has been started in China, called "The Peking Literary Society," with the support of the best scholars in that part of the world, Messrs. Arendt, Baber, Bushell, Edkins, Martin, Rockhill, etc., etc. Will this new society work with, or supersede the "North China Branch of the R.A.S."?

In the *Journ. Asiatique* for Nov., Dec., 1884, M. L. Imbault-Huart writes on "La legende du premier pape des Taoistes et l'histoire de la famille pontificale de Tchang." In Janvier, 1885, the same writer continues his "Miscellanées Chinois," which are always worth reading. In the *Muséon* iii. 2. April, is a paper by J. Ivanowski, De la conquéte de Tibet par les

Chinois, and in iii. 4. M. de Harlez writes on Dergi-hese, etc., traduit des textes Manchou-Chinois.

The following books may be noted :—Balfour, F. H., New Translation of the Tao Teh King. Harlez, C. de, Manuel de la Langue Mandchoue, Grammaire, Anthologie et Lexique :—Balfour, F. H., Idiomatic Dialogues in the Peking Colloquial :—Harlez, C. de, Lao-tze, le premier Philosophe Chinese, ou une predecesseur de Schelling au VIe siècle avant notre ére :—Puini, C., Il Li-Ki o istituzioni, use, e costumanze della Cina antica :—Balfour, F. H., Taoist Texts, Ethical Political and Speculative, 4th Edition :—Treaty between Great Britain and Corea (Chinese Text) :—Aalst Van, Chinese Music :—M. Schlegel, Catalogue des livres Chinois qui se trouvent dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde.

Japan.—In the *Athenæum*, for August 9, is a notice of Fusô Châwa, Japanische Thee-Geschichten, Saga, Legenden, etc., von F. A. Junker von Langegg. A book, which might have been much better, had the author been willing to have kept strictly to the text of the stories he took down from the mouths of the natives. The races of the Far East are themselves almost wanting in the imaginative faculty, and what interest their legends possess is mainly due to the vivifying Indian element introduced by the apostles of Buddhism. On the whole, the volume, though inferior to that of Mr. Mitford, will be found useful by the collector of Japanese "curios." A very different work is that noticed—only too briefly—on August 30, "A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan," by E. M. Satow, C.M.G., and Lieut. A. G. S. Hawes. Drawn up with a fullness in the way of maps, indexes, skeleton routes, a glossary of Japanese words, etc., its completeness deserves for it a distinguished place in Mr. Murray's well-known series. Mr. Satow's own contributions to the introduction are of especial interest and importance. No living European scholar—almost certainly no native

scholar—possesses anything like his knowledge of the curious mixture of Sun Worship and ancestor worship permeated by Taouism and touched more or less by Buddhism which the Japanese call "Kami no michi," the "Way of the Gods," but which is more familiar to Europeans under the name of "Shinto."—In Feb. 7, 1885, is a brief notice of Mr. Faulds' "Nine Years in Japan; Sketches of Japanese Life and Manners," which is, apparently chiefly valuable, as a record of personal experience. Incidentally we learn that "Nipon" is not the correct way of rendering the commonly used name for Japan, which ought to be either "Nihon" or "Nippon." Mr. Faulds points out that the Christians are mainly drawn from the non-official classes, who accept the Protestant rather than Roman or Greek forms of Christianity.

In the *Academy* for Aug. is a brief notice of the publication by Prof. F. Max Müller and Bunyiu in the "Anecdota Oxoniensia" of "The Ancient Palm-leaves of the Monastery of Horiuzi in Japan." A very important part of the volume is the appendix by Prof. G. Bühler, containing Palæographical remarks on the Horiuzi Palm-leaves. They are intended to show that we have now a new basis for the history of the Alphabet in India, proving as they do that, in the first half of the sixth century, a perfectly developed literary or cursive alphabet existed in Central India, and was, at the same time, nearly identical with that of the oldest MSS. from Nipal, while it differed from that of contemporary inscriptions. This confirms the old conjectures of Prof. Dowson or Dr. Burgess that, at that period of time, there was a simultaneous use of two somewhat differing alphabets in Northern India. In Oct. 4, is a good notice by Mr. Monkhouse of the second part of Mr. G. A. Audsley's splendid work, "The Ornamental Arts of Japan" and of Mr. J. L. Bowes's "Japanese Enamels," both works of the highest interest to those who desire to make themselves well acquainted with the finest works of Old Japan. Mr. Bowes's book gives

a very careful summary of existing information about different kinds of enamels existing in China and Japan. In Jan. 31, 1885, is a brief notice of Mr. Faulds' work, and April 4 is an excellent notice of the third part of Mr. Audsley's beautiful work. It may be here remarked that some of the art work noticed by him appears to be neither quite Chinese nor quite Japanese in character. Persian influence has been thought to be traceable: Mr. Audsley makes a guess that may prove to be a happy one that the unknown foreign element is Korean. We further hear, that Dr. James Strong's Harmony of the Gospels is being translated into Japanese. A prospectus has also been issued of the greatest literary enterprise of a philological character ever attempted in Japan. This is a Chinese Dictionary called "Meïfi Titen," which will extend to forty volumes.

In the *Muséon*, iii. 4, M. de Harlez briefly reviews G. H. Schils' "Elementa linguæ Japonicæ."

Among books may be mentioned: Rosny, Léon de, Kami Yo-no-Maki, Histoire des Dynasties Divines, vol. i. Le Genese:—E. Greey and Shinichiro Saito, Taminago Shunsui, The Loyal Ronins, an historical Romance:—Brauns, D., Japanische Märcher u. Sagen:—Schils, G. H., Elemento Linguæ Japonicæ:—Lange, R., Alt-Japanische frühlingslieder a.d. Sammlung Kokinwakashu übersetzt und erläutert:—Comte R. Dalmas, Les Japonais, leur pays et leurs mœurs:—Severini, A., Il Taketori Monogatairi, ossia la fiaba del Nonno Tagliabambu, Pt. 1.:—Do. Le curiosità di Jocohama, Pt. 2.:—Naumann, Dr. E., Ueber den bau und die entstehung der Japanischen Inseln.

In the *Fourth Section of the Oriental Congress* at Leyden, that "De l'Asie Centrale et de l'extreme Orient," the following papers or notices were read: By M. Schlegel, "Sur l'importance de l'emploi de la langue Hollandaise pour l'interpretation de la langue Chinoise":—By M. de Groot, on "Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy":—

By M. de Harlez, "Décret de l'Empereur Yong-tching (entre A.D. 1723—1736) adressé aux Huit Bannières et rapports des Mandarins":—By Mr. H. H. Howorth, on the "Yuan Chao pi shi," with a memoir "On the affinities of the Huns":—M. de Rosny discussed the question "Comment purent écrits les plus anciens monuments de la littérature Japonaise":—M. Guimet stated that he intended publishing a dictionary of the Taoist Religion:—M. Leitner gave some details of the Races and Languages between Kashmir and Kâbul, with a special reference to M. Van den Gheyn's paper "Sur le Yidgah et le Yaghnobi":—At the close of the meeting of this Section, a discussion took place with regard to the oldest of certain Chinese characters, especially of those employed in Inscriptions of the Dynasties of Chang and Tcheon.

Calcutta Review.—The Calcutta Review of the last year has, as usual, many excellent articles, of which the following may be specified. Thus in No. 157 (July), are "Police and Police Courts in British India":—Principles of British Land Legislation in India, by C. W. Madge:—Mediæval India; the early Muslin Empire of Hindustan, by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.:—The Rebuilding of Bulandshahr, by F. S. Growse:—The Russians on the Caspian Sea, by R. N. Cust:—and the River Congo, by J. W. Furrell. A further article, in continuation of one in Oct. 1883, is given "On the Phonetic System, 1: English Spelling and Spelling Reform, by G. S. Gasper. 2, The Phonetic Alphabet and Vernacular Education," by the Rev. J. Knowles. At the end of the number are reviews of M. Malabari's Gujarat and Gujaratis:—of Mr. Coxon's Oriental Carpets, how they are made, etc.:—of Arminius Vambéry, his life and adventures:—of Miss Zimmern's Epic of Kings:—of the late F. A. de Roepstorff's Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect of the Nicobarese Language:—and of Prof. Palmer's Concise Persian Dictionary,

completed by Guy de Strange, M.R.A.S. No. 158 (October), contains papers by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., on "The Proletariate Modern":—Mr. Boulger writes a sensible article on "Peter the Great and the Policy of Russia":—Mr. E. Rehatsek, who has contributed so many valuable papers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, gives one on "The Contacts of China with foreign nations, from the earliest to the present times," which is clearly put, and will be useful for reference, though he omits many of the data on which he has formed his conclusions. Mr. R. N. Cust gives a sketch of a tour he recently made in Southern Europe, under the title of "Athens and Rome, Syracuse and Carthage," and remarks on the folly of the so-called "Modern Greek" attempting to revivify the ancient language, instead of working the present good commercial dialect, properly called Romaic. There is no future he thinks for the present nationality of Greece. He adds to this a very full sketch of Rome and of what has been recently accomplished in the way of archæological researches. Want of space alone has rendered his notice of Syracuse and Carthage less important than those of Athens and Rome. Capt. R. C. Temple gives a very interesting paper entitled "Raja Rasálú," the great Panjab hero, with a notice of many valuable books or papers relating to the Panjab:—Brajendranath De M.A., translates into English lyrical verse the first Canto of the Vikramorvaçi, a drama of Kalidasa. Other papers in this number are "The Revolt of Islam," by Capt. F. H. Tyrrell:—"De Imperiis," by K.:—"The Patna Massacre," by H. Beveridge:—"Cephalus and Procris," by H. Piffard:—and an anonymous article on the "Panjab Police."

In No. 159 (January, 1885), Mr. Nesfield gives an interesting account of the Tharu and Bogsha of Upper India, two tribes that seem to have kept themselves remarkably distinct, though conterminous, some indeed of the border villages having people of both living in them. Mrs.

Colvin, writing in 1866, considers it remarkable "that two tribes, under such similar circumstances, should have kept quite distinct while living in such close proximity." Mr. Nesfield, however, points out that this is the rule among savages. It is likely that Tharu means a man of the forest, though the word is not met with in any Dictionary. The Tharu are especially noticeable for their skill in taming wild animals. Their principal deity, would seem to be like the Hindu Mahadeo, of Phallic character, a mound being placed in front of each house with a pole coming of it perpendicularly, a custom almost identical with that described by Horace :—"Obsceroque ruber porrectus ut inguine palas." In the Bogsha, the Mongolian type of features appears to be very well defined. "Esmé" gives an amusing account of the "Garo," and there are other good papers by Messrs. Macauliffe, Dunsford, H. G. Keene, C.I.E., and Mr. Eustace J. Kitts. To Mr. R. N. Cust we owe one entitled "The Opium Question, or, Is India to be Sacrificed to China?" which gives a sober view of a question, about which any amount of fallacies have been issued by bad reasoners or partisans. Under the head of General Literature is a well-deserved recognition of the 2nd vol. of the Gazetteer of the N.W. Provinces by Mr. Atkinson. It is very seldom that any Government has the opportunity of issuing so complete a work. The History of Nepâl and the chapter on the history of Religion in the Himalaya, and, also a brief notice of Mrs. Steel and Capt. R. C. Temple's Wide-Awake Stories, a collection of Tales told by little children between sunrise and sunset in the Panjab and Kashmir.

China Review.—This journal has well kept up during the last year its established reputation. Thus to vol. xii. 5, Mr. E. H. Parker contributes a valuable paper, "On the Dialect of Wenchow," a continuation of a former one on the same subject. He adds a comparative tone-table and a list of

vowels and diphthongs in eight Dialects. Mr. C. Piton and the late Rev. Dyer Ball continue their respective papers entitled "China under the Tsin Dynasty, A.D. 264-419," and "Scraps from Chinese Mythology," the latter with useful additional notes by Mr. J. Dyer Ball. Mr. Arendt gives a further essay "On Chinese Apologues," and the Rev. Dr. Edkins continues his paper "On the Yi-King, with notes on the 64 Kwa." In the "Notes and Queries" are many interesting matters, especially to dwellers in China; *inter alia*, a notice of the Chinese Doomsday Book, which seems to be a very carefully elaborated production. At the close of this article are useful notices of Major-General Mesney's Tungkin; of the Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, vol. xi. 2., xii. 1.; of Mrs. Bishop's "Golden Chersonese and the way thither," and of the Report of the Council of the Chinese Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. xvii. pt. 2

In xii. pt. 6, Mr. Acheson gives a very pleasant account of his journey across Asia, entitled "An Itinerary of the Siberian Overland Route," which he performed with no serious difficulties in three months from Nicolaefsk on the Amoor to Stratinsk, a distance of nearly 2000 miles by water, and thence to Tomsk by carriage or rail. The whole distance from Nicolaefsk to St. Petersburg is about 7500 miles, and the cost need not exceed £60. G. H. B. W. gives "Speculations as to the primitive forms of Language," in which the Onomatopoetic or Mimetic and the Interjectional Theory are discussed, the Revelation Theory being summarily discarded, on the ground that though GOD may have designedly placed man in incomplete circumstances, though with instinct for the developments of human ingenuity and intellect, it is not necessary to suppose mankind to have been endowed with ready-made roots of Language, however simple and few. It must be confessed that this is a subject on which speculation has been and is

especially rife, with but little of certain results. Mr. A. Don gives additions and corrections to a paper of his, Chin. Rev. xi. p. 226, "On the Llin nen a variation of Cantonese." M. Don, also, deals at some legth with what he calls "Llinnennese Onomatopoeia." Mr. E. L. Oxenham continues his "Chips from Chinese History, or the last two Emperors of the great Sung Dynasty, A.D., 1101-1125," a paper full of interest. Mr. E. H. Parker gives two papers, the first, On Chinese and Sanskrit, the other, On Hakka Songs. In the first he considers at some length the possibility, at some remote peried, of a connexion between these two tongues. His arguments are curious and show a wide range of reading. The "Notes and Queries" of this part contain nothing very special, and there are no notices of books.

In vol. xiii. pt. 1, July and August, Dr. Edkins has a paper entitled "The Chinese Old Language," in which he criticizes Mr. E. H. Parker's article on Chinese and Sanskrit, in which he maintains, like the languages of other conquering countries, those, *e.g.* of Greece, Rome, and England, so the Chinese language was uniformly spread over a large area. This view he considers to be supported by all that we know of the Buddhist translations, which lasted over nearly 1000 years. He adds that, in Chinese Philology, it must always be maintained that the Mandarin is not an ancient language or even the representative of one. He further points out that the Sanskrit alphabet from its variety of sounds was well adapted for the regular and exact transcription of the Chinese pronunciation as heard in the days of the Buddhist translators. Dr. Edkins has also two other papers: 1. The Tan te ching, where Tau is discussed as the basis of Lau-tsze's system, and as having given its name to the Tauist religion. 2. On Hakka Songs, some of which are pretty.

Mr. R. H. Graves contributes a paper entitled "Aryan

Roots in Chinese," on the general assumption that this may be traced in Chinese, just as a Celtic or a Norman element may be seen in English. With this view he gives a considerable list of these words, some of the resemblances alleged being no doubt very curious, but whether the results bear out completely his theory may be doubted.

Mr. C. Arendt continues his paper "On Chinese Apologues" (see vol. xii. p. 412). Lastly Mr. E. H. Parker adds a valuable and suggestive paper entitled "Tartars, Tibetans, Turks, Hindoos, etc."

In the "Notes and Queries" are several short and interesting notices, and Dr. Chalmers gives a translation of Burns's "A man's a man for a' that."

In a short review of the Trans. of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xii. pt. 3, just praise is given to Mr. Chamberlain's translation of Motoori's Notes on Japanese Art.

In the Number for September and October, G.P. gives a history of the famous Koxinga, who played so important a part against the Dutch, and who was the friend of the celebrated Missionary, Ricci. There are also further "Scraps from Chinese Mythology," by the late Rev. Dyer Ball; a continuation of Mr. E. L. Oxenham's paper "On the last two Emperors of the Great Sung Dynasty, A.D., 1101-1126." Mr. Ch. Piton gives an interesting account "Of the Six Great Chancellors of Ts'in":—and Mr. E. H. Parker adds a few more remarks "On the Old Language of China," chiefly in reply to an article by Dr. Edkins.

The "Notes and Queries" are as usual full of short and useful notices. Inter alia, we learn from them that the date of the first Buddhist temple in China is A.D. 381, within the Imperial Palace.

November and December, 1884, contains the continuation by Mr. Ch. Piton of his paper "On the Six Great Chancellors of Ts'in." Mr. E. H. Parker writes, also, a very instructive paper "On the Ningpo Dialect." Messrs. A. R.

Colquhoun and J. Stewart Lockhart print a joint essay "On the Steatite of Formosa," a paper of especial value at the present time. G.P. also continues his life of Koxinga. Among the notices of books, we may mention articles on the Rev. E. Faber's "Civilization, Chinese or English":—The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal:—Chinese Music, by J. A. van Alst (the late Mr. Stent):—Colquhoun, A. R., "The Opening of China," six letters reprinted from the "Times," with an introduction by Mr. Louttit:—and M. Conovier, Dictionnaire Franç.-Chinois. The Notes and Queries very properly appended to this part are of interest chiefly to professed Sinologues.

Vol. xiii. No. 4, contains a paper by Mr. Ernest Faber on "The Historical Characteristics of Taoism," being a review of Mr. F. H. Balfour's Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political, and Speculative." Dr. Edkins contributes an interesting record of the "Names of the Western Countries in the Shiki":—Mr. Piton continues his paper on "The Six Great Chancellors of Ts'in":—Mr. Oxenham, also, continues his "Chips from Chinese History, or the two last survivors of the Great Sung Dynasty, A.D. 1101-1126":—Mr. E. H. Parker continues a former paper entitled "More about Turks, Tibetans, Coreans, etc.," interesting, but capable of being made much more so, had the writer transliterated a little more fully the names of people and places, which he generally leaves in their original Chinese characters. Mr. Macintyre contributes a paper on "Corean Mountain Lore," which is a very valuable account of the habits of the people and of the remarkable amount of civilization prevailing among them. It is clear that Corean civilization is very ancient. Much, too, of their phraseology is suggestive. Thus, the same word means mountaineer and tiger; the tiger being, *par excellence*, *the* mountaineer, and, also, often styled, "the King of the Mountains."

Mr. F. H. Balfour criticizes Dr. Legge's article in the British Quaterly Review "On the Tao-tê Ching." At the

close of the number is the usual number of short literary reviews, some of them, like that of Mr. Ambrose D. Gring's Eclectic Chinese-Japanese-English Dictionary, of importance, as showing the want of value of this and of similar compositions.

Inter alia, is a review of Mr. Colquhoun's "Amongst the Shans," which describes the work as "a handsomely got up volume of theories by Prof. Lacouperie, of practical observations by Mr. Colquhoun, and of historical sketches by Mr. Hallett, but a book of considerable interest."

Epigraphy.—Again the most important publications of this class are due to a French scholar, M. Renan, Mr. Doughty having found it impossible to get his Documents Epigraphiques rapportés du Nord de l'Arabie, published by the English Government, or any English firm to publish it. The work is now out, and ranks well with the two great volumes of Corpus Inscriptorum Semiticarum. The first notice of the coming work was given by M. Renan in the Academie des Inscriptions. M. Euting proposes to publish some Palmyrene Inscriptions in the Journal Asiatique, and discusses some of Mr. Doughty's inscriptions. In the Academy, Sept. 13, is an account of the famous Chola Grant exhibited at the Leyden Congress; ibid. Sept. 20, J. Taylor writes on the Harkavy Jewish Alphabets. In the same number Professor Neubauer gives an account of some new Aramæan Inscriptions, and also Abel des Michels describes before the Academie des Inscriptions some points of the language of Annam, which he considers to be independent of Chinese. In the Revue Critique, p. 224, MM. Berger and Halévy write on certain Nabathean Inscriptions. In the same Journal M. Clermont-Ganneau criticizes M. Nöldeke's reading of the Aramæan Inscription of Teimas.

Indian Institute at Oxford.—We have had the pleasure of

recording in former years the successful progress of this undertaking, the success of which is wholly due to the exertions of Mr. Monier Williams, the Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who has made three journeys to India to explain to the Natives the scheme he had in view. Thus, during the autumn of 1865, the Professor made a first visit to India, and it should be remembered that he did so *at his own expense*, besides providing *also from his own resources*, the stipend necessary for a Deputy Professor during his absence. In India, he held meetings in many of the most important towns, Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, etc., at each pointing out in clear language his object of founding an Indian Institute. In 1876, the Professor made a second journey, also *at his own expense*, on this occasion visiting the extreme East and Ceylon :—and in 1883, he accomplished a third journey, his chief purpose on this occasion being to induce the Viceroy and his Council to found six scholarships for deserving natives of India, to be attached to the Oxford Institute. On this occasion, he spent a month in Calcutta, and procured the assent of the Government of India to his proposal. Thence he travelled through Bengal, Sikkim, the N.W. Provinces, Rajputana and Bombay, receiving everywhere the heartiest welcome, with a grant of books for the Library and of miscellaneous objects for the Museum of the Institute. In the course of this extended journey, Professor Williams had to recognize with pleasure, the willing co-operation with his views of the Governor-General, the Marquess of Ripon, M.R.A.S., of Sir James Ferguson, M.R.A.S., Governor of Bombay, of the Right Hon. Grant Duff, M.R.A.S., Governor of Madras, of the Lieut.-Governor of the N.W. Provinces, and of many leading members of the covenanted services, such as Capt. R. C. Temple, Mr. F. S. Growse, M. V. Portman, and others. On the 17th of June, 1884, a Statute was unanimously passed by the Convocation of the University of Oxford, formally recognizing and

defining the *status* of the Indian Institute, at the same time decreeing thanks to the Boden Professor of Sanskrit "for his zealous and unwearied efforts in originating and forwarding" its establishment in Oxford, and appointing him "an additional Curator for Life." The Indian Institute was formally opened on Tuesday, Oct. 14th, 1884, by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rev. the Master of Balliol, on which occasion the Boden Professor of Sanskrit delivered to a large audience an address on the subject, "How can the University of Oxford best fulfil its duty towards India?" As we consider it to be of the utmost importance that the whole bearing of this important Institution should be thoroughly understood, we give Professor Williams's statements *verbatim*.

Professor Williams said,—"We are here to-day to perform a serious and a difficult task. We are about to make an effort to put the beginnings of life into these stone walls; and we undertake this task reverently and diffidently, conscious of the difficulties that encompass it; and yet in a spirit of hope and trust, confident that with patience and perseverance the germ of life about to be now planted will grow and strengthen until its full development is attained. The Hindūs, it is well known, perform in their temples a consecration ceremony called 'Prāṇa-pratishṭhā,' that is to say, they carve an image or symbol of one of their principal gods out of stone, or they even sometimes imagine a wall or slab in their sacred edifices to represent their deity, and then summon their priests, who, by repeating certain texts from the Veda, claim to infuse divine spirit into lifeless matter.

This building in which we are now assembled has already had its Consecration-ceremony, at which the principal officers of this University assisted. It was, indeed, a Christian ceremonial of a very different kind, when the Heir-Apparent to the Throne was present, and a simple prayer was offered by you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and by a large number of earnest persons assembled in this place—a prayer to Almighty God

that the work begun, continued, and ended in Him, might be furthered by His continual help.

In simple dependence, therefore, upon the continuance of the help then prayed for, we are now met to impart the first pulsations of, I trust, a long life of usefulness to this Institution, by making it begin to do the appointed work for which these stone walls have been erected—the work of fostering and facilitating Indian studies in this University; the work of making Englishmen, and even Indians themselves, appreciate better than they have done before the languages, literatures, and industries of India; the work of qualifying young Englishmen for Indian careers, and of qualifying young Indians, who come to us for training and instruction, to serve their own country in the most effective manner.

More than once it has been remarked to me during the progress of the building, 'Why are you spending so much money on useless bricks and mortar? What we want is teaching and information. We ask for knowledge, and you give us stones.' But such critics forget that a material centre is necessary to the efficient carrying out of all educational work, and that just as every living organism requires a corresponding external environment which is essential to its existence, and constitutes, as men of science tell us, half its very being, so the knowledge of any special subject, if it is to grow and thrive, and become extended, requires suitable material surroundings—material instruments—material appliances, without which its development cannot be effected. In short, it is the old truth exemplified—that mind and matter are closely inter-related, closely inter-dependent.

I stand here, therefore, before you on this occasion as one whose work has connected him with the Indian Civil Service and with Indian studies for more than forty years, and whose power of continuing that work cannot in the course of nature be much longer extended, to express my fervent hope that from this day forth the Oxford Indian Institute will live and

give proof of increasing vitality day by day in the teaching of a vigorous and united body of men—stronger indeed and more youthful than myself—men eminently qualified by their knowledge of India to create an appetite and respect for Indian studies, and to facilitate their cultivation. And it has seemed to me that those who have entrusted me with the management of the funds so generously subscribed towards the accomplishment of this important object, will probably be satisfied to entrust me also with the first utterances within these walls, and that those of our Indian fellow-subjects who have liberally responded to my repeated applications for aid will be pleased to learn that my first words have been uttered in an attempt to reply to the question, 'How can the University of Oxford best fulfil her duty towards India?'

This is indeed a difficult question, the solution of which, I am happy to say, is beginning to awaken an interest in the minds of many who formerly regarded it with apathy and indifference. It is a question which during the whole tenure of my office as Boden Professor, for nearly a quarter of a century, and during three sojourns in India, and frequent travels through the length and breadth of that country, I have endeavoured to keep constantly before my mind. It is a question, too, which science is bringing home to us more closely every day. For it must be evident to all, that the constant acceleration of the means of locomotion by steam is rapidly reducing our earth to about one quarter of its former dimensions. It now makes little difference to us whether we hold our Scientific Congresses in London or Montreal, or our cricket-matches on English or Australian soil; while the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras will soon be regarded as sister Universities not much less accessible to us than Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin. It is a question, too, the solution of which the peculiar circumstances of our position in India makes it impossible for a great national University, like ours, to make light of—much less to evade

altogether. For if statistics prove that out of the total number of 903 members of the covenanted Civil Service, appointed from 1856 to 1879, at least 618 were University men, it follows that a large number of the rulers of India are brought under the training of this University, whilst many more are indirectly subject to its influence.

Let me ask you, therefore, to consider for a moment what the position of our fellow countrymen in India really is. I need scarcely remind you that we can never hope to colonise India. The Portuguese are the only European race who have permanently settled here, and they could not have done so had they not by inter-marriage become almost merged in the Hindū population. In fact, it has been proved that the latitude and longitude, taken together, of every part of India, produce climatic effects that would be fatal to the existence, in an unmixed condition, of any Anglo-Saxon settlers for more than two or three generations. It is on this account, therefore, that we are not at present in India as colonisers, as we are in other parts of the world—for instance, in Australia, where the British settlers amount to about two and a half millions, while the aboriginal occupants of the soil, who are rapidly becoming extinct, are probably not more than fifty thousand. Our position in India is very different from this. We are there as rulers and administrators, and as nothing more.

I need not revert to the extraordinary circumstances—well known to every educated person—which forced our Indian Empire upon us. Our relation to the inhabitants of India is quite unprecedented in the history of the world. The only parallel is the occupation of Britain by the Romans; but in all probability the population of ancient Britain in the time of the Cæsars did not exceed a million of semi-barbarians, who (though advancing in civilisation under the Druids) were easily kept in subjection by three legions of disciplined Roman soldiers, distributed here and there in strongly forti-

fied camps. Contrast the present circumstances of India. The last census shows that the native population has risen to the enormous total of two hundred and fifty-four millions (the exact figures are 253,891,821) and is rapidly increasing; while scattered here and there, in little groups, or solitary units, among these overwhelming masses—who are not without a cultured upper class, many of them enlightened men, the inheritors of an ancient civilisation; nor indeed without some kind of military organisation, if account be taken of about 350,000 soldiers belonging to the feudatory States;—scattered, I say, among these countless millions, are the ruling class of, at most, one hundred and forty thousand Britons—civilians and military men all told—not one-fifth of the native population of Bombay alone. Bear in mind, too, that this little band of foreigners, separated from their own homes by six thousand miles of land and sea, differ diametrically from the host that surrounds them in colour, dress, customs, habits of thought, and religious opinions. Furthermore, observe that of those one hundred and forty thousand men little more than nine hundred members of the covenanted Civil Service are the actual administrators of the Government of the country—a country about equal in area to the area of Europe, if we take away Russia, Turkey, and Hungary; Bengal alone being nearly equal to the whole of France, with twice its population.

Conceive, by way of illustration, nine hundred carefully-chosen scientific men dotted about in small ships over the surface of the Atlantic, and required by the application of elaborate chemical preparations—such as oil and other similar substances, the right use of which they had long studied—to control the movement of storm-driven waves, counteract the power of adverse winds, and maintain smooth water amid swelling tides and conflicting currents. Such a fanciful conception may serve to give some idea of the sort of work our little band of British administrators have to

perform, scattered as they are in isolated stations over the surging ocean of Indian life. When these men first arrive in India—perhaps at the age of little more than nineteen—they have to make up their minds whether to enter the judicial or executive branch of the administration; that is to say, whether they will become in process of time either Judges or Collectors. The term 'Collector,' however, conveys a very inadequate idea of the duties that may devolve on a man of perhaps a little over thirty, unless it be taken to mean that in him all the administrative functions of districts, often as big as Devonshire or Perthshire, are centred and comprehended. He not only collects the revenue, he has high ministerial and judicial powers. He superintends police, road-making, engineering, agricultural, municipal government, sanitation, education,—every conceivable matter; and the welfare of more than a million souls may depend to a great extent on his administrative energy and ability. He does all this as plain Magistrate and Collector: but it may happen that a man who in England would never rise above a position of bare mediocrity, may become Commissioner over several districts, Lieutenant-Governor of a province, Governor of a Presidency, or even by a remote possibility Governor-General of all India.

Think of the importance of sending out such men, well educated according to the true sense of the term, well trained physically, morally, and mentally, well formed in character, well informed in mind, well instructed in Indian languages, law, and history, carefully imbued with a respect for those they will have to govern, free from all tendency to self-conceit and arrogance of manner, capable of governing themselves that they may govern others, able to be firm, yet not overbearing, conciliatory, yet not weak, patterns of justice and morality, models of Christian truth, rectitude, and integrity. Where and how is such a perfect training to be imparted? Nowhere, I fear, in its perfection. Nevertheless,

better at our Universities than elsewhere; for nowhere else is the whole man better drawn out into well-balanced proportions, better moulded into symmetry and shape; nowhere else is there the same wholesome attrition and collision between opposite characters, the same healthy rivalry and conflict between minds of infinitely varying power and capacity.

We can well understand, therefore, how it is that the Government of this country should wish to place the selected Indian Civil Service Probationers under University discipline, before launching them forth to enter on their responsible and arduous duties. I am sorry to say, however, that those who elect to come to us here are very imperfectly subject to our rule, and participate very imperfectly in the benefit of University life. They have, in fact, to serve two masters; and their London masters—the Civil Service Commissioners—are the more exacting of the two. What actually happens under the present system is this. In the first place, the Indian Probationers are selected from a large number of candidates (between the ages of $17\frac{1}{2}$ and $19\frac{1}{4}$) at a competitive examination held in London every June, and those who are selected—generally about forty (this year thirty-eight) out of two or three hundred candidates—are required to undergo certain subsequent special examinations in the Metropolis during two years of probation. And this period of probation has to be passed at one of our Universities, on pain of forfeiting the allowance of £150 a year granted to each Probationer. The selection of any one of the eight Universities approved by the Secretary of State for India,—namely Oxford, Cambridge, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, and Dublin,—is left to the men themselves; but, as a matter of fact, the majority (at present above two-thirds, or 53 out of about 78) select Oxford, because, I apprehend, we are able to offer them here more

special advantages in their preparation for their London examinations.

But is this the only good they gain from their residence amongst us here? I fear, very nearly so. Possibly they may derive some benefit from social contact with other members of the University, but even in this respect the advantage they gain is much impaired by their enforced isolation in regard to their work and their frequent visits to the London Law Courts. They are not required to pass our University examinations, or to take their degrees, or to carry away with them any University stamp of any kind. It is the opinion of many, and I think a very right opinion, that if the present low limit of age is retained for the competitive examination, every selected candidate should be required to reside for three years (instead of two) at a University. No option should be allowed, but every one should be compelled to take his degree of B.A. at the end of that period. And indeed it has recently been announced that the Government of India has decided on encouraging selected candidates to stay with us for three years, by promising a continuance of the annual allowance to those who take creditable honours at the degree examination. This concession ought to be accepted with thankfulness, though I fear that few will avail themselves of the privilege, unless all are compelled to do so.

I trust, however, that the time may not be far distant when the Civil Service Commissioners may consent to leave the proficiency of the Indian Probationers in the specially-prescribed subjects to be tested by the Universities, and may accept our examinations in lieu of all (or at least of some) of those now conducted in London. The University is entrusted with the training and examining of a large number of men intended for other professions. It has founded special Schools for students who have to qualify themselves for particular lines of life—I mean the Honour Schools of Mathematics, Natural Science, Law, History, and Theology; and it is the

opinion of many that we may well do the same for those who have to qualify themselves for the Diplomatic and Home Civil Services, and for the Indian Civil Service. At any rate, it is possible that before very long the Government may invite us to receive the Indian Probationers, not only as resident students or simply lodgers, subject to rules of discipline and to nothing more, but as Undergraduates who have to go through a fixed University course, and undergo examinations in particular Honour Schools suited to their special requirements.

Are we then prepared to undertake this duty? We have already done a great deal towards it; so that it may be said that we already teach every subject which an Indian civilian ought to know. We have appointed various special readers and teachers in Indian subjects, and have made it possible to offer one Indian classical language, besides Indian Law, History, and Political Economy, as part of the subjects of the Past Examinations. One duty, however, remains to be discharged, and I commend this, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to the consideration of the Hebdomadal Council. We have yet to establish an Honour School in Oriental *Literae Humaniores*. Cambridge has long established a Semitic Tripos and Indian Languages Tripos, though it probably has not half our number of Oriental students. We need not follow exactly on the same lines; but with an increasing number of our men destined for the Diplomatic and Indian Services, and for Mission work, and I may add for work of all kinds in the East, the time has arrived when we might well establish a School of Oriental Literature, which might embrace Sanskṛit, Pālī, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Assyrian, and possibly Chinese, and might include (like the School of Classical Literature) a wide range of collateral subjects, such as Oriental History, Eastern Philosophy, Indian Law, and Political Economy, and certainly not exclude Modern Indian Languages. It is true that we have not yet an Honour

School of Modern European Languages; but bear in mind that the speakers of French, German, and Italian are not our fellow-subjects like the two hundred millions of speakers of Hindī, Hindūstānī, Marāṭhī, Bengālī, Telugu, and Tamil. Most of these Indian vernaculars have literatures of their own, of which every great University ought to take cognizance, quite irrespectively of the Civil Service Probationers.

Unhappily these Indian vernaculars are now rapidly deteriorating, because in the Indian Government Degree Examinations they are generally slighted, while a knowledge of English is held to be of paramount importance for all educated natives. But, on this very account, it becomes the duty of a great English University which interests itself in middle-class education, to do something towards elevating and honouring these languages; for it is certain that the masses of India will never be educated and civilized except through the medium of their own vernacular dialects.

I repeat, then, that we are bound to establish an Honour School of Oriental *Literae Humaniores*, including modern Indian Languages.

And we ought to do this for the benefit of all Oriental students, not merely for the Indian civilians. For assuredly we shall fulfil our duty towards India very imperfectly if we confine ourselves to the teaching of only one class of persons preparing for Indian careers. We are bound to consider also the needs of others—for example, of those who may go to India as chaplains, doctors, lawyers, or of those who may be engaged in mercantile pursuits, or in any kind of civil or military employment. In my Indian travels I came across many such men, who, although educated at Oxford, had been unable to gain a livelihood in England, and had turned their steps towards India, and regretted that their University education had not done more to fit them for their work.

And are we not also in this Christian University to think of giving the best possible education to our Missionaries?

An Oxford Mission, as many here know, has lately been established at Calcutta. The Mission invites periodically some of the most thoughtful native students and others to attend meetings at the Mission House when discussions on important subjects take place. I was myself present at an interesting debate, and came away much impressed with the ability and earnestness of those who took part in it; but the thought forced itself upon me:—How much better qualified would our Missionaries be to cope with the subtle arguments of Pandits and Maulavīs, had we here in Oxford a Professor or Reader in Oriental Philosophy, whose special duty it would be to lecture on its relation to the philosophical and religious thought of Europe.

And again, we have not merely to think of those who are destined for work among the natives of India in their own country. The time has arrived when it becomes the duty of every University to instil some general knowledge of Indian subjects into the minds of its ordinary students, who, without setting foot on Indian soil, may one day be called upon, as Members of Parliament, to exercise supreme control over the destinies of India. For it cannot be denied, that, of late years, a great change has come over our Indian administrative system. Formerly, the ignorance and apathy of Parliament were of little importance, for India was governed by men who were not able to communicate telegraphically with the Central Government, and were allowed much independence of action in their own districts. Now, on the contrary, with the extension of submarine telegraphy, and the increase of interest in Indian subjects among Members of the House of Commons, the interposition of an all-powerful Assembly, acting with the best intentions, but not always according to knowledge, is apt to cause administrative complications. Depend upon it, that if our Members of Parliament, who are mainly trained at our Universities, and a large proportion among us here, are to exercise supreme

control over the Administration of India, they must be taught to appreciate and respect her, to understand her condition, her needs and her difficulties, her prejudices and her predilections, her weakness and her strength. And when and where are they likely to obtain this knowledge better than at a University which possesses an Institute like that we are this day opening?

And now let me invite you to cast your eyes around these walls—bare at present, but soon to be well covered. Observe that the Indian Institute, which the liberality of numerous subscribers has enabled us to erect on perhaps the best site in Oxford, occupies at present only half its future area. These rough brick partitions indicate the direction in which the extension will ultimately be carried out, I trust by the same eminent architect, Mr. Basil Champneys. But the present half of the structure will, I hope, be an earnest of its future capabilities and usefulness. It will, in the first place, serve as a rallying-point and central meeting-place for the Indian civilians, where their special instruction will be received, and where a Library and Reading-room supplied with Indian papers will be set apart for their use, and opportunities afforded them of gaining a personal knowledge of each other. This is the more important, because to collect all these men at one college, where they have no common work with the other students, and are therefore likely to form themselves into a separate clique, is held to be unwise; while, on the other hand, it is equally objectionable so to distribute them in different colleges as to prevent their acquiring any knowledge of each other as fellow-workers for a common end. The Institute will aim, therefore, at bringing together every day these fifty or sixty men, and will in this way, I hope, tend to promote *esprit de corps*, and act like a resuscitated Haileybury. It will also be a centre of union, inquiry, and instruction for all interested in Oriental studies, or preparing for Indian careers of any kind.

It will, at the same time, I trust, become an attractive meeting-place for students of other countries who may be engaged in Indian research; for natives of India residing at our University; and for eminent Anglo-Indian administrators and officers, who, when at home on furlough, or after retiring from the service, may visit Oxford and be willing to give us valuable information on Indian topics.

And let me point out that in this building we wish to keep in view the great advantage to be derived from conveying instruction through the interaction of ear and eye. Its Lecture-rooms, Reading-rooms, Library, and Museum, are all, as you see, in close juxta-position, or opening one into the other, and will by their inter-communication aid and illustrate each other.

As to the Library, I am happy to say that in travelling through all parts of India I have obtained grants of costly books, manuscripts, maps, and plans, nearly sufficient, with gifts from other quarters, to fill the entire available space of the present half; and among gifts, I may mention, besides the Lucknow Library, the invaluable Library of the Rev. Dr. S. C. Malan, Vicar of Broadwindsor, consisting of about four thousand volumes in more than a hundred languages, a nearly complete collection of all the works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, including the Bibliotheca Indica, and more than a hundred bound volumes, comprising valuable Sanskṛit and other Oriental works, presented by Dr. John Nicholson, of Fellside, Penrith.

With regard to the Museum, I have obtained grants of objects, illustrative of the industries, products, and natural history of India, and of the religious and social life of its inhabitants, more than sufficient to fill the present half. For instance, here is a printed list of the articles sent by Government from the Calcutta Exhibition, and another of objects sent from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. India is itself a vast Museum of the world's customs, from lower

stages of barbarism to the higher stages of civilization; and this collection of ours, which will in time present a fair epitome of India, is likely to prove eminently attractive, not only to Indologists, but to ethnologists and anthropologists of all nationalities, and highly instructive to all inquirers who come to it for information. And I trust that this epitome of India, in the very centre of Oxford and in the heart of a Cathedral city, will put it in the power, not only of every member of the University, but of every citizen also, to obtain a good general knowledge of the country and its material products, of the inhabitants and their moral condition.

But I have hitherto only spoken of one department of the Indian Institute, namely, that which has for its object the making India better known to England; I have, before concluding, to say a few words in regard to its other great object, the making England better known to India. And here I may notice that a great misapprehension has prevailed with regard to the chief aim of the Indian Institute. Many have inferred from the use of the adjective 'Indian' that the Institute is intended solely for Indians. This is as great a mistake as to suppose that it is intended only for Englishmen. My desire has always been that the Indian Institute should have, so to speak, two wings, one spreading itself to foster Eastern studies among Europeans, the other extending itself to foster Western studies among Indians.

In this way it seemed to me that the Institute would help the University of Oxford to do its duty in promoting the interchange of the literary wealth of Asia and Europe, and in repaying with interest the wisdom and knowledge received centuries ago from the East. I therefore made a journey to Calcutta with the object of trying to induce the Supreme Government there to found six scholarships of £200 a year each, for deserving natives who I had hoped would complete their education, and carry on their

studies in this building under the superintendence of the Curators. It caused me great satisfaction when the Viceroy and his Council assented to my proposal, and it has caused me severe disappointment to learn, as I have lately done, that the Secretary of State for India in Council, while sanctioning the scholarships, has thought it right not to attach them directly to this or to any particular Institution.

And I feel the disappointment the more acutely, because, from what I have seen of the youthful natives of India in their own country, and from my knowledge of the debilitating effects of Indian home life, and the absence of all strengthening influences like those of our Public School system, I am convinced that no young Indian is fit to stand alone at an English University, or that he ought to be allowed as much freedom of action as is thought desirable for the average English Undergraduate. I am persuaded that any youthful native of India who comes to Oxford under the idea of enlarging his mind, and is left too much to himself and permitted to take an independent course, and cast adrift during six months of vacation—without personal guidance and guardianship—will return to India deteriorated in character rather than improved.

At a large meeting held in Calcutta, in the great hall of the University, at the beginning of the present year, when the Viceroy took the chair and many leading Indians were present, I was urgently requested to make the Indian Institute serve the purpose of a home, both during Term-time and Vacations, for those young men who were sent to us for the completion of their education. I regret that the desire I expressed to meet their wishes in regard to this matter cannot be fully accomplished. Still I trust that some of the scholars may become members of this University and be attracted to this Institute, and I think I can promise that those who avail themselves of these

advantages will receive every possible aid and encouragement from the Curators of the Institute; and although they will not be allowed to reside in the building, as I had hoped, rooms and books for carrying on their studies will be assigned to them.

Finally, let me express my hope that a spirit of friendly and scholarly co-operation may animate all who have to teach within these walls; and, although the time is coming when some of us who are advancing in years will have to make room for younger men, yet, I trust, that much good work may still remain for us to do, and that the day of small beginnings, which we are now commemorating, may constantly increase in illuminating power till the knowledge here imparted becomes an acknowledged factor in the educational benefits which this University seeks to confer, and a real source of enlightenment to those of our fellow-subjects in the East who come to us for training and instruction."

The Vice-Chancellor then said, "He was asked to come there to open that building, but before doing so, he was sure he should be only expressing their feelings if he presented to Professor Monier Williams their warm thanks for the interesting address he had given them, which had suggested so many thoughts to their minds. It was to his indefatigable ability and single-minded enthusiasm for the good of India that the building was due. They might regret with him that it was only half a building, and therefore, he feared, was in some degree impaired both in its architectural beauty and its practical usefulness. He had told them that there was a great work in which they were to engage. They hoped that the University of Oxford might contribute to that work in many ways. They hoped that it might create among the Indian students at Oxford a spirit of sympathy with the natives, that they might be better able to understand India. They must all of them

see that it was absolutely impossible to govern India—to govern 254,000,000 of people, with their various races, religions, and customs, if they did not understand them. They could only safely govern India if they knew it. He might remind them that there was a great debt which England and Europe owed to India, though it might be one in the far distance. He remembered to have been told, that on the portals of the College of Fort William, Lord Wellesley, who was the founder of the college, himself a poet and a scholar, had this half verse of Virgil inscribed :

'Redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,'

which though the audience did not need a translation, he might venture to translate, 'The day-spring returns from us and brings back the day to them.' It was in the work described in these words that they hoped the Indian Institute might bear a part. He had only to declare that Institute to be open, to be, as he hoped, a sign of mutual interest and affection between Oxford and India for many centuries."

It should be added that on April 22, 1885, an evening conversazione was held in the building, which was attended by the late Viceroy of India, the Marquess of Ripon, Sir Thomas Brassey, Sir Edward Colebrooke, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and a large number of the warm supporters of the Institute. The Marquess of Ripon took the opportunity of giving some very interesting information with regard to the present condition of India and the duties performed by her rulers, addressing himself in an especial manner to the Indian Civil Service Probationers now under education in the University.

The following new Decree was brought before Convocation, and passed unanimously on May 26, 1885: "That the Decree of November 18, 1880, relating to the Indian Institute be rescinded, and that a sum of £300 a year be paid from the University Chest for the general expenses of the Institute, such yearly payment to begin from October 1, 1884, and to

be subject to the condition that the remainder of the Subscription Fund already paid or promised, after payment of the expenses incurred for the site, building, fittings, etc., be held in trust for the purchase of the remainder of the site and for the completion of the building."

It is right to state that another institution for the promotion of Oriental learning has been recently opened at Woking, where Dr. Leitner, M.R.A.S., has purchased the formerly well-known "Royal Dramatic College" and ten acres of land. It will bear the title of "The Oriental University, Museum and Guest House in England." Dr. Leitner's scheme was fully laid by him before the Oriental Congress at Leyden, in the "Homeward Mail" for May 13, 1884, and, also, in Messrs. Trübner's "Record," June, 1884, p. 58. We have, as yet, no information as to what this Institution has accomplished during the last year.

Oriental Congress at Leyden.—As up to the present date (June, 1885), the Directors of the Oriental Congress at Leyden have been only able to publish, able to circulate and send to its members, the fourth part of the "Actes" of the Congress, to wit, the papers of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Sections, namely, those of the "Sections Africaine, de l'Extrême Orient, et Polynesienne," it is not possible to do more than to give a list of these. "Tirages à part" of papers in two previous Sections have been freely distributed, but they have not been at present issued in volumes. The papers printed are, as follows: In Section 3, Africaine:

Pleyte, W., La couronne de la Justification:—Eisenlohr, A., Die Anwendung der Photographie für monumente und Papyrus-rollen:—Lieblein, J., Ueber Alt-Aegyptische Religion:—Golénischeff, W., Sur l'origine alphabetique de certains Hieroglyphes:—Leemans, C., Hypocéphale Egyptien du Musée Royal Néerlandais d'Antiquités à Leide:—

Wiedemann, A., Die Alt-Aegyptischen Grabkegel :—Ditto, Die darstellungen auf den Eulogien des heiligen Menas :—Edwards, Miss, "On a fragment of a Mummy-case containing part of a Royal cartouche" :—Ditto., On the dispersion of Egyptian Antiquities :—Lefébure, E., Sur quelques fouilles et deblayements à faire dans la Vallée des Rois, à Thèbes :—Delgeur, L., Communication au sujet d'un Colosse projeté trouvé dans les carrières de Zawyet-el-Meitin : —Piehl, K., Sur l'origine des colonnes de la Salle des Caryotides du Grand Temple de Karnak :—Eisenlohr, A., Die Felder textc von Edfu.

In Section 4, "De l'Extrème Orient" are papers by Groot, J. J. M. de, Buddhist masses for the Dead at Amoy : —Schlegel, G, "De l'importance de la Langue Hollandaise pour l'interprétation de la Langue Chinoise" :—Harlez, C. de, Extraits traduits de "Dirge Hese Jakôn Gôsa de Wasimbuhangge" :—Lesonëf, A., Rapport sur le Dictionnaire Aino-Russe de Dobrotvorski : — Rosny, Léon de, Comment furent écrits les plus anciens monuments de la Littérature Japonaise :—and Howorth, H. H., Some Notes on the Huns.

In Section 5, Polynésienne, are the following papers: Lith, Van der P. A., Discours sur l'importance d'un ouvrage Arabe du Xme siècle intitulé كتاب عجايب الهند ou "Livre de merveilles de l'Inde" :—Pijnappel, J., Over de Wortel woorden in de Maleische taal :—Vreede, A. C., Over de wortel woorden in de Javaansche taal :—Marré, A., Aperçu Philologique sur les affinités de la Langue Malgache avec le Javanais, le Malais, et les autres principaux idiomes de l'Archipel Indien :—Ditto, Vocabulaire Systématique, comparatif, des principales racines des Langues Malgache et Malayo-Polynésiennes :—Kern, H., Over de verhouding von het Mafoorsch tot de Maleisch-Polynesische talen :—Matthes, B. F., Einige Eigenthumlichkeiten in den Festen und Gewohnheiten der Makassaren und Buginesen :—and, lastly,

Wijnmalen, Th. Ch. L., Frédéric de Houtman comme Philologue.

At the conclusion of the Congress, the proposal of M. de Goeje, that the MSS. in the British Museum required by continental students should be lent to them under such conditions of guarantee as the Trustees might think necessary, was discussed and carried.

No one, however, seems to have been aware, or at least to have stated, that the Trustees cannot, without the passing of a special Act of Parliament, do what M. de Goeje proposed. There was a time when they could so; as the so-called "Townley" Homer was lent to M. Hayne, and was, we believe, in his keeping for several years, but this was a century ago. At the same concluding meeting, it was proposed that a special memorial should be addressed to the English Government in favour of the undertaking what may be called an "International" Dictionary of Chinese-English, and English-Chinese, on the same scale and principles as the great Sanskrit Dictionary of MM. Boehtlingk and Roth. Finally, it was determined that the next meeting should take place at Vienna in 1886.

Miscellaneous Indian or Oriental.—Under this head are noticed papers or books which do not strictly fall under any of the preceding groups. Thus, in the *Athenæum*, July 5, is an interesting account (taken from the Deutsche Rundschau) of the fourth portion of Prof Jolly's Travels in India, with an excellent account of Calcutta from a scholar's point of view. In July 26 is a long, but rather fanciful notice of the "Oriental Institute at Woking," to the general scheme of which attention was called in last year's report; in the same number, also, is a brief notice of the eighth and concluding part of the "Oriental Series" of the Palæographical Society's publications. It is a matter of regret that this Oriental portion has not been sufficiently well supported to

warrant its continuation. In Aug. 2 is a good review of a pleasant book, E. L. Mitford's Travels from England to Ceylon through S.W. Europe, Asia and India, between 1839 and 1842. Mr. Mitford was at Herat, when an English mission, under Major D'Arcy Todd, were also residing there. In the same number is a good notice of Mr. G. W. Forrest's Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of the Hon. M. Elphinstone. In Aug. 2, also (and under the same date in the *Academy*), is a protest from Mr. C. M. Doughty against the map of Arabia issued in the August No. of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and purporting to be copied from his chart of Northern Arabia or Nejd, adding that the only maps issued by him are in M. Kiepert's "Globus." In Aug. 16 is the Report of the Survey of India for 1882–3, with the account and map of the remarkable exploring expedition of A. Kristna, already noted. In August 23 is an excellent account of the Journal of Indian Art, parts 1 and 2, issued by Mr. Griggs. Among other Essays is a comprehensive one by Mr. Kipling, "On the Brass and Copper Ware of the Panjab and Kashmir" (Mr. Kipling is to conduct this Journal at Lahore at the cost of Government). In Sept. 13 is a long review of Capt. R. C. Temple's Legends of the Panjab, vol. i., and the Rev. Mr. Swynnerton's "Adventures of the Panjab hero, Raja Rasâlu, and other Folk-Tales of the Panjab." In Feb. 7, 1885, is a good review of Miss Gordon Cumming's "In the Himalayas and on the Indian Plains." In Feb. 21 is a good notice of the Memoir and Correspondence of General James Stuart Frazer of the Madras Army, by his son. We learn also from the same Journal that Sir Richard Temple has read a valuable paper before the Royal Historical Society, entitled "Personal Traits of the Mahratta Princes," which has been since printed in their new series, vol. i. pt. 4; and that, at a meeting of the Victoria Institute, Jan. 5, 1885, a paper by

Prof. Avery, "On the Aboriginal Tribes of India," was read.

In *The Academy*, Aug. 2, Mr. H. G. Keene reviews Prof. Monier Williams' Religious Thought and Life in India: and in the number is a letter from Dr. W. Wright, expressing his regret that the Oriental series of the Palæographical Society cannot be carried on any longer. In Aug. 9, is a brief notice of M. Darmesteter's Report for the Société Asiatique, drawn up at the request of the President, M. Renan. In Aug. 23, Mr. Ralston gives a pleasant review of Capt. R. C. Temple's Legends of the Panjâb. In Sept. 20, Capt. Burton appreciatively reviews Mr. Clouston's Book of Sindibad, and, in the next page, is one by Prof. A. H. Keane, of Mr. E. L. Mitford's adventurous Journey from England to Ceylon, already referred to. In Oct. 11, is a valuable review by Mr. A. C. Lyall of Mr. Alex. Mackenzie's History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes on the North-East Frontier of Bengal, a most useful manual of information for much more than mere official use. We also learn from Oct. 18 that Mr. J. S. Cotton has been entrusted by the Secretary of State for India with the preparation of the decennial "Statement of Moral and material progress and condition of India for the period ending 1883." It will form a blue book of about four hundred pages, and will be, in some degree, supplementary to that issued by Mr. Clements Markham in 1873. In Nov. 15, is an interesting notice of a Hindu novel called the "Poison Tree," which has been written by a native gentleman of Bengal, and translated by Mr. M. S. Knight. In a preface, Mr. Edwin Arnold testifies to the fidelity of the author's picture of native domestic life. In the same number, we have a brief notice of the Life and Work in Benares and Kumaon 1839—1877 of Mr. James Kennedy, with an Introductory Note by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I. In Jan. 24, is an excellent account by the Rev. Thomas

Foulkes, M.R.A.S., "Of the current literature of the Madras Presidency." From the same number we learn that Sir Frederic Goldsmid read a paper on Jan. 15 before the Royal Historical Society entitled "Perplexities of Oriental History." In Jan. 31, is a good notice of "The Diary of a Civilian's Life in India, by Mrs. Robert Moss King," a book of travel singularly attractive.

We further learn from Feb. 28, that M. H. Gaidoz, the Director of the "Ecole des Hautes Études" has been recently delivering a lecture on "The British Empire in India," for which he has used as his text-books The Indian Chapter in the Statesman's Year Book, Mr. Cust's Modern Languages of the East Indies, and the Manual on India contributed by Mr. J. S. Cotton to the "English Citizen" series.

In the *Muséon*, iii. 2, are various papers, such as De Milloué, Essai sur la Religion des Jains:—M. de Colinet, La Divinité personnelle dans l'Inde ancienne:—Willems, a Review of H. Ziemer's Vergleichende Syntax d. Indo-Germ. (2 articles):—Geiger, W., La Civilization des Aryas:—and Van den Gheyn, Review of O. Beauregard, "Kachmir et Tibet." Among books the following may perhaps be mentioned—Halevy, J., Résumé d'un memoire sur l'origine des Écritures Indiennes:—Prof. A. Weber, "Idylles villageoises de l'Inde—Les sept cents strophes de Hâla":—Prof. F. M. Müller's India: What can it teach us? has been translated into German with the title "Indien in seiner welt-geschichtlichen bedeutung:—The Orientalist, a monthly journal of Oriental literature, etc., edited by W. Goonetilleke:—Gower, Major, G. W., Asian Literature alphabetically indexed:—Keene, H. G., C.I.E., History of Hindustan from the first Muslim Conquest:—Prinsep, C. G., Record of H.E.I.C. Servants, Madras Presidency, 1741–1858:—Darmesteter, Lecture on the Mahdi.

Selections from the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A Record of Translation and Revision (1884–1885).

Amoy-Vernacular.—The Committee have sanctioned the formation of a New Testament Revision Company, composed of the missionaries of the Amoy and Formosa Missions, viz. The Reformed Church Mission of Amoy, The London Mission of Amoy, the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England in Amoy and Formosa, and the Canadian Presbyterian Mission of North Formosa. The revision is to proceed on the basis of a free use of all helps towards a thoroughly accurate revision, such accuracy having regard to the meaning of the original, and to the native idiom. The plates of the present version, which were presented to this Society by Mr. Hugh M. Matheson, can be used for any required supply until the revised version is ready.

Arabic.—The Rev. Dr. Van Dyck, of Beirút, the translator of the Arabic Bible, has been engaged during the past fifteen months in a careful examination of his version. Dr. Van Dyck's version of the Arabic Bible has been tried and tested for several years. It is admitted to be the best version in the Arabic language.

Amharic.—By the help of Mr. Orgawi, who has been a native Abyssinian missionary for twelve years, Mr. Flad has completed his slight revision of Dr. Krapf's version, and the printing of the new edition will soon be completed. In the revised edition unknown words and words with double meaning are replaced by simple and well-understood words.

Batta (*Toba*) (Roman characters).—The Committee have printed an edition of 9000 copies of the New Testament in Roman characters, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Schreiber, who not only read the proofs, but transliterated the greater part of the Book.

Corean.—The Committee have authorized the publication of an edition of 5000 copies of the complete New Testament. The translation is not yet finished, owing to the

absence on a missionary tour of the Rev. J. Ross's native assistant.

Falasha — Kara. — The Committee have published an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark in Ethiopic characters for the coloured Jews in the Kara district of Abyssinia and Metammeh. The version was made by a converted Falash Jew, called Bern, from Professor Reinisch's Bogos version, and Professor Reinisch has revised and edited the version.

Fijian.—The Committee have published another edition of the New Testament, consisting of 5000 copies. The Rev. J. Calvert has corrected all mistakes that have been discovered, and has carried the edition through the press.

Foo-Chow Colloquial (Roman character).—At the request of the Rev. R. W. Stewart, supported by the Church Missionary Society, the Committee have resolved to bring out an edition of the Gospel of St. John, which Mr. Stewart has ready for the press.

Gujarati.—The revision of the New Testament was continued during the year, and the Gospel of St. Luke is at present in circulation among the members of the Revision Committee.

Hainan Colloquial.—The Committee have authorized the publication of one Gospel of the version now being made by Mr. Jeremiassen for the aborigines who do not understand Chinese.

Hebrew.—Dr. Delitzsch, with the help of many Hebrew scholars, continues the work of making more perfect his version of the New Testament. The 6th edition, 32mo., of 5000 copies, is now completed, and an 8vo. edition of 5000 copies, which may be bound up with the 8vo. Old Testament, is also approaching completion.

Jaghatai-Turki.—The Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz has made a tour among the Tekke-Turcomans, and he reports that, owing to the dialectical peculiarites of the language of the people,

it is desirable that they should have a version of the Scriptures in the dialect in which Mr. Bassett's version of St. Matthew is rendered.

Japanese.—Through the industry of the Rev. Dr. Hepburn the historical Books of the Old Testament have been completed as far as 2 Kings, and Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Ecclesiastes have been published, in addition to Proverbs and three of the minor prophets. The Books of Daniel and Isaiah are nearly finished, and Dr. Verbeck is still at work on his version of the Psalms. Mr. Fyson, who had been engaged on the historical books, has, since his return to Japan, begun the translation of 1 Chronicles.

Javanese.—Mr. Jansz proposed to go to Surakata, where he can have scholarly native assistance, and the Committee urge the completion and publication of the Gospel of St. Luke, in order to test the value of the version before proceeding with the remaining Books.

Káfir.—The printing of an edition of 6000 copies of the Bible, of which 4000 copies of the New Testament shall be from the Revised Version, proceeds steadily under the editorship of the Rev. W. Hunter.

Kabail (Roman character).—The Gospel of St. John, revised and edited by Dr. Sauerwein, is now published.

Khasi.—An edition of the revised New Testament of 4000 copies, with 3000 copies extra of the single Gospels, as Portions, has been completed, and also an edition of 4000 copies of the Pentateuch.

Konkani.—An edition of the Gospel of St. John was issued by the Madras Auxiliary towards the close of last year. The portion was taken from Carey's version, printed in 1818, in the Devanagari character, but somewhat altered so as to be better understood by all classes. The Konkani tongue is a dialect of the Marathi, influenced by the Dravidian languages of South India. It is spoken by upwards of 100,000, who reside chiefly on the western coast. The majority of the

people belong to the Hindu faith, but many are Roman Catholics, some of whom speak the language with a mixture of Portuguese words.

Lifu.—The Rev. S. M. Creagh, of Lifu, reports the completion of the revision of the Bible on August 29, 1884. He is now copying the corrections made in the parts already printed, viz. Pentateuch, Psalms, and New Testament, and the number of changes in these amount to 52,310.

Malagási.—The Rev. W. E. Cousins reports that he completed the preliminary revision of the Bible, which is the basis of the Revision Committee's work, on Sept. 15, 1884. The work was begun in 1873, and the actual time which he has spent on it has been about eight years, and two days per week of that time has been given to the Revision Committee. The Revision Committee have revised up to Jeremiah xlix. 22.

Maori.—The Committee have agreed to publish an edition of the Bible of the same size as former editions, in paragraph form, with the numbers of the verses prefixed to the verses and not placed in the margins, and that the chapter and page headings prepared by Archdeacon Maunsell be added. The version has been corrected and slightly revised by Archdeacons Maunsell and Williams.

Maráthi.—The Old Testament Revision Committee held thirty meetings during the year, at the house of the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, Convener of the Committee, and at the end of December the Book of Genesis was nearly completed. The Rev. Baba Padmanji aided in the revision, besides reading the proofs of several new editions of the Scriptures.

Maré.—The Rev. S. M. Creagh writes from New Caledonia that they are revising the Pentateuch, and preparing marginal references. They do not wish to print immediately.

Motu.—The Rev. W. G. Lawes, Port Moresby, New Guinea, reports the completion of the translation of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and the thorough revision of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which had

already been printed. These portions Mr. Lawes considers as perfect as he can make them, and the Committee have approved their publication under the auspices of the New South Wales Auxiliary.

Nubian (*Fadidja*).—The Committee have published an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark for the Muhammadans in and around Dongola. The version was made by the late eminent Professor Lepsius, and published as an appendix to his Nubian Grammar, and it is now republished by this Society with the generous permission of his son, Dr. Lepsius of Darmstadt, and of his publisher, Mr. Wilhelm Hertz. The version is in Roman character, and has been edited by Professor Reinisch, of Vienna.

Pashtu (*Afghan*).—Considerable progress has been made in translation work, both in the Old and New Testaments, and preparations are being made for a revision of the New Testament. The Bishop of Lahore has arranged to have meetings of the Revision Committee in Kohat in May, and at Muree in June, when it is hoped that the different translations will be harmonized under the guidance of the Bishop.

Persian.—The Committee have agreed to publish, as a portion, Dr. Bruce's revision of Genesis and Exodus, and Dr. Bruce is revising the copy finally before sending it to the press. The Gospel of St. Mark, slightly revised, is now passing through the press. The first proofs are read by Dr. Bruce and the final proofs by Dr. Sauerwein.

Popo (*Dahoman*).—The Committee have resolved to print an edition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The version, which has been brought home by the Rev. J. Milum, who was on a visit to the Western Mission in South Africa, was made by their native minister, Rev. T. J. Marshall, and the Translation Committee are busy on the remaining Gospels. The same system has been adopted as in the printing of the Yoruba Scriptures.

Rarotongan.—The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, who is carrying

out a careful revision of the Bible for the Committee, has now reached the close of the New Testament.

Rifi.—Dialect of Shilha, the language of Morocco. The few chapters of Mr. Mackintosh's version, printed by the Committee tentatively, have been much admired by the natives, and Mr. Mackintosh is now proceeding with his version.

Rotuman.—An edition of the New Testament, slightly corrected, has been carried through the press by the Rev. J. Calvert.

Sanguirese.—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of the Psalms for the Sanguir Islands. The version was made by the Rev. Mr. Kelling, and the proofs will be read by the Rev. E. W. King of Tilburg. The New Testament has been well received and purchased by the natives.

Swahili.—The Ven. Archdeacon Hodgson has carried through the press an edition of 500 copies of his version of the Book of Joshua. The Archdeacon continues the work of translation, but the Synod has decreed that all future translations are to be printed first in Zanzibar. In addition to the New Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Kings, Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, and Jonah are completed.

Telugu.—During the year the revised Book of Proverbs has been thoroughly revised by Dr. Hay, in accordance with classical forms and phraseology, which renders it more acceptable to the ordinary readers; and each book of the Pentateuch has been carefully and critically read and studied four times, and some of them oftener, with attention to criticisms sent in to Dr. Hay from various missions. The Book of Leviticus, to the terms of which Dr. Hay has devoted special attention, is now in the press, and the rest of the Pentateuch will be printed without delay.

Tibetan.—The edition of the New Testament, edited by the Rev. Mr. Reichelt and the Rev. Dr. Malan, has been completed.

Tulu.—Messrs. Manner, Hartmann, Ritter, Ott, and Hermelink are engaged on a revision of the New Testament, and an edition will be published under the auspices of the Madras Auxiliary. The Tulu language is spoken in part of South Canara by about half a million of the people. Till recently there was no literature in the Tulu language, except some legends, written on palm leaves in the Malayalam character. Mr. Grainer, one of the Basle missionaries who landed at Bangalore in 1834, began a translation of the New Testament. He was afterwards aided by Messrs. Ammann and Bührer. An edition of the Four Gospels was lithographed as soon as completed. The remainder of the New Testament was completed in 1847. Mr. Ammann revised his version in 1850, but the MS. was destroyed by fire. His subsequent revision was printed in 1858. Inaccuracies in the edition led to the present revision, which is not yet complete.

Uriya.—The Committee have authorized the Calcutta Auxiliary to publish an edition of the Old Testament, revised by the Rev. Dr. Buckley. The first edition was published at Serampore in four volumes. The second edition was published at Calcutta by the Bible Society under the care of Dr. Sutton. This edition, which was completed in 1844, was in three volumes. The third edition was published under the scholarly editorship of Dr. Buckley, by the Bible Society, in one volume of 692 pages.

Yoruba.—The edition of the Bible undertaken at the request of the Church Missionary Society has now been completed. The Rev. D. Hinderer edited the Old Testament from 1 Samuel to Malachi. He also revised the orthography of the New Testament, and carried the edition through the press.

Anniversary Meeting, May 18. Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I., President, in the chair. A portion of the Annual Report of the Council having been read, the following gentlemen were duly elected as the Council and officers of the ensuing year, 1885-6.

President.—Colonel Yule, R.E., C.B.

Director.—Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir Barrow H. Ellis, K.C.S.I.; James Fergusson, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.; Arthur Grote, Esq.; Sir W. Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D.

Council.—Cecil Bendall, Esq., M.A.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq., Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; F. V. Dickins, Esq.; J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.I.E.; James Gibbs, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.; Major-General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I.; Major-General Keatinge, C.B., C.S.I., V.C.; Henry Morris, Esq.; Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Phayre, C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.; Sir W. Rose Robinson, K.C.S.I.; T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.; Sir Thomas F. Wade, K.C.B.; M. J. Walhouse, Esq.; C E. Wilson.

Treasurer.—Edward Thomas, Esq., C.I.E., F.R S.

Secretary.—W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

Honorary Secretaries.—Robert N. Cust, Esq.; H. F. W. Holt, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN then addressed the meeting and said: It is an honour and a dignity to myself to hold the position in which you have placed me for the past year. It was the wish of the Council, if I continued to remain in London, that I should hold the position for two years. It has fallen to my lot, however, to leave London; and, under the circumstances, I wish to resign my office at this Anniversary Meeting. I need not say that I do so with the utmost satisfaction when I consider the position and high character of the gentleman whom you have asked

to succeed me in the office of president. Colonel Yule, whom you have selected, has spent his life as a student, and, in an especial manner, as a student of Oriental literature. Before I sit down, I would ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to our excellent secretary, Mr. Vaux, who has given himself with so much devotion to the interest of the Society. I think the prosperity of the Society has been shown by the Report which the Secretary has just read. The financial position is extremely satisfactory. Year by year we have been laying something by. The number of members has in some way increased, and at present we have about 350 members on our roll. At the same time, I must say that, looking to the interest which Great Britain has in the East—far exceeding, as it does, that of any other empire or country in the world—it is to me a marvel that there should be in this nation so little research as regards Oriental literature. When we look abroad and see what such countries as Germany and France, which, in comparison with ourselves, possess but a small interest in the East, have done for Oriental learning, we must really be surprised. One almost feels downcast at the idea that our nation should be so utilitarian in this way, and that more attention is not paid, and more time devoted, as is done in some of the Continental countries, to the study of Oriental affairs. Some gentlemen, it is true, contribute to our Journal; but I think that, with some 350 members, our Society should look for something more than we have yet attained, both in the matter contributed to our Journal and in other respects. It is painful to think that our nation, which is so intimately connected with the East, should be in such a state; and I trust that this Society will do something towards removing this great reproach from our land.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson next proposed a vote of thanks

to their President (Sir William Muir). In the President, Sir Henry observed, they had a scholar of European fame as well as one versed in Arabic and other Oriental languages. They felt proud of having such a gentleman at the head of the Society. He (Sir Henry) trusted the Society would think the Council had acted wisely and well in asking Colonel Yule to accept the position of President. Colonel Yule was full of zeal and vigour—eager in the prosecution of knowledge—and would do all that lay in his power to further the interests of the Society, and to meet their high expectations of him. In the eyes of Europe generally, continued Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Royal Asiatic Society was doing the best it could do. And, in reference to its work, he wished to say a word about their Secretary. When Mr. Vaux came into office, the Society was financially and otherwise at a low ebb. Since the day that Mr. Vaux took office, however, a new life has throbbed through the Society. Under him our Journal, which was once but a mere pamphlet, has waxed into a publication of considerable dimensions. To him, indeed, we are indebted for a good deal. He is one of the hardest workers that I ever met with in the whole course of my experience, and I am sure that he thoroughly deserves the vote of thanks that you are asked to accord him.

The motion was adopted with acclamation.

Donations to the Library.—The Council have to report donations to the Library from—

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
—— Madras Literary Society.
—— Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
—— Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
—— North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
—— Straits Settlements Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
—— Japan Asiatic Society.

The Royal Society of London.
——————————— Edinburgh.
——————————— Literature.
—— Trustees of the British Museum.
—— Royal Institution.
———— Geographical Society of London.
———— Astronomical Society of London.
———— Irish Academy.
———— Geological Society of Ireland.
———— Society of Tasmania.
—— Council of the British Association.
—— Society of Antiquaries.
—— Zoological Society of London.
—— Geological Society of London.
—— Linnæan Society of London.
—— Numismatic Society of London.
—— Statistical Society of London.
—— London Institution.
—— Anthropological Institute.
—— Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
—— Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
—— United Service Institution.
—— Society of Arts.
—— Society of Biblical Archæology.
—— Cambridge Philosophical Society.
—— Hellenic Society.
—— Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
—— Literary and Scientific Institution of Liverpool.
—— Philosophical Society of Manchester.
—— Society for Psychical Research.
—— Proprietors of the Canadian Journal of Science.
—— Seismological Society of Japan.
—— Société Asiatique de Paris.
———— Géographique de Paris.
———— de la Géographie de Bordeaux.
—— Académie des Sciences de Montpellier.
—— Royal Academy of Belgium.
———— Academy of Turin.
———— Academy "dei Lincei" of Rome.
———— Academy of Berlin.
———— Academy of Vienna.
———— Academy of Munich.
—— German Oriental Society.
—— Geographical Society of Berlin.
—— University of Bonn.
Bataviaasch Genootschap.
Konigkl. Institut. d. Nederlandsche-Indie.
Hungarian Academy of Pesth.
The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.
—— Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia.

The American Oriental Society.
—— American Geographical Society.
—— Institute of New Zealand.
—— Proprietors of the Athenæum.
———— of the Academy.
———— of the London and China Telegraph.
———— of Allen's Indian Mail.
———— of the Homeward Mail.
———— of the Mission Field.
———— of the Journal of the National Indian Association.
———— of Polybiblion.
—— Editor of "Sunlight."
—— London Chamber of Commerce.

The Society also takes in the following papers :

The Indian Antiquary.
—— Revue Critique.
—— Oriental Publications of the Palæographical Society.
Le Muséon—Revue Internationale.
Annales de l'Extrême Orient.
The Voice of India.

The Journal of the Society is sent to

The Royal Library at Windsor.
—— Secretary of State for India.
—— Royal Society of London.
———— Society of Edinburgh.
———— Institution.
———— Astronomical Society.
———— Geographical Society.
———— Society of Literature.
———— Dublin Society.
———— Irish Academy.
———— Society of Victoria (Australia).
—— United Service Institution.
—— Trustees of the British Museum.
—— Council of the British Association.
—— Society of Antiquaries.
—— Zoological Society of London.
—— Geological Society.
—— Linnæan Society of London.
—— Numismatic Society of London.
—— Statistical Society of London.
—— Indian Office Library.
—— Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
—— Library of the House of Commons.
—— Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
—— Society of Arts.
—— Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
—— Philosophical Society of Manchester.

The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.
—— London Institution.
—— Devon and Exeter Institute.
—— University College, London.
—— Trinity College, Dublin.

The Society has, also, received the following individual donations:—

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—Index to Professional Papers on Indian Engineering, First and Second Series:—Administrative Report of the Persian Gulf Political Residency, by Lieut.-Col. Ross, C.S.I.—Assam Library; Books published in North-West Provinces during fourth quarter of 1883.—Report on Tea Mite and Tea Bug of Assam, by C. Wood Mason.—Archæological Survey of India, by Maj.-Gen. Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., vols. xvii. and xviii.—Tours in Gorakhpur.—Gazetteer N.W.P., vol. viii. Muttra Futharpur.—Political Administration of the Ajmere Morwara Districts, Calcutta, 1884.—Report of Publications issued and registered throughout British India in 1882.—Records of Geological Survey of India.—Memoir, Ditto.—Catalogue of Mysore Books.—Appendix to Calcutta Gazette.—Report, etc., N.W. Provinces and Oude.—Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay, 1884, by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, Hon. M.R.A.S.—Meteorological Observations recorded at six stations in India in 1883.—Assessment of the Hungund Taluka of the Kaladgi Collectorate.—Report of Public Instruction in Assam, 1881-2.—Alfonso D'Alboquerque, vol. iv., W. de Gray Birch (Hakluyt).—Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xxi. xxii. xxiii., Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur.—Tide Tables of India Ports, 1885.—The armies of the Native States of India, reprinted from the *Times*, 1884.—Sewell, Robert, Archæological Survey of Southern India, vol. ii.—Inscriptions and Sketches of Dynasties, Madras, 1884.—Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor-General in Council, 1877-81.—Administration of Bengal, 1885.—Administration of N.W.P., Oudh, 1885.—Gazetteers of Rawalpindi, Lahore, Ferozopore, Hisar District, Hazara, Hosinpur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Karnal, Dera Ismail Khan, Ambala, Gurgaon Kangra, 2 vols.—Cholera: What can the State do to prevent it? by J. M. Cunningham.

—— Atkinson, E. T., Notes on History of Religion in Himalayas.

—— Ball, J. Dyer, Easy sentences in the Hakka Dialect. Hongkong, 1881:—Cantonese made Easy. Hongkong, 1883.

—— Ball, V. A., Animals and Plants of India known to Early Greek Authors.

—— Bertin, George, Ethnology and Philology of the European Races, by Prof. A. H. Keane.

—— Bhandarkar, Ramkriskna, Early History of the Dekkan. Bombay, 1884.

—— Bhownaggree, MM., a small Collection of Coins of the Sah Kings and objects of Natural History, presented on the part of H. H. the Maharaja of Bhawnagar.

—— Bonaparte, Prince Roland, Les Habitants de Suriname à l'Exposition d'Amsterdam:—Les derniers voyages des Néerlandais à la Nouvelle Guinée, 1885.

—— Böthliugk, O., Sanskrit Wörterbuch in Kurzeurfassung, 5th Theil, 2 lief, 1884.

From Brandreth, E. L., the Pali Text Society's Publications.
—— Buchan, St. John, To the Kaveri Falls. Bangalore, 1883:—Lightning Jottings of Seringapatam. Bangalore, 1883.
—— Cust, R. N. Esq., Brajo Nath Shaha, Grammar of the Lushai Language:—Notes on the Languages and Dialects spoken in British Burma.
—— Duka, Dr. Theodore, Life of Csoma de Körös—Trübner's Series.
—— Casartelli, L. C., M.A., Ph.D., Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides, 1884.
—— Grote, Arthur, Photograph of, and of Rajendralala Mitra.
—— Griffen & Co., Yearbook of Scientific and Learned Societies.
—— Growse, F. S., Sketches of Indian Districts, Bulandshahr.
—— Gheyn, Van den, Mythologie Comparée: — Review of Braunhöfer und Löber:—La Nouvelle Université Orientale d'Angleterre du Muséon:—De l'origin Européenne des Aryas, Do.:—Ethnographie et Linguistique; Rev. des Recueils periodiques du Avril, 1883.
—— Halévy, Jn., Aperçu Grammaticale de l'Allographie Assyro-Babylonienne.
—— Lacouperie, Terrien de, Introduction to Mr. Colquhoun's "Among the Shans."
—— Lewin, Colonel F. H., A Fly on the Wheel, or How I Helped to Govern India, 1883.
—— Temple, Capt. R. C., Panjaub Notes and Queries.

Additional Remarks by the Honorary Secretary.

The above Report was passing through the press, and the sheets were in the different stages of first proof slips, and second proof pages, some sections in manuscript had to be inserted, and one section had apparently not received the final touches, when, on Sunday evening, June 21, the kind-hearted and accomplished compiler of the Report was suddenly called away to his last rest,

e sulle pagine
Cadde la stanca man!

A special meeting of the Council was held on the 26th instant, and the following minute was recorded:—

"The Council has received with the greatest regret the news of the death of Mr. William Sandys Wright Vaux, their valued Secretary. He has held office for nearly ten years: he found the affairs of the Society in a depressed

state, and by his energy and devotion he has increased the number of Members, doubled the size of the Journal, and raised the financial state of the Society to great prosperity. His Annual Reports have obtained a very great reputation. The Council deplore the loss of a faithful servant, and many of the members of the Council have lost in Mr. Vaux a valued and honoured friend, as his cheerful manner, his conciliatory character, and his wide stock of knowledge were such as could not fail to attract to him all, with whom he came into contact."

The Council further directed that a copy of this minute should be attached to this Annual Report, the last of the nine Reports prepared by their lamented friend.

On me the sad task has devolved of gathering together the fragments left in his desk, and carrying them through the press. I feel that some further additions or emendations might have suggested themselves or have been suggested by others to the compiler on a second perusal, but I have not ventured to make them; I discharge my sad duty to the best of my ability, and with the deepest regret.

Debitâ spargens lacrymâ favillam.
Vatis amici.

Robert Cust.

London, *June* 26, 1885.

stephen austin and sons, printers, hertford.

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